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# HISTORICAL ORIGINS

COMPRISING

"THE CHALDÆAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND  
HINDOO ORIGINES."

"THE ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF THE  
NILE'S VALLEY:"

AND

# HISTORICAL CRITIQUES

COMPRISING

"A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTS OR  
GAELS," ETC.

"A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT  
EGYPT."

✓ BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.,

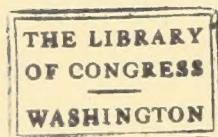
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WHICH EMBRACES AN ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF THE GOSPELS  
AND THE ACTS, SHOWING THEIR UNITY IN SEVERALTY; OF  
"PROPHECIES OF REVELATION AND DANIEL, DEVELOPED IN  
THE HISTORY OF CHRISTENDOM," WITH AN APPENDIX  
COMPLETE IN PROOF, AND A "CHAPTER UPON THE  
CYCLES OF THE ANCIENTS;" OF THE "ANCIENT  
COSMOTHEOLOGIES OF THE WORLD;" OF THE  
"PHOENICIAN COSMOGONIES," ETC., ETC.

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# THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW

— AND —

## THE CHINESE AND HINDOO

## ORIGINES.

BY

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AUTHOR OF

CREATOR AND COSMOS; OF COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF JUDGMENT; OF A  
CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT; OF A CRITIQUE OF THE  
HISTORY OF THE SCOTTS OR GAELS OF THE BRITISH  
ISLES; OF THE PHENICIAN COS-  
MOGONIES, ETC.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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(*Chaldean and Hebrew and Chinese and Hindoo Origines.*)

Most enquiring minds among us are very desirous to know just about how far back those eastern nations go in their records concerning the origin of the world and of their own respective nations. Our people have somehow got it into their minds that the Chinese, the Hindoos and the Chaldæans have records in their books of a surpassingly wonderful antiquity for their nations, and surpassingly strange, if any, of the origin of the world. The object of these “Origines” is to preserve, and perpetuate those cosmogonical and ethnological records, so that our people may be able to see for themselves what they are and to compare them with the Hebrew Cosmogony and Origines with which we all are familiar.

If it be remarked, as it doubtless will, that they are but scarce as they appear in this compendium, it may be answered, as in the case of some of our other Cosmogonical treatises, that as here they contain much in a limited space — *multum in parvo*, as the saying is — but they will, nevertheless, be found sufficiently full to give as satisfactory a view as is necessary, expedient or feasible for us now to attain upon the subjects whereon they are. Here they are set forth in our language, in a lucid way, for what they are; and as faithfully mirroring the full originals, which they represent; and this is, of course, what is required in this case; nothing less, nothing more.

They will assuredly be found no less interesting in their representation of the rise of the magnificent races, arts, sciences and civilizations which in the primitive ages spread themselves over the valleys of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Indus and the Ganges,



and from the Hindoo Koosh are said to have spread themselves to the east and the west, as parental to the Chinese, the Japanese, the northern Asiatic, the Æthiopian proper and the Indo European races, languages and civilizations, than they are in the portrayal of the recorded beliefs of those peoples in their very ancient books concerning their cosmogonies, origines and foretimes.

My knowledge from long experience of the great desire men have for the possession of this knowledge, pure and simple, and my belief that this knowledge will by comparison of it with the Hebrew records help to a knowledge of the truth, as properly apprehended in the Scriptures, has shown me the expediency if not the necessity of placing this treatise in my cosmical system of works, thus to afford to the people an opportunity to exercise their judgment on the data themselves.

R. S.

ST. LOUIS, 1889.

## THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW ORIGINES.

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THE TRADITIONS OF THE BABYLONIANS REGARDING THE GENESIS OF  
THE HUMAN RACE, AND THE FORETIMES OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE, AS  
ACCORDING TO BEROSUS.

*(Translation from the Greek and Latin.)*

Eusebius and Syncellus, following Alexander Polyhistor, have left us the following from the First Book of the Babylonian History of Berossus.

“Berossus relates, in his First Book of Babylonian History, that he, a contemporary of Alexander, son of Philip (King of Macedon) had copied the oodes of very many authors, which had been preserved with great care at Babylon for 215,000 years before his time: That in those books were contained the reckoning of the times, and, likewise, written histories of heaven and earth and sea, and of the primal origins of things, as well as of the kings and of their individual acts.”

“And, indeed, firstly, he says, the Kingdom of Babylon is situated near the river Tigris, but that the river Euphrates, flows through it; and that there grows wild, in the country, wheat and barley, lentils and vetches and sesame. More over in the marshes and reedy bottoms, adjacent to its rivers, certain edible roots are produced, which have the strength of barley bread and to which the name of Gongis has been given. Finally, there are there produced palm and apple and other fruit trees of many kinds and fishes as well as fowls, which pertain to both wood and marsh. A far off part of that kingdom is arid and noticeably destitute of vegetation,

while the part which is situated in the opposite direction from Arabia is mountainous and abounds in fruits."

"Now, in that city, Babylon, there are occupied, in various ways, an immense medley of men of different races, who, forsooth, constitute its population, and, without order or restraint, lead such a luxurious life as pertains to a long established, beastly custom of theirs."

"And he relates that in the first year (*i.e.*, of the recorded history) there emerged from the Red Sea and passed into the bounds of the Babylonians a certain horrid beast, which had the name of Oannes and which Appollodorus also mentions in his history. This monster, was, indeed, a fish as to his whole body, but under his fish's head, he had another head and in his lower parts he had feet after the similitude of a man's while also his voice gave the impression of the human; the outlines of his appearance are preserved to this day.

"This monster, he said, was occupied in the day time among the people and partook of no food: He taught them letters and various kinds of arts, descriptions of cities, structures of temples, knowledge of justice and the doctrine which pertained to the regulating of boundaries: Moreover, he instructed them as to seeds and the gathering in of fruits and indeed as to all things which directly pertain to a mundane society, so that since that time no one has discovered anything extraordinary as to fruit.

"Moreover, at about the time of sunset this monster, Oannes, plunged again, unaccompanied, into the deep and passed the night in the immense sea and so led a kind of amphibious life. After that, other monsters similar to the first came forth, concerning which he promises to relate in the history of the kings. And, besides, he says, Oannes wrote concerning the origin of the kings and the public government and taught language and industry to men.

"A time, said he, was when this universal orb was occupied with darkness and water: and in these elements sprung up marvelous animals, apparently possessing a double nature. For two-winged men were produced and some also with four wings and two faces; and some indeed having only one body but two heads thereon, the same person being both male and female, and having the generative organs also double. There were also other men which had goat's thighs, with a horned head; others again with horse's hoofs;



others finally with the hind parts those of a horse but the anterior parts human, which have the form of hippocentaurs.

“Bulls, he said, were created with human heads and dogs with a four fold body having the tails projecting from the haunches, like as fishes; horses, moreover, with dog's heads and men and other animals with the heads of horses, as well as human forms with the hind parts of fishes: a multiplicity of other animals, moreover, having the form of dragons; finally fishes similar to sirens, and reptiles and fishes and other wild animals in wondrous variety differing from each other, whose images accurately depicted are preserved in the temple of Belus. Now, there governed all these a woman, whose name was Homoroka; but in the Chaldaean language it was Thalath, while in the Greek it is interpreted *θαλαττα* which means the sea, and by an equal authority *Σελήνη*, *i.e.* the moon,” the Mylitta of the Tyrians.

“And when all those things were mingled together, Belus supervening cut the woman in two in the middle, out of one half of whom he made the earth, out of the other the heaven, all living things which had been in her being thus made to disappear.

As concerning the nature of those things, he says, they were so related allegorically: And, indeed, at what time all these things were in a state of moisture and there existed nothing there excepting animals, that God cut off his own head and the blood thence flowing having become commixed with the earth, the other Gods created therefrom men, who for this reason were not only endowed with intelligence but participated in the Divine Mind.

“Let this be as it may, they say Belus, whom the Greeks call Zeus (but the Armenians Aramazd) having cut off the darkness separated the earth from the heaven and arranged the world beautifully; but the living creatures not being able to bear the force of the light, died. Then Belus, when he saw the region deserted, yet fruitful, commanded some of the Gods to bring the earth into a cultivable state and to form men with the other living beings and brutes which were able to bear the light out of the blood which flowed from his own decapitated head. Belus created, likewise, the stars and the sun and moon and the five wandering stars (*i.e.*, the five planets).

These things Alexander Polyhistor, being the witness, Berosus related in his First Book.

2. Concerning Things before the Deluge from the Second Book of Berossus.

(Eusebius Chron. Lib. I, Cap. I. ex-interpete-Armenio.)

*Translation from the Latin.*

“(These things indeed Berossus narrated in his First Book; but in the Second, he reviews the kings one after another. As he says himself Nabonnassar was at that time king. And, indeed, he collected diligently the names of the kings; although he recites no work peculiarly theirs, perhaps because there was nothing he deemed necessary to be remembered. From him only, therefore, is it permitted us to draw the series of the Kings.) In this way, then he begins his narration, as Appollodorus says: namely, that the first king that reigned was Alorus, a Chaldaean from the city of Babylon. He possessed the government during ten Sari. Farther, he concludes a Sarus as consisting of 3600 years. He adds, also, I know not exactly what the Neri and Sossi are; but, says he, a Nerus consists of 600, a sossus of sixty years. Thus does he, after the manner of the ancients, compute the years.

“Having premised so much he goes farther and enumerates the kings of the Assyrians singly in their order: Ten (kings) there were, forsooth, from Alorus, the first king, to and including Xisuthrus, under whom, he says, that great primeval deluge took place, which Moses, also, commemorates. Now, the sum of the periods, he says, in which these kings reigned is 120 Sari, namely 432,000 years. Again in well chosen words he writes as follows: Alorus, says he, having died, his son, Alaparus, reigned three Sari. After Alaparus, Almelon, a Chaldaean, from the city of Pantibiblos, reigned thirteen Sari. To Almelon succeeded Ammenon, likewise a Chaldaean from the city of Pantibiblos, who reigned twelve Sari. In his age a certain wild animal, whose name was Idotion, emerged from the Red Sea, of a mixed form of man and fish. Hence Amegalarus from Pantibiblos reigned eighteen Sari. After him reigned Daonus, a shepherd from Pantibiblos, who, even himself, possessed the government ten Sari. In this man's reign there emerged again from the Red Sea four monsters having the same form, namely, of man and fish. After these things reigned Edoranchus, from Pantibiblos eighteen Sari. In that time there appeared from the Red Sea a certain other wonder, similar to a fish and a man, whose name was Odacon. Of the sum of those things, said he,

which had been taught by Oannes, this one made an exact exposition to all the people. After this there governed Amempsinus, a Chaldaean from Lancharis, ten Sari. Otiartes, a Chaldaean from Lancharis, succeeding, held the government eight Sari. Finally, Otiartes having died, his son, Xisuthrus, ruled the kingdom for eighteen Sari, and in his time occurred the great Flood. There are, therefore, collected in the foregoing the sum of ten kings and one hundred and twenty Sari. This is, farther, the series of the Kings:

THE TEN PREDILUVIAL EPOCHS OF THE BABYLONIANS:

I. Alorus,	Saris 10
II. Alaparus,	Saris 3
III. Almelson,	Saris 13
IV. Ammenon,	Saris 12
V. Amegalarus,	Saris 18
VI. Daonus,	Saris 10
VII. Edoranchus,	Saris 18
VIII. Amempsinus,	Saris 10
IX. Otiartes,	Saris 8
X. Xisuthrus,	Saris 18

---

Sum total, 10 Kings; 120 Sari = 432,000 lunar years.

“Now, from these one hundred and twenty Sari they say, are computed forty-three myriads and twice one thousand years besides; that is, provided a Saros equals three thousand and six hundred years. These things are narrated in the books of Alexander Polyhistor.”\*

I have remarked elsewhere (*Cosmotheologies* pp. 36–37), that the first historic dynasty of Kings of the Chaldaeans is said to have been preceded by ten great epochs, from Alorus to Xisuthrus; that these

\* While Syncellus, Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor tell us that the Saros was a period of 3600 years, Suidas, an author contemporary with Syncellus says the Saros was a period of lunar months amounting to 18½ years. In this Sir Isaac Newton agrees with Suidas when he says, the Saros was a period of 18 years and 6 intercellary months.

That the first ten kings of the Chaldaeans should have reigned each so many Sari will not appear so wonderful provided we take Suidas' calculation of 222 moons to a Saros. Thus the 10 Sari which Alorus reigned would equal 185 years, the age which Josephus informs us the patriarch Isaac had reached at his death; but those who are said to have reigned 18 Sari must have lived 333 years, according to this reckoning, which is but 33 years over half the life of Shem the son of Noah, most of which he lived after the Flood; and the whole 120 Sari before the Flood would be 2220 lunar years instead of 432,000, as given above. This would be equal to from sixty to seventy successive generations of men.



prediluvian epochs have been frequently compared to the so-called ten generations from Adam to Noah inclusive, as given in Genesis ; but that no such comparison can be justly made for that in the oldest Hebrew traditions there are no such ten generations mentioned.

In order to make this more clear I will proceed farther to collate the Babylonian account of the Flood given by Eusebius from Polyhistor with the account given of the Flood in the Book of Genesis first giving a synopsis and tabulation of what is contained in the foregoing. —

As seen in the above translation, which I have made, Berosus states in his first book, that he, a contemporary of Alexander the Great compiled those records, which he gives us, from the registers, astronomical and chronological, which were, many in number, preserved at Babylon, and which covered a period of 215,000 years : He states that Babylon lies near the river Tigris, but having the river Euphrates running through the city ; that corn and many edible things grew wild there ; that on the Arabian side it was a desert country, but on the opposite side undulating and fertile ; that in the city and fertile parts of the province vast numbers of peoples of various races led a sensual life ; that in the first year, Oannes, a Merman, came out of the Red Sea and instructed the the people ; that other similar Oannes, appeared subsequently, of whom he would give an account in his list of kings. For the first nine ages he recorded no further remarkable occurrence only for the tenth :

I begin the tabulation of the lists out of the Second book : (Euseb. Armen. Version, 1. Compare Sync. 1, 17, Seq.).

I.	Alorus, Chaldaean from Babylon 10 Sari: Lunar years..... 36,000	Era of Babylon: 13 Sari: Lunar years..... 46,800
II.	Alaparus, his son, 3 Sari: Lunar years..... 10,800	The two epochs appear as father and son.
III.	Almelon, from Pantibi- loi, a Chaldaean, 13 Sari: Lunar years..... 46,800	
IV.	Ammenon, also from Pantibibloi; in his time the Merman teacher Oannes came out of the Red Sea: 12 Sari: Lun- ar years..... 43,200	

- V. Amelagarus, from Pantibibloi: the fourth Anedotes, Merman, came out of the Red Sea in his time: 18 Sari: lunar years..... 64,800
- VI. Daonus, Shepherd from Pantibibloi: in his age four men come out of the Red Sea: 10 Sari: Lunar years..... 36,000
- VII. Eдоранчс, from Pantibibloi: Another Merman, Odakon, comes out of the Red Sea. All those later Mermen taught more fully the doctrines inculcated by Oannes: 18 Sari: lunar years.... 64,800
- VIII. Amempsinus, from Lancharis, (Sync. Laranchi: Rawlinson, Sancharis) Chaldaean 10 Sari: Lunar years..... 36,000
- IX. Otiartes, from Sancharis; (Sync. Laranchi) 8 Sari: Lunar years..... 28,000
- X. Xisuthrus, son of Otiartes; (Syncellus, p. 30, son of Adratus). 18 Sari: Lunar years..... 64,000  
In his reign the deluge took place.  
Sum total 120 Sari:
- 
- Lunar years.....432,000

Era of Pantibibloi (translated city of writing: Sipparuaya, Sepharvayim, 2 Kings, XVII, 24, Isa. XXXVI, 19. Heb. Sepher, writing: Kirjath-Sepher, the city of writing. In the Chaldaic and Greek names, Sipparuya and Bibloi, the plural is generally used.) Five epochs: in the fourth (VI) a Shepherd reigns: in the second, third and fifth, at least, (IV, V, VII.) men receive instruction.

Era of Sancharah, (a city in Susiana.) three epochs in 36 Sari: the length of the first two periods of it being the same as that of the last, namely 18 Sari; just as the length of the third epoch of the series is equal to the added lengths of the two preceding it, as father and son.

In the epoch of Xisuthros occurs the flood and with this event Berossus properly begins his human history. Of course in the pre-diluvial epochs the existence of man is implied, although not much is recorded of him. The revelations which are represented as having been made by mermen are traditionary, doubtless, and embellished with myth. It is, however, noticeable, that the ten epochs are divided into three great eras, traditionary of different localities: the first and second epochs or the Chaldaeo-Babylonian tradition or era; the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh, or the Sipparic, to the northeast of Babylon; and the Sancharic, to the southeast of Babylon in Chusiana, *i.e.*, Persia. To this latter Xisuthros belongs, he

being described as the son of the second Sancharic dynasty or epoch. These epochs are, as their manner of calculation implies, astronomical cycles and the chronological references are ideal in the same way as those in the calculations concerning the Gods, and Demigods in the mythic history of Egypt. It is clear that none of these prediluvial epochs contain any chronological data. To satisfactorily unravel this whole business some have very anxiously sought for light from the cuneiform inscriptions.

BEROSUS' ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD OF XISUTHROS, COMPARED WITH THE RECORD OF THE FLOOD IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS (Euseb. Chron. 1, ch. 3; Sync. Chron. p. 30, 31) :—

"The same Alexander (Polyhistor) speaking from the history of the Chaldaeans and descending in order from their first king Adratus (acc. to Syncellus, but) Alorus (acc. to Eusebius) to the tenth, called by them Xisuthrus, speaks as follows :—

Now, Adratus having died, his son Xisuthros ruled during 18 Sari. In his time a great Kataclysm took place, of which the history has been recorded as follows :—

"Kronos revealed to Xisuthrus in a dream that on the fifteenth day of the month Daisios (the eighth of the Macedonian year) the flood would commence, [in which all mankind should perish; that he must proceed to bury all the books in Sippara, the city of the Sun, and build a ship five stadia (3125 feet) long, two stadia (1250 feet) broad for himself, his children and nearest relatives; that he should provide for them the necessary food and drink; and that he should take with him all sorts of animals, four-footed beasts and fowls. When Xisuthros asked where he should sail to, he received for answer: To the Gods, with an accompanying prayer that it might fare well with mankind.

The flood at length coming with great violence, and soon decreasing, Xisuthrus sent forth certain birds, which, finding neither food nor place of rest, returned and were received into the ship.

"And God said unto Noah the end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them and behold I will destroy them from the earth."

"And behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of water upon the earth, to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life from under Heaven; and everything that is in the earth shall die."

Gen. VI., 13, 17.

"Make thee an ark of gopher wood, the length of which shall be 300 cubits, the breadth 50 cubits and the height 30 cubits."

Id. verses 14, 15.

"And thou shalt come into the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh two of every sort

Again in some days after he sent forth other birds, which likewise returned to the ship with mud on their feet. Finally, and for the third time, he having sent forth birds when they did not return to the ship Xisuthrus knew that the land was laid open before him (*i.e.*, the earth was visible, dry). Then having partially broken the roof of the ship, he saw the ship itself resting upon a certain mountain; and soon he himself with his wife and daughter and the architect of the ship having disembarked, and built an altar he fell prone upon the earth and offered thanks to the Gods. This having been accomplished he, with those who disembarked from the ship with him, never appeared again. But the rest, who had been in the ship and had not debarked with the company of Xisuthrus, as soon as their debarkation was accomplished, began to inquire after him and wandering about they called upon him by name. But, indeed, it was not permitted that Xisuthrus should be seen any more; a voice, however, was heard from the air loudly urging them that they should worship the Gods. For not only used he to come of religious piety to the temples of the Gods but with the like honor did his wife and her daughter and the pilot of the ship reverence them. Then he commanded them to return to Babylon and in accordance with the command of the Gods, that they should dig up those books which had been buried at the city of Sipparis and deliver them to men. But the place where they, having disembarked from the ship, then stood is the region of the Arminians. They having been instructed concerning all those matters and having sacrificed to the Gods, straightway bent their course on foot to Babylon.

Of that ship, which at last rested in Armenia, some fragment, they say, remains in the Armenian mountain inhabited by the Kurds, even in our

shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female." *Id.*, verses 18, 19. *Comp.* vii, 1-5.

"Thus did Noah; according to all that God had commanded him." *Id.*, v. 22.

"In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened." — "And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters." — "Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail and the mountains were covered." — "And Noah only remained alive and those that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed upon the earth 150 days." — "And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the sixteenth day of the month upon the mountains of Ararat." — "On the first day of the tenth month were the tops of the mountains seen." *Vii.* verses 11, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24; *viii.* 4, 5.

"At the end of forty days Noah sent forth a raven, which returned not again to him" — afterwards "he sent forth a dove," which "found no rest for the sole of her foot and returned unto him into the ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth; then he put forth his hand and took her and pulled her in unto him into the ark."

"After seven days he again sent forth the dove out of the ark. And the dove came in unto him in the evening; and lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off. So Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days and sent forth the dove which returned not again unto him any more." *viii.* vrs. 6-12.

"And Noah removed the covering of



age; they say, also, that certain persons bring back thence the bitumen, scraped off for the purpose as a remedy and preservative against those things which are unpropitious and should be averted. But those people having returned to Babylon are said to have exhumed the books in the city of Sipparis, to have founded many towns, to have constructed many churches and to have rebuilt Babylon."

the ark and looked and behold the face of the ground was dry. And Noah went forth and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives with him — and Noah builded an altar unto the Lord; and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savor and said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground for man's sake," viii, 13, 18, 20, 21.

So far as much or any confidence is placed by the critics in the authenticity of the accounts of the Babylonian beginnings they end here. In fact Syncellus evidently did not himself believe in the truthfulness, perhaps not in the authenticity, of the last part at least, of the account he gives from Polyhistor as coming from Berosus, the Chaldean priest; for as a final sentence, coming from himself, he gives, referring, of course, to what had gone before the following:—

"These things from Alexander, the Polyhistor (*i.e.*, the very learned), as being from Berosus, that man, who, in relation to Chaldean history spoke falsely, being now before you," etc. Syncellus himself, however, is not altogether free from the imputation of having put forth lying tales for true with a fair gloss from his hand. His statements (p. 44, Chron.) and those from Eusebius (Arm. Chron., iv; Conf. Euseb. Praef. Ev. ix. 5) from Polyhistor are supposed to be borrowed from Persian records through the medium of a Sybilline book. It begins: "The Sybil says," which is reasonably supposed to indicate its character as a concoction of some Alexandrian or other Hellenistic Jew.

After the above the fragment then proceeds as follows: "when men still spoke but one language they built a very high tower in order to go up to heaven. The Almighty (in Syncellus, the Gods) however sent a strong wind and threw down the tower. After that men spoke different languages; from which circumstance the place is called Babylon." Babel=Confusion. But it is clear that had the old tradition or history contained anything of this kind Berosus would have mentioned it. Moreover, according to Hyppolytus (Hæres, v. 7, p. 97,) the Chaldeans called the man who was born of the earth, but who afterwards became a living soul, Adam; which appears consistent and natural. But Berosus has not mentioned

this, neither has Eusebius, and Hippolytus in making that statement may possibly have had in mind the Chaldeans of Palestine, the Phœnicians or Israelites.

The Chaldaean account of the flood terminates in local reminiscences and its sacerdotal authors evidently intended it to be understood that books of theirs, written before the deluge, had been saved from that catastrophe, having been concealed in the ground at Sippara.

#### THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION PUT INTO JUXTAPOSITION AND COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER.

From the mutual similarity of the Chaldaean account of creation and that in the Book of Genesis one would be disposed to conclude them different versions of the same. The conclusion of the critics generally I find to be that the old Chaldaean tradition is the basis of them both. The fundamental idea is that of the emanation of the world from the creative will of the Almighty and Eternal God. There is perceived in both accounts five noticeable stages of creation:—

##### *Chaldaean Creation.*

1. Darkness and water, wherein are generated all monstrous things and in which, finally, the woman, Moledeth, mother of life, appears conspicuous.

2. This woman Belus split up into two halves; out of one of which he made the earth, out of the other the heavens; and he destroyed all previous creation in her, the woman.

3. He then reduced the world to order and created animals that could bear the light: those which could not perished.

4. Last of all he cut off his own head, but the Gods mingled with dust the blood which flowed therefrom and out of the compound formed men. On this account (adds Berosus) men are rational and partake of the divine reason.

5. This same Belus created the stars also, the sun and moon and the five planets.

##### *Hebrew Creation.*

1. Darkness and chaos (Gen. I, 2.) "And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

2. Separation of the upper from the lower by a firmament. (Gen. I, 3-13.)

3. Creation of sun, moon and stars. (Gen. I, 14-19.)

4. Creation of animals. (Gen. I, 20-25.)

5. Creation of Man. (Gen. I, 26-31; II, 7.)

We have in the one case the creation of the natural world represented in a mythological way; in the other prominence is given to the Divine in the world's formation, that is, to the idea of God as antecedent to nature. Berosus himself states, however, that the Chaldaean account of the creation is allegorical

AS TO THE BEGINNINGS OF BABYLON, THE TOWER OF BABEL AND  
NIMROD, THE MIGHTY HUNTER: HIS EMPIRE AND AGE:

Nimrod and his history are pronounced by the critics to be either a myth or the most remarkable relic of ancient political history. The Biblical narration (Gen. X, 8-11), is the only information we have of him under that name. He is put down there as son of Cush and grandson of Cham. The name Cush in ancient history is applied to those called Ethiopians, a people of which name inhabited ancient Asia as well as Africa, and specifically also it is applied to the Turanian Cusians, a Scythian race pertaining to the highlands of Asia.

The Babylonian researches have proved that no dynast named Nimrod was introduced among the kings of the first Chaldaean dynasty, and therefore the critics conclude that if any king reigned under that name he must have preceded it. Eusebius as well as Josephus knew from the works of Berosus and Polyhistor the names of 87 kings of which the first Babylonian dynasty consisted, and no one of these was entered under the name of Nimrod. They conjectured that Nimrod might have been the one named Euechios, the first of that dynasty, who is said to have reigned 3,000 years, and whose son and successor, Chomasbelos, reigned 2,700. Bunsen calls this an unfortunate conjecture of the Christian annallists; but I think I can perceive some foundation for their idea; for Nimrod was a distinguished hunter, and Euechios in the primitive language would mean a horseman, for Each means a horse, and Evech, or Eebach, would mean a horseman, the case ending, *us* or *os*, not belonging to the word proper. Chomasbelos is a compound of Cham and Bel, a name, if I interpret correctly, not unrepresented in Gallic history, and it is quite likely that this man's father's name was Ethach (*i.e.*, Nethach, *i.e.*, Setheach), and that he was distinguished in ancient history by the form Neach or Neambraidh (the *amh* for *ach*) (*i.e.*, of the family or race of Nedhamb or Noah): thus his name would come down to us in the hard, unaspirated form Nimrod.\*

The implication in this conjecture might, however, be taken as a kind of proof that those writers attributed to Nimrod a very re-

\*Neach is Each, a horse, whence our verb "to neigh."

mote antiquity ; for irrespective of the vast period assigned to those two so-called rulers, the remaining 85 of that dynasty are said to have reigned nearly 30,000 years.

The Median conquest was the commencement of the regular chronological registration of the oldest Chaldaean kings, and criticism supposes it has reduced the historical part of the first dynasty to 1550 Julian years before this conquest ; viz., 87 kings, multiplied by an average reign of 18 years, as deduced by Newton, equals 1566 years. Hence the following:—

Capture of Babylon by Zoroaster.....	2234 B. C.
Chaldaean kings preceding.....	1550 years
<hr/>	
Beginning of Chaldaean historic chronology.....	3784 B. C.

So that criticism leaves the beginning of their historic dynasties to be at least approximately 3800 years B. C. later than which it supposes Nimrod did not reign. But the dynasty of Nimrod means, literally, as I have explained above, namely, the dynasty of the race (Gaelic *Raidhe*) of *Neamhaidh* (the Heavenly or Holy man, Priest) Noah. Thus, the 87 kings, doubtless, occupied as much time as we ascribe to them above.

Now, as to the original home of Nimrod, the son of Cus and grandson of Cam, it would seem unreasonable to conclude that a revolution in Central Asia should have had its origin in the African Ethiopia, which lies to the southwards of Egypt and includes the equatorial regions of that continent. But the vowels o and u especially being but slight variations of the same sound, the same Hebrew word (*e.g.*, Gen. 2, 13) may be read Cus or Cos. The Cossians were an ancient tribe occupying the mountainous country to the east of the Tigris, which is the ancient abode of the Scythians. Thus it may appear plain that Nimrod's original home was in the continent of Asia and how that the beginning of his kingdom is stated to have been the plain of Shinar or Southern Babylonia. (Gen. X, 10). There are, however, other things besides the topographical nomenclature, which is common to both countries, which would lead the investigator to conclude that the ancient country of Saba (called by Cambyzes Meroë, after the name of his sister), near the sources of the Nile, was possessed in the very early ages by the same race as that which founded Babylon. But we are treating



here of very remote ages in the progress of which the race of Nimrod (Nedhambraidhe) doubtless dominated both continents.

“Nimrod,” says Bunsen (*Egypt*, IV., 4, 12) “is the oldest individual personage sprung from the race or country of the Cossians, or the Turanian-Scythian race, represented by him, which formed a vast historical empire. This kingdom must be prior to all the Semitic kingdoms, as the Turanian language is prior to the Semitic.”

The distinction of the Cusian from the Semitic language might at first sight be regarded as, to a certain extent, merely a play upon words; for the statement that Shem and Cham were brothers and sons of the same father, Noah, would of course imply that they used the same language, and not only them but their descendants not only in the third but, likely, in the twenty-third degree, as language in Asia does not change remarkably fast; and the Semitic, as Bunsen speaks of it, could only have been a variation of the old Turanian tongue. Even two thousand years ago, after the revolution of so many ages, its general physiognomy bore so remarkable a similarity to its northern mother, as to leave no doubt of its Airyan-Turanic-Scythic derivation.

That the Nimrodian empire was not of a brief and transient nature is evidenced by the many places, which have the name Nimrod or in whose name that appears as a component. This name is said to be connected with all the cities and towns as far as the highlands of Kurdistan and even to Phrygia in the west; the probability that his army furnished the historical nucleus for the legend of Atlantis is considered as independent of the name of his native country.

Rollin (*Anct. Hist.* II. 44 etc.) says Nimrod is the same with Belus, who under this appellation was afterwards worshiped as a God. He says also that some writers have confounded Nimrod with Ninus, his son, of whom Diodorus (*lib.* II. p. 90) speaks as follows: —

“Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition and ambitious of the glory, which results from valor, he armed a considerable number of young men, who were brave and vigorous, like himself; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships and by that means accustomed them to

bear the fatigues of war patiently and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity."

"Most of the profane writers," says Rollin, "ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis others to Belus. It is evident that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founder of that city for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis nor to Nimrod but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in the Scriptures, who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal." He considers it probable that the building remained in the state in which it was when God put an end to the work by the confusion of tongues; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which was described by Herodotus, was the celebrated tower of Babel. He considers it probable that Nimrod was the first who surrounded the city with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates and subdued those who lived round about it, beginning his empire there but not confining it to any narrow limits. "And the *beginning* of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar." "Out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh and the city Rehoboth and Calah." (Gen. X. 10, 11.) But from the fact that this last verse may be as justly translated in a somewhat different way, namely: "Out of that land he went out into Assyria," Rollin and others have concluded that Nineveh was founded by Nimrod himself. Here Assur (Aes-Sethir, the Sun-God) is regarded as the name that country, in which Nineveh is situated, already had; and Nimrod as the subject of the verb in that sentence, "he" who went forth from Shinar into Assur and founded Nineveh. This would in effect make the same man to have founded those two great cities; but it is, at least, perfectly in accordance with reason and with the facts in this case to conclude that those two cities were founded, if not by the same individual man, yet by the same Nimrodian dynasty.

The country of Assyria is supposed to have derived its name from Asshur, the son of Shem, who settled therein; but the prophet (Micah v:6) seems to describe it as being "the land of Nimrod," so, of course, by conquest.

With other things I find this in Rollin concerning Nimrod: "Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the rest which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus" (in Gaelic Nin mac Pel, *i.e.*, Ninus the son of Belus), "in order to immortalize his memory. The son in his turn, out of veneration

for his father, was willing that they, whom he had served as their king, should worship him as their God and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears evident that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions and who showed others the way to that kind of immortality which human acquirements are supposed capable of bestowing." Id.

"The holy penman," says the same writer, "has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God. These two persons, so unlike one another are the first two and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives and with different principles; the one self-love and desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the deity; the other the love of God even to the contemning of one's self."

#### BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF NINEVEH:

It is after his return from a tour of conquest which extended from India and Bactria to Egypt that most ancient authors represent Ninus, the son of Nimrod as founding Nineveh. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world and to put it out of the power of those that came after him ever to build or hope to build such another. Nor does he seem to have been much deceived in this for he succeeded in building a city of immense size and surpassing magnificence. It was 150 stadia (or  $18\frac{3}{4}$  miles) in length and ninety stadia or ( $11\frac{1}{4}$  miles) in breadth, and consequently was an oblong square or parallelogram. Its circumference was 480 stadia or sixty miles. We, therefore, find it said in the book of Jonah that *Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days journey* (Jon. iii:3) which is to be understood of the whole compass of the city. From Diodorus we learn, also, that the walls of Nineveh were one hundred feet high and of such thickness that three chariots might go abreast upon them. These walls were fortified and adorned with towers, two hundred feet high, and fifteen hundred in number.

### NINUS AND SEMIRAMIS :

Ninus having accomplished the building of this city put himself at the head of his army of 1,700,000 men and resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. Here it is supposed he would have signally failed were it not for the assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of uncommon courage and remarkably exempt from the weaknesses peculiar to her sex. Her birthplace is said to have been Ascalon, a city of Syria. Of her birth Diodorus related a wonderful account, which includes her having been nursed and brought up by pigeons, an account which he himself places no confidence in, looking upon it as a fabulous story.

To continue: It was Semiramis who instructed Ninus how to attack a principal fortress of the Bactrians, by which he took their city, in which he found immense treasures. Consequent on this Ninus conceived a warm affection for Semiramis, which her husband noticing that she reciprocated, it caused him to die of grief on which Ninus married his widow.

By her he had a son whom he named Ninyas; and not long after this he died and left the government to his wife. She erected a monument to his memory which remained long after the ruin of Nineveh.

According to some authors Semiramis came into the possession of the government through intrigue: they say that having secured the chief men of the state and attached them to her interests by her benefactions and promises, she influenced the king to entrust to her the sovereign power for five days. All the provinces of the Empire were thereupon commanded to obey Semiramis; which orders were executed but too strictly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death either immediately or after some years imprisonment.

Become secure in the government, this princess according to Diodorus, applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name and to compensate for the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her enterprises. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence and grandeur and to that end undertook the enlargement of the already mighty Babylon, in which work she is said to have employed two millions of men, which were collected



out of the many provinces of her vast empire. This city, which she succeeded in rendering so magnificent, some of her successors further adorned with new works and embellishments. Without intending to assert by what particular monarch of the Chaldaeans it was built or enlarged I would say that a general description of Babylon is, in place here in order that the reader may have some idea, however inadequate it may be, of that stupendous city.

#### DESCRIPTION OF BABYLON.

The principal works which rendered Babylon so famous were the walls of the city; the quays and the bridge; the lake, banks and canals made for drawing water from the river; the palaces, hanging gardens and the temple of Belus; works of such extraordinary magnificence as is scarcely comprehensible. Dean Prideaux's description is of course, more full than what will be given here, which is, however, sufficiently full to answer every purpose of ours, without doing injustice to or belittling the subject itself.

##### I. THE WALLS.

Babylon stood on a spacious plain of a remarkably rich soil; and was the manufacturing center and mart for supply, in those ancient times, of a very extensive region. The walls were in every way prodigious, being in height 350 feet, in thickness 87 feet and in compass 60 English miles. The walls of this city were in the form of a square, each side of which was fifteen miles, and all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime, exuding from the earth of that country. This is said to bind together much more firmly than mortar and in time to become much harder than the bricks or stones which it keeps together.

These walls were encompassed on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water and lined with bricks on both sides. From the clay dug out of this foss were made, it is said, the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and so from the great height and thickness of the wall the width and depth of the foss may be inferred.

In each side of this great square were 25 gates, that is, 100 gates in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is that when God promises to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon he tells him (Isa. XLV. 2) that he will break in pieces before him the gates of brass. Between every two of these gates were three towers and

there were four more situated at the four corners of the square, namely, one at each corner; each of these towers were ten feet higher than the wall; but this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was thought to be need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates on each side of this perfect square there led off twenty-five streets, in straight lines towards the gates which were directly over against them in the opposite side, so that the whole number of the streets was fifty, each fifteen miles long, of which twenty-five went in one way and twenty-five in the other, directly crossing each other at right angles. And besides there were, also, four half streets, which had houses only on one side and the walls on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them 200 feet broad; the rest were about 150.

By the intersecting of these streets with each other the whole city was cut out into 676 squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares on each side towards the street stood the houses (which were not contiguous but had void spaces between them), all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within in the middle of each square was likewise all empty ground, employed for yards, gardens and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than in reality, nearly one-half the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Quintus Curtius.

#### THE QUAYS AND BRIDGE.

A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite through the city, from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay and a high wall, built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that encompassed the city. In these walls over against every street that led to the river were gates of brass and from them descents by steps to the river, for the convenience of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the bridge was built. The brazen gates were always open in the day time and shut in the night.

Neither in beauty nor magnificence was the bridge inferior to

any of the other buildings; it was a furlong in length and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with iron chains and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge they turned the course of the river and laid its channel dry having another view in so doing besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as shall be explained hereafter. And as everything had been prepared beforehand both the bridge and the quays, which I have just described, were built in that interval.

#### THE LAKES, DITCHES AND CANALS MADE FOR DRAINING AND IRRIGATION.

These works, the objects of contemplation for the the inventive of all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer on the sun's melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia there ensues a vast increase in the volume of waters in the rivers, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July and August, makes it overflow its banks and produces such another inundation as does the Nile in Egypt. To prevent the damage which the city and country would receive from these freshets at a very considerable distance above the town two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of those waters into the Tigris before they reached Babylon. And to secure the country yet more from danger of inundations and to confine the river within proper limits, they raised prodigious banks on both sides of the river, built with brick cemented with bitumen, which began at the without doing injustice to or belittling the subject itself.

To facilitate the making of these works it was necessary to turn the course of the river, for which purpose there was dug a prodigious artificial lake 45 miles square, 160 in compass and 35 feet deep (as according to Herodotus but 75 as acc. to Megasthenes), to the west of Babylon. Into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side, till the whole work was completed, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of the freshets, might not overflow the city through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of the overflows was kept there all the year, as

in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices at convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was doubly useful in preserving the country from injury by inundations and in rendering it fertile.

Berosus, Megasthenes and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, represent Nebuchadnezzar as the author of most of those works; but the bridge, the two quays of the river and the lake are by Herodotus ascribed to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. It is more reasonably supposed that Nitocris may have finished some of the works which her father-in-law left incomplete at his death, on which account the historian might have ascribed to her the honor of the accomplishment of the whole.

#### THE PALACES AND HANGING GARDENS.

On the authority of Diodorus we find that at the two ends of the bridge there were two palaces, which had communication with each other by a vault built under the river's channel between the two at the time of its being dry. The old palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three-quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, yet to be described. The new palace which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs (or seven miles and a half) in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, having considerable spaces between them. These walls, in like manner of those of the other palace, were embellished with a vast variety of sculptures representing vividly all kinds of animals. Among the rest was a curious hunting piece, in which Semiramis, on horseback, was throwing her javelins at a leopard and her husband, Ninus, piercing a lion.

In this last palace (as acc. to Diodorus) were the hanging gardens so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four hundred feet on every side and were carried up in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equaled that of the walls of the city. The ascent from terrace to terrace was by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches raised upon arches one above another and strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side of twenty-two feet in thickness. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long and four broad; over these was a layer of reeds



mixed with a quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaster. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was combined to keep the moisture of the mould from evaporating through the arches. The earth laid hereon was so deep that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with some such the terraces were covered, as well as with other plants and flowers which were used to adorn flower-gardens. In the upper terrace there was an engine or kind of pump, by which water was elevated from the river and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which rested this whole structure, were large and magnificent apartments that were very light and had the advantage of a peculiarly fine prospect.

According to Berosus, Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country), and having been much delighted with the wood and mountain scenery of her native land, Nebuchadnezzar, supposing it would gratify her, caused that enormous structure to be raised. Of this matter Diodorus, without however naming the persons, gives much the same account.

#### THE TEMPLE OF BELUS.

Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which, according to Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, stood as mentioned before, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower which stood in the midst of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, a half mile in circumference, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, one raised above the other, decreasing regularly towards the top, on which account Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. If the height given by Strabo be correct, then this tower was 660 feet high, which leaves it to have been 175 feet higher than the Great Pyramid. Whether or not we agree with him, Bochart (*Phal.* part I, c. 9) has asserted this to be the very same tower which was there constructed at the confusion of languages. In this, however, he found many to agree with him, some of whom asserted that this tower was all built with bricks and bitumen, of which the

Scriptures (Gen. XI. 3.) say the tower of Babel was built. This last would indicate it to be that tower of bricks which Josephus (Ant. Book I., c. 11) refers to as built by the Sethites to preserve their discoveries, astronomical and otherwise.

The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it, which indicates there may have been an easy, sloping ascent in that inside of the outer wall, which turning by slow degrees in a spiral line, eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the like appearance, as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. On the top of the tower, placed above the whole, was an observatory, which the Babylonians used for astronomical purposes, and by the use of which some think they became more accomplished in astronomical science than all the other nations in history.

But the chief use made of the tower was for the worship of the God Belus of Baal as well as the other Deities in the Chaldaean circle for which purposes there were a vast number of chapels in different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among the images there was one forty feet high, which weighed 1000 Babylonian talents. The Babylonian talent, according to Pollux in his *Onomasticon*, contained 7000 Attic Drachmae and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but 6000 Drachmae.

The sum total of the riches contained in this temple, as calculated by Diodorus, amounts to 6300 Babylonian talents of gold. If we add to that sum its sixth part, namely, 1050, we have 7350 Attic talents of gold.

Now, 7350 Attic talents of silver are upwards of 2,100,000 pounds sterling. The proportion in the value of gold to silver, as reckoned by the ancients, was about as ten to one, therefore 7350 Attic talents of gold amount to above 21,000,000 pounds sterling which now would be worth about one hundred and five millions of dollars.

This temple stood till the time of Xerses (as according to Herodotus, Strabo and Arrian); but he, on his return from his Indian expedition, destroyed it entirely, after first having plundered it of all its immense riches. "Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his expedition against India, purposed to rebuild it, and in order

thereto, set 10,000 men to work to rid the place of its rubbish ; but after they had pursued this labor two months Alexander died which put an end to the undertaking."

What we have now reviewed constitute the chief works which have rendered Babylon so justly celebrated : many of these were ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, whether or not she really had anything to do with them. She is said to have lived sixty-two years, and of that to have reigned forty-two, and after her death to have been worshiped in Assyria under the form of a dove. The generally exaggerated account given of her, as well as the name, might indicate her to be a mythical character ; but she was doubtless historical in some age, only during her life may not have been known by the form of name Semiramis.

As concerning the time of building of Babylon there is in existence some information which, as far as we know, or are now prepared to judge, is of an unimpeachable character, but has for some reason hitherto been generally overlooked. Philo of Biblos in his learned work upon celebrated cities (*Hist. Graec*, Frag. III, 575), as we learn from Stephanas of Byzantium, made the following statement about it : —

"Babylon was built not by Semiramis, as Herodotus says, but by Babylon, a wise man, the son of the Allwise Belus, who, as Herennius states, lived 2000 years before Semiramis." The extracts from Sankuniathon give us to understand that Philo must have been well informed as to the date of Semiramis.

This same account here given from Philo appears in Eustathius with this difference, that in the latter it is said to be 1800 years from the time of the erection of the tower of Babel to Semiramis : In regard to the Babylonian beginnings, then, the case stands historically about as follows : That antecedent to the building of Babylon and its temple there existed a historical series of Chaldaean or Babylonian Kings from six hundred to eight hundred years. But before this date there are computations of epochs, the traditional remains of the foretimes of their ancient people, embellished with myth. Berosus has comprised all such beginnings in the first race of Chaldaean Kings.

#### MEANING SUGGESTED OF THE "CONFUSION OF TONGUES."

Now, as regards the matter of the confounding of language, this, it is thought, may have reference to the individualizations from that

one mass of languages called the Chinese; for that as the Egyptian language attests that primitive tongue, which does not possess "parts of speech," so called, had already been broken up in Asia at the close of the prediluvian period: that the great separation of the civilizing tribes in Asia had, however, not yet taken place at the time of that immigration into Egypt: that the elements afterwards recognized as Arian and Semitic were as yet unseparated: and that stage in the progress of the development of language is in Eastern Asia recognized as Turanism in Western Asia as Chamism: but that as the different tribes rose to a higher civilization, and as each impressed on its own language the stamp of individuality, so something analogous to the breaking up of the primitive monosyllabic language took place after the dissolution of the primitive Cusian or Scythic empire; that, moreover, individual religious feeling and individual social life took an independent shape and broke through the uniformity of the previous habits of life; that, thus, the Bible's narrative having a strictly historical basis will be found correct in its way, when properly interpreted, and may reasonably be supposed to go back in its history to at least the eighth thousand B. C.

INFORMATION CONVEYED BY THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS; THE DATE OF THE FOUNDING OF BABYLON ILLUSTRATED BY THE DATES GIVEN FOR THE DIFFERENT FOUNDATIONS OF CARTHAGE:

As regards the Babylonian royal names which have been recovered by means of the cuneiform inscriptions and their chronological order, it is admitted that everything anterior to the 8th or 9th century B. C. appears to stand on a very unstable basis, owing to the want of a chronology and sometimes also on account of the uncertainty in reading the names. No doubt, so far as I am aware, is entertained as to the reality and historical character of the older royal names, discovered and deciphered by Rawlinson and others. It is thought possible, also, that there may have been, in the 9th century, a queen or wife bearing the name of Semiramis; but none of that name, for whom such a claim could be advanced, as that she had founded the empire of the Ninyads, has been yet discovered to have existed.

And finally, in regard to the time of the founding of the city of Babylon, why should it not, as was Carthage, have been built at



different times, and so the time of its building have been true of different dates?

Carthage is usually said to have been founded by Dido (proper name Elisa), a Tyrian princess, in about the year 875 B. C. But this does not, in fact, imply that the city did not exist before her time. It has been proved historically that her foundation was the third for that famous city. Howell has long ago discovered that the town consisted of three parts, namely, Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining thereto, which he supposes to have been first built, and this event, in accordance with Appian, would have taken place 50 years before the capture of Troy, making, say according to Herodotus, about 1337 B. C.; Megara, which, in respect to Cothon, was called the New town or Cathado, was, if in agreement with Eusebius' statement, built 194 years later; and Byrsa (Bozra) or the citadel, built last of all, must needs, if in accordance with Menendar, cited by Josephus, have been built 166 years later than Megara. The dates here are, however, only approximations. But in this way it is seen Babylon may have been built at several times and have had the peculiar honor at one of those times of having had some female ruler of Chaldaea, a prototype of the Phœnician Dido, as its foundress.

CONCERNING THE DYNASTIES WHICH MAY HAVE DOMINATED OVER  
THE CHALDAEANS FROM THE TIME OF THE DELUGE DOWN TO THE  
TIMES OF THE PERSIANS.

A translation from the Latin of Eusebius (in Chron. 1. 4) from Alexander Polyhistor.

“Now to the aforesaid things the same Polyhistor adds the following: “After the deluge Evechins\* reigned over the Kingdom of the Chaldaeans, during four neri: Then the government was administered by his son, Chomasbelos, during four neri and five Sossi. From Xisuthrus and the Deluge until the Medes occupied Babylon the total number of Kings Polyhistor supposes to have been six over eighty, whom singly and by name he recounts from the book of Berosus. Of all these he computes the sum of the years to have been three myriads (30,000) and three thousand and ninety-one besides. After these who, he says, came into the government in the regular order of succession, the Medes having suddenly collected a large force attacked and took Babylon and there instituted tyrants of their own. From this point he enumerates the names of eight of their tyrants, during a period of thirty-four years over two hundred: and in succession to these eleven Medes in two hundred and forty-eight years. Then, also, forty-nine Chaldaean Kings in four hundred and fifty-eight years: After this nine Arab Kings in two hundred and forty-five years. In the prescribed recension of these years he relates, also, concerning Semiramis, who governed the Assyrians. And going backwards he distinctly enumerates the names of forty Kings, distributing to these five hundred and twenty-six years.

After these, he says, there lived a King of the Chaldaeans, whose name was Phul (whom also the history of the Hebrews mentions, and whom it likewise names Phul). He (Phul) is said to have invaded Judaea. After this Polyhistor says that Senecherim possessed the Kingdom; whom, indeed, the Hebrew books refer to as

\* *Ευχίωζ ὁ καὶ Νεβρώζ;* Euechins, who is also called Nebros, Syncellus p. 79. B.: or *ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν Νεβρώζ;* who with us is Nebros. The b is here interchangeable with the m as in the Egyptian. This makes it clear enough that Nimrod is Euechius.

“Nimrod is also called Euechius.” — *Cedrenus*.

reigning during the reign of Hezekiah, while Isaiah was prophesying.

But the Divine Book says in distinct language, that in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Senacherim came up to the fortified cities of Judah and took them. As to the things accomplished of whose affairs, history makes record: And Asordanes, his son, reigned in his stead. And again as he progresses, he says, at that time Hezekiah was sick. Then, also, in order (he relates) that, at the same time, Merodach Baladan, King of the Babylonians, sent ambassadors with letters and gifts to Hezekiah. These things the Scriptures of the Hebrews transmit. And, moreover, the historian of the Chaldaeans mentions Senacherim with his son Asordane and Merodach Baladan: with whom also (he mentions) Nebuchadnezzar, as is soon to be related. But, in this strain, he writes concerning them:

“After this and after the domination of Hagisa over the Babylonians, a brother of Senacherim discharged the government, who indeed, having not yet completed the thirtieth day of his reign was cut off by Merodach Baladane: Merodach Baladan, himself, assumed the government for six months, at which time a certain man named Elibus removed him and succeeded to the kingdom. Now, in the third year of the reign of this last, Senechrin, King of the Assyrians, led together his forces against the Babylonians and in a pitched battle with them came off superior; Elibus with his family and attendants having been taken captive he commanded to be transferred to Assyria. He, having become possessed of the Babylonians, imposed upon them as king, his own son, Assordane; but he himself accomplished his return to Assyria. Soon, however, a rumor was brought to his ears that the Greeks had collected a large army and invaded Cilicia; but he attacked them right forwardly and the battle having been joined, although many of his own soldiers had been before dismissed, he nevertheless overcame his enemies; and his image, as it were a monument of victory, he left standing in that place; upon which he commanded that the deeds done by himself should be inscribed for the everlasting memory of the times.

“Tarsus, also, he says, was a city built by him, after the pattern of Babylon, and to this same city the name Tharsin was given. Now, also, to the rest of the achievements of Senacherim, as recorded, he adds that he reigned eighteen years, until plots having

been laid for him, by his son, Ardamuzane, he was slain. Thus far Polyhistor.

“The chronology also reasonably accords with the narration of the Divine books. For in the time of Hezekiah Senecherim reigned, as Polyhistor intimates, eighteen years; after whom his son eight years; then Samuges twenty one years; and, likewise, his brother twenty-one, then Nabupalasar twenty years; and, finally, Nabuchodrossor three years over forty; so that from Senecherim to Nabuchodrossor eighty-eight years passed.

All these things having been accomplished Polyhistor proceeds again to explain some more of the exploits of Senacherim; and of his son he writes plainly in the same strain, in which (write) the books of the Hebrews; and of all these things he discourses very accurately. The learned Pythagoras is said to have been prominent in that age under these (Kings).

Now, after Samuges, Sardanapall governed the Chaldaeans twenty-one years.\*

He sent a legation to Astyages, president and satrap of the nation of the Medes in order to bring about the betrothal of Amuites, one of the daughters of Astyages, to his son Nebuchodrossor. Then Nabuchodrossor dominated forty-three years; who, indeed, having collected an army and made an irruption into their countries, reduced the Jews, Phœnicians and Assyrians to servitude. (Nor may it be necessary that I should prove in many ways how that Polyhistor, in his narrative, is perfectly congruent with the Hebrew's history.)

After Nabuchodrossor, his son, Amilmerodach, reigned twelve years, whom the Hebrew records call Ilmarudoch. After him, Polyhistor says, Neglisar reigned over the Chaldaeans four years: Then Nabonedus seventeen years. While he was reigning Cyrus, the son of Cambyzes, invaded the Kingdom of Babylon, by whom Nabonedus, having been engaged in battle, was conquered, and only saved himself by flight. Cyrus reigned at Babylon nine years, until, another battle having been joined, in the plain of Dahuras, he perished. Then Cambyzes held the government eight years; after him Darius, thirty-six years; and then Xerxes and the remaining Kings of the Persians.

\* The same man is here called Sardanapall and Nebopallassar. Josephus Contra Apion (1.19) calls him Nabolassar.



“Now, concerning the Kingdom of the Chaldaeans, as tersely and distinctly as Berosus speaks, so directly speaketh Polyhistor.”

The following two lists as derived from the above will be found to correspond with the numbers given for the two last dynasties over Babylon, as given some years ago on p. 37 second of my volume called “Cosmotheologies etc.” The rest, as given in the foregoing, will be found to correspond generally with the others, except that in the dynasty just preceding, the last Assyrian, Eusibus has forty Kings instead of forty-five elsewhere. His aggregate number also differs a little from the other, which may have arisen from mistakes of transcribers.

Assyrian Dynasty  
over Babylon.  
8 Kings, 122 years.

Phul.  
Hagisa.  
Merodach Baladan.  
Elibus.  
Senacherim.  
Asordane.  
Ardamuzane.  
Samuges.

Chaldaean Dynasty;  
6 Kings; 87 years.

Nebopollassar.  
Nebuchadnezzar.  
Evilmorodach.  
Nerglissor.  
\* Laborosoarchod.  
Nabonedus.

To Nabonedus succeeded Cyrus, the first King of the Persian dynasties over Babylon.

\* The name Laborosoarchod I find in Josephus (Contra Apion, Bk. I. 20), who elsewhere spells the name Labosordacus. In this last place also he enters Nabonedus as Naboandelus who, he says, was that Baltasar (Balshazar) from whom Darius, King of Media and Cyrus, King of Persia, having attacked Babylon with their united forces, took the Kingdom.

† Ardamuzane and Samuges may be the two sons of Senacherib, named Adrammelech and Sharezer (2 Kings XIX., 37) who conspired against and slew their father in the temple. Or they may have been son and grandson of Senacherib; but in the foregoing Eusebius gives a reign of 21 years each to Samuges and his brother.



THE RECORDS OF THE HEBREW ORIGINES AND PRIMITIVE HISTORY  
EXAMINED INTO BY TUCH, EWALD, BUNSEN, DELITSCH AND  
OTHERS :

An analysis of the Book of Genesis, in regard to the beginnings of the human race, discovers to us that the Babylonian epochs, though bearing some similarity to, are essentially different from the Biblical. The nine or ten Babylonian epochs of the prediluvial times have been aptly compared to the dynasties of the Egyptian Gods; but neither the Chaldean nor the Egyptian traditions, as these appear developed in their respective systems, could have pertained in general to the old races as their common property. The one is formed according to the type of Chaldee life, bearing the local marks of the general Aramaic race; the other attained its formation in the valley of the Nile, assisted by Phœnicia. If the groundwork of them both was Asiatic, as some have supposed, it is remarkable that the Egyptians have no account of a flood, a piece of ignorance of theirs which was common also to the Phœnicians. If the groundwork of them both pertained to the Ethiopic regions about the Nile's sources, as might be thought to be suggested by their topographical nomenclatures and the ancient names of their deities being, to some extent, common in their ancient writings, why have they not developed into consonant and similar systems? But while, in one sense, the theologies referred to are particular and local, in another they are each general and universal representing, in as far as they do represent the Supreme Deity, as the same God and Father of the Human race, though under different or varying cosmical ideals and dialectical appellations. More distributive, if not more expansive, as to its ideal of Deity, than the Phœnician, the Egyptian system did not set forth all perfection and supremacy under the ideal of a man, in which some think it to have come short or not to have arrived at the most perfect simplicity attainable.

I have stated elsewhere (in *Cosmotheologies*, etc., p. 12) that the records of the early part of the book of Genesis are characterized by the use of two forms of the Divine name, the one *El*, plural *Elohim*, the other *Jehovah*; which latter is sometimes connected with the former as *Jehovah-Elohim*. This with other marks, also of an internal character, has proved to the satisfaction of the critics, that the Book of Genesis is made up of at least two ancient documents, from which it was compiled at a date posterior to their date or dates. It was said by Bunsen that the great merit of Tuch, in his commentary on Genesis, consisted in his having established "that the *Elohim* record forms a connected whole, while the *Jehovistic* writer is merely to be considered as offering a supplement to the earlier original records, which he found in existence. Tuch supposed the date of the original record to be about the end of the time of the Judges and the *Jehovistic* writer to have lived in the time of David.

Ewald, in his "*History of the People of Israel*," supposes the Pentateuch to be made up of four great written works and by four different authors, omitting a few later additions. The oldest, he believes, to be the "*Book of the Covenant*," composed in the time of the Judges, from written sources of information, then ancient, some of them derived from Moses himself. Of the other three he thinks the "*Book of the Origines*" the oldest. From it again he distinguishes a later authority, to whom, he attributes the 14th chapter of Genesis, with the narratives of the Mesopotamian and Chaldaean war in which Abraham was an actor, derived from a pre-Mosaic source; also the section containing the history of Joseph (*Gen.* xxxix — xli, etc.) with some smaller pieces. As regards the Book of Genesis the two accounts of the second and third compiler, as according to Ewald, coincide in the main with Tuch's original record; as does the fourth and, in regard to Genesis, the last in the series, with the *Jehovistic* record. The latter, however, Ewald does not suppose to be a supplement but a narrative complete in itself.

As regards the date of its origin, Ewald places the fundamental writing (A.) of the Book of the Origins at the beginning of Solomon's reign. There are in it many peculiarities, which he explains by reference to this date among others the remark (*Gen.* xxxvi, 31) "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." In the fundamental writing (B) of the third account he recog-

nizes the date of Elijah. The Jehovistic account he assigns to the beginning of the eighth century " B. C.

Of the second and fourth narrators he considers the former to have been a Levite and a man of great legislative mind ; the latter of a prophetic and poetic genius, a learned man, who extracted from the mass of existing records the best materials with good judgment. He supposes the documents to have been originally private and to have emanated from men of great learning and piety.

Delitsch, a more modern expositor, coincides with the view that the Book of Genesis was made up out of earlier and independent records and with the view propounded by Tuch as to the Elohistie fundamental writings having been completed by means of the Jehovistic.

In regard to the components of the Pentateuch Dr. Bunsen thinks it originally divisible into two main portions, being in part made up of *external events* and in part of a history of the *internal life* of men of the Spirit: This being the real and the ideal element in all ancient history, out of a combination of the two the epic narrative has been made up. While in general acquiescing in Tuch's idea of two original records, he thinks the Jehovistic, which is supplementary to the other, to be rather of an ideal character and to indicate progressive research. He is, however, not at all opposed to the idea of the Pentateuch having been a compilation of the products of many different authors or an aggregation of their records, as will be understood in the following quotation: " If," says he, " the false or childish, not to say godless, notion of there having been a mechanical communication of the Sacred Books to a single man of God (that is, in the present instance, to Moses), for the purpose of transmission be abandoned, our faith will rest upon the assumption, that each compiler has told us something, not an invention of his own, but what he had learned or knew of his own knowledge; that he was a faithful vehicle of the traditions, which came down to him, and that each of his successors has preserved this national and humanizing treasure with veneration and fidelity. In this way that which seems to have no meaning becomes reasonable and an object of moral belief and serious contemplation to educated minds.

" We come," says he, " to this conclusion by sound science and research as much as by methodical thought. By sounding the laws of mind we become conscious of eternal ideas in a symbolical language. What we know not to be true by the logical process, we



find through historical investigation to have been believed and acted upon instinctively and expressed ritually and artistically. But, lastly, the discoveries in our own peculiar domain, those especially of Egyptian as well as Assyro-Babylonian antiquity, and pre-eminently those of historical ethnology have forced upon us the conclusion that there is a far more remote background of early history than critics ventured to assume at the beginning of this century." (Egypt: IV. 384.)

The truth and soundness of all he has here said being admitted we must perceive that a proper understanding or restoration of the originals would be a great desideratum. What is understood as history is the varied picture of the living, active, human race: Historical, scientific research can, therefore, accept nothing as historical, which proves to be a picture not true to the life which it purports to represent; or which, in its general representation, is found to be at variance with the conditions of existence in time and space.

Taking such axioms as his guide the historical enquirer often finds himself opposed by the Jewish Rabinical belief. Has he found enough of cause for rejecting the historical view of a tradition? Yet he may not have the means at his disposal of finding an affirmative solution, explaining the origin of the tradition. It is recognized as the especial merit of some modern historical investigators to have exerted themselves to the utmost to effect a true and complete restoration as to the originals of the Old Testament, and that "the dreams of Dupuis and the scoffs of Voltaire" have vanished wherever the published results of their scientific-historic-Biblical researches have penetrated. It has, in fact, clearly demonstrated that Christianity, properly understood, lives and moves in a sphere of intelligent belief, which is strictly and necessarily consistent with truth and fact.

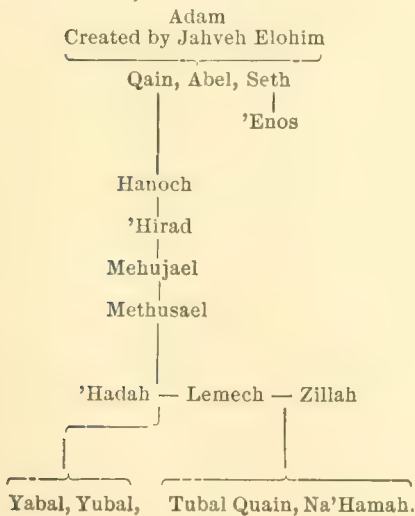
AS TO THE TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE PATRIARCHS OF THE  
PRE-DILUVIAN AGE FOUND IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

There are in the early part of the Book of Genesis what appear to be two lists of Pre-diluvian patriarchs, descending from Adam, the one through Cain and the other through Seth, but which may, perhaps, be understood as representing only one.

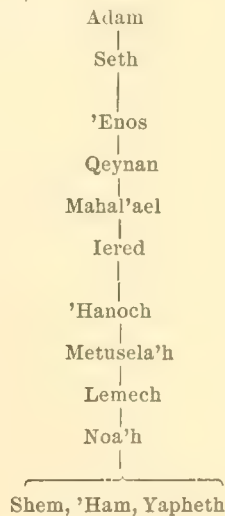
Buttman observed that as both lists have at the end Lemach so the preceding links from Cain or Cainan downwards, correspond exactly with each other, excepting that in the first three after Cainan the order of the names are different. He also observed that the same names, Adam, Seth and Enos, correspond in the first three links of the Elohist record. Further than this notice Buttman did not go in the matter; but mature research has proven unmistakably the name Seth to be that of the oldest Shemitic and Egyptian God; and this also suggests to our mind that the son of Seth is no other than Enos, the Man. Enos is said to be an ordinary Aramaic word for Man as a Hebrew word is Adam. But the word appears more correctly to mean son of Saedhamh or Adam. Aenghaes or Aensheach is Enos, or Enoch, the sh in the middle of the last word not being sounded in the old language.

The following are those two registers of ped igrees as they have come down to us: —

GEN. IV., JEHOVISTIC RECORD.



GEN. V., ELOHISTIC RECORD.



It is supposed the two versions, the Jehovistic and the Elohist led the way to two independent series, which have the same starting point, and in which, leaving out of the question the change in the order of the intermediate names, the only difference is that division of mankind before the Flood is represented as taking place at the end of the one in the persons of the three sons of Lamech, namely, Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-Cain, whereas in the other, the separation takes place through the three sons of Noah, Shem, Cham, and Yapheth. If there should be thought to be any discrepancy in the name of the Creator it may, it is suggested, be kept in mind that the one truth which pervades them both is that God created man in his own image. In one of the traditions the Creator is put down as Jahveh Elohim and man himself Adam, while in the other he is called Seth and man Enoch. The first refers to the primeval country, the land of Aram, the second to Palestine, Canaan, the land of Seth, Sutech. If Noah be omitted in the first record, is that a reason for saying it excludes him? The one only treats of the early world, before the Deluge, the other includes this.

The following includes some of the explanations of the names of the Patriarchs:—

Cham is the dark, the black.

Shem, the illustrious, having a name.

Yapheth, the bright, the fair.

We have here the dark, the red or glorious, and the fair-complexioned, which may be thought to represent the colors of men in the habitable portions of the earth, from the equatorial outwards towards the polar regions.

In the view we are now presenting Yaveh and Yaveh Elohim as well as Seth, the names of the Deity in the different records are to be considered in the ideal character; so Adam, Enosh and Chavah (Eve), the life-giving, the mother of all living, as well as Hebel (Abel), the vanishing, belong to the same category.

There are many things which concur to lead investigators to the conclusion that the Jehovistic record is the original; one of which things is the spelling of the other names it affords.

The name Cain or Quain has in that form for one of its meanings a Smith. It is, therefore, by some explained as in the compound Tubal-Cain, as an Artist, the Technites of the Phœnician Mythology. The form Cainan is a diminutive of Cain and is doubtless sometimes used interchangeably with it. Mr. Bryant,

however, in his Mythology, gives us to understand that Josephus in his original copy, translated Cain as Cais, which suggests Caeth for Saeth as Cuth for Cush. Cain is also said to have gone to the land of Nod, which doubtless means that the land was so called after his name and that his name was one of the forms of which Seth is the principal. The root of Seth is Saedh, first root Edh, which unaspirated we have as first root in our name Edward, which latter we call, briefly, Ned. This land of Nod or Ned, too, is eastward of Eden, which suggests the name Seth and which means East, this latter being but a slight transposition of the letters, and the East meaning the Sun (Saeth, = East) rising; (Saethan = Sun).

Moreover, if in the Gaelic tongue we put the name Saeth in the genitive case after Mac and add the diminutive termination, an, which is sign of the genitive, we shall have Mac Shaithan, which (the sh and th being silent) is pronounced Mac Cathain or Mac Con. Hence in the old Gaelic pedigrees the Clan Saeth or Caeth or Cathan is Clan Conn. For example in about three generations after the Christian era you meet with in the Irish history king Lughaidh Mac Con Mac Niadh, which is, properly translated, Lughaidh son of Eochan son of Edhach, or anglicised Louis son of John son of Jack, the Edhach being their Niadh or Ned and equivalent to Sethach.

And as to Abel, the brother of Cain, when you say you are able (Norman Hable) you mean that you can, may possibly suggest here the proper interpretation, which however is only a suggestion and nothing more. A literal translation of Gen. IV. i, is: "And Adam knew Chavah, his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man, Jahveh." In the margin it is said that Cain is equivalent to gotten, which is strictly correct; but does not say that this was the name of the child that was gotten. Cain is gain, with the hard form of the g initial, and gain is gaethan, the th in the old language being silent and not appearing. So we say I have got or gotten, I get (gaeth) or I gather (gaether), &c., which shows you how Seth is equivalent to Sethan or Sethar.

Enoch (Chanoch) which is another form of Enos, is, in this form, usually explained the Initiated, or, in the passive idea the taught of God, in the sense of a priest, prophet, man of God. In one of the records it is seen he is the son of Cain and in the other he is the great-grandson of Cainan and the great grandfather of



Noah. The fact of his being stated to have lived 365 years, which is the number of days in a solar year and yet that "he was not, for God took him," may perhaps afford a clue to the interpretation of Enoch; for if the name Seth means the sun, and a year, or the course of the sun, so does Enos or Enoch in the old language.

A form for Cainan in the old language is Chna, which certainly is nearer Cain than Cainan, and shows there is no difficulty in identifying these two, so far as the forms of the same in the original are concerned.

To say that the form Irad of the one list here is merely a slight variation of the Iarad in the other would be, to one who understands the original, superfluous; but to say that they were originally intended to represent the same man or idea is to the purpose.

The identification, also, by Bunsen, of the Mehujael of the one list with the Mahalael of the other appears in order and correct.

As well as his identification of Metheushael with Methushelah.

And the Enoch or Chanoth of the one list with that of the other.

As well as again the Lemachs of the two lists.

Hadah (beauty) and Zillah (darkness) are said to be represented in the Phœnician mythology, the one as Dione, the other not named. Josephus says that Lemach had by these two wives 77 children. These two female names are mythological.

Yubal, the son of Hadah, is in Phœnician Esmun, *i.e.*, Samin, the God Hercules. Of Zillah, the dark complexioned, is born Tubal-Cain, the smith or worker in copper. Tubal is the ancestor of such as handle the harp and organ and his brother by the same mother and father is Yabal, who is the ancestor of such as dwell in tents and such as keep cattle.

It is noticeable that the Yah of Yahveh, connected with the birth of Cain, would, when compounded with Abel (Bael), give Yabal or Yubal. And since the Y generally arises from the aspiration of the T, then Tubal-Cain would be equivalent to Yahveh-Abel-Cain or Yahbelseth. The picture appears certainly ideal, the different appellations indicating variations of the same idea; and, of course, the ancients believed as firmly in their deity under those names as the moderns do in God Almighty under the name Jehovah.

The name Lemach some interpret strong man, others, as Ewald, man of violence. It might mean son of the heaven *i.e.*, El-mac.

Naamah (Grace the graceful) the sister of Tubal Cain, accord-

ing to Philo's translation of the Phœnician names belong to the circle of the Phœnician Esmunidæ.

#### AS TO THE DATES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

It is, indeed, generally agreed among the theological investigators that the dates assigned in the Elohistic records to individual names from Adam downwards are not to be taken in a literal sense as signifying the ages of individual men. They understand that such an assumption is at variance with all the laws of animal organism and as contrary to common sense as the notion of there being any chronology in the astronomical cycles of hundreds of myriads of years. It is, however, considered equally certain that the dates given are not merely arbitrary inventions and that in dealing with the subject of the Scriptural records the Hebrew text is to be preferred to the Samaritan or Septuagint.

According to the Samaritan version all the patriarchs excepting Enoch died in the year of the flood; but the object of the Septuagint is to throw back wherever possible, the year of the world, because the authentic dates of the Ægyptian monuments could not have been unknown to the translators at Alexandria, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus 270 B. C.

The following theses relating to this subject result from a consideration of it in its extended ideal and, may appear to be, on the whole, well grounded.

1. Among the Aramaeans, Egyptians and Greeks the orders of the Gods are identical, not only as to the fundamental conception, but also in many of the details, both as regards the idea and even the names.

2. In regard to the origin of the world and Divine worship they belong solely to the ideal conceptions.

3. The only account in which the ideal conception has been preserved in its integrity is the Biblical, which also represents the historical element of the character of humanity without mythological monsters.

4. The consciousness of the unity of God, which we recognize in the Abrahamic conception, gave rise to the ideal element; the historical part arose from primitive Aramaic traditions.

5. Generally not to individual men has the historical element reference, but to epochs and critical changes in the conditions of

the race, which have been handed down by oral or written traditional accounts from age to age.

6. As experience has proved the Rabinnical view to be untenable critically and absurd, philosophically the Biblical tradition must be understood, according to the spirit, on the basis of the letter rightly understood. This method has been triumphantly proved, not only by a thorough research and a masterly, though delicate, handling of materials but by the experience and results of this process for over a century.

For the following tabulation we are indebted to Dr. Bunsen, who gives it as his restoration, telling us that in it we have instead of an unmeaning genealogy of impossible men a representation deserving of the highest respect and befitting the dignity of the sacred writings of the earliest reminiscences of the migrating Semites, as it was understood in Mesopotamia and recorded in the long interval between Joseph and Moses: —

#### A. CREATION.

GOD.  
'EL, 'ELOHIM  
YAH, YAHVEH  
YAVEH 'ELOHIM

GOD.  
SETH (SUTI, SUTEKH).

#### CREATED THE MAN.

'ADAM  
the Red

'ENOS  
(the Strong, the Man)

#### B. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

I. QAIN  
(the Smith),  
Murderer of his brother Habel (the  
Mortal) the Shepherd; founder of  
cities.

II. 'HANOCH  
(the initiated, initiating. Seer of God,  
Solar year).

III. HIRAD  
(the dweller in towns).

IV. MEHUYAEL  
(the God-struck).

V. METHUSAEL  
(the man of God).

VI. LAMEKH  
(the powerful, strong).

I. QEYNAN.

IV. 'HANOCH.

III. YERED.

II. MAHALAL'EL.

V. METHUSELA'H.

VI. LAMECH.

## COMMENTARY.

Very little consideration will show that these two lists have an identical reference. God, set forth in the two under different forms of name, but meaning the same, creates man in his own image. As said before the tradition in which God is called Yahveh Elohim and man Adam is decided to be the most ancient or the original; the other in which he is called Seth and man Enos, the later. The list, considered as other than ideal, the variations in the second would arise from the migrations from their original abodes, and the dialectical differences, consequent thereon in time, of a large portion of the race under the general appellation of Shepherds. These would be the descendants of Yabal, son of Lemach, and descendant of Adam in the Jehovistic record to whom would correspond, in the Elohistie record, Noach, the son of Lemach and descendant of Enos, that is, Adam as representing the man and as being thus identical in the mind of Bunsen.

Moreover, it is noticeable that Yabal and Yubal, of the trio of sons of Lemach, the descendant of Adam (the man), through his son Cain, correspond to Shem and Cham of the trio of sons of Noah, grandsons of Lemach, the descendant of Enos (the man) through his son Cainan; that is there is about the same amount of difference in each duo. Yabal is surely as like Yubal as Shem or Sham is like Chem or Cham. Yabal would equal, for one form, Yach-baal, the first component of which is in the Gaelic equal to Seach and Each, expressed either way as a man's name. The last form, Each, meaning also a horse, is likewise expressed Neach (Noach), whence our verb "to neigh," Jubal or Jabal would thus equal EkBaal.

"And Adah bare Jabal; he was the father of such as dwell in tents and such as keep cattle." Gen. iv. 20. This, also, corresponds to "Shem the father of all the children of Eber." (Gen. x. 21) whose descendants were to be a "tent" race; I mean as contrasted with Cham. "God shall persuade Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." Gen. ix. 27. "And his (Yabal's) brother's name was Yubal; he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." Gen. iv. 21. I am not aware that the race called Shemites have been in history remarkably distinguished for skill in music; but in the reference to the Mystic Babylon in Rev. xviii., 22, one might think there was at least an



indirect reference to all Babylonia, which was inhabited principally by Cutheans, decendants of Cham. "And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone and cast it into the sea, saying, thus, with violence, shall that great city, Babylon, be thrown down and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers and musicians and pipers and trumpeters shall be heard no more in thee." Rev. xviii., 21-22.

"And Zillah, she also bare Tubal Cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron; and the sister of Tubal-Cain was Naamah." Gen. iv. 22.

Some interpreters separate the compound Tubal-Cain, making Cain to be son of Tubal and the latter to represent Chusor, in the Phœnician Mythology, Hephaistos in the Greek and Vulcan in the Latin; which in the way they explain it, is not unreasonable for Cain means a smith, a worker in metals, a handiercraftsman, and Tubal is but another variation of Jubal and Jabal, the J or Y arising, as said before, from the aspirated T.

The Carthaginians had a God Yubal. The name given him by Polybius (vii. 9.) in the treaty between the Carthaginians and Philip of Macedon is Iolaus, who is mentioned in the Greek myth as Heros together with Hercules. Æsculapius is said to be the "fairest of the Gods" and so we read in a Phœnician inscription Ju-Baal (Heb. Yav-Baal), which is interpreted "beauty of Baal" and which Movers (p. 536) interprets Æsculapius-Æsman-Jubal. At the festival of the resurrection of Hercules it is Iolaus (*i.e.* Julius, *i.e.*, Jav-la *i.e.*, Jav-al, the latter component for the full form Baal) who awakes him and heals his thigh. According to Iamblichus and the Hermetic books the Egyptian name of Æsculapius was Kamph, which is regarded as a correct transcript of the mysterious name of the Phallic God.

Now, with the great body of the theological critics I think it a reasonable conclusion, in regard to the prediluvian and many post-diluvian patriarchs, that if there be historic truth in those traditions it never was intended to mean that individual men lived six, seven, eight or nine centuries. Had this been the case some would think proper to declare the whole statement as intrinsically impossible. The general analysis and synthesis, however, of the subject show that the original account must have had another meaning than this: and if so it will appear from an examination of the Hebrew tra-

ditions as shown in the last table or in another or others we shall give farther on.

1. The dates we have before us, according to the Hebrew text, as given to the Hebrew patriarchs, reckoning according to the arrangement of the restoration table given above, are as follows:

1.	A.	The era of Seth,	.	.	.	.	.	912 years.
	B.	{ Adam	:	:	:	:	:	930
		{ Enosh	:	:	:	:	:	905
								} 1835 “

The two columns given in the table having an identical reference it is found that the number of years given to Seth stands for El or for Javeh-El, as according to the present treatment.

Secondly, Adam and Enosh having, likewise, an identical reference, it is seen, they both must indicate an identical epoch. It is supposed there may have been originally dates attached to Seth (rule of God) and to Adam and Enos (rule of man), but that they must have been tampered with to adapt them to the combination of two paralld lists, which appear in the tradition as before us in the table.

2. The dates of the second epoch from the first man, as given to Lemach, whose epoch is supposed to have terminated in the year of the flood: —

Kenan (Cainan).....	910 years.
Mahalael.....	895 “
Iared (Irak).....	962 “
Hanoch.....	365 “
Methushelach (Methushael).....	969 “
Lemach.....	777 “
	<hr/>
	4878

3. The epoch of the flood (the life of Noah down to the flood 600 years (Gen. VII. 6).

This last date contains the great year of the Patriarchs, which is mentioned by Josephus. It is one of the astronomical cycles, at the completion of which the equation of the solar and lunar year takes place. It is based upon the simple computation, early attended to by the Asiatics, which Freret appears to have been the first to completely unravel among Europeans, according to which

sixty solar years are equivalent to 742 lunar months, that is, sixty years of twelve months and twenty-two intercalated months.

This tabulation, assuming the two former epochs, as the Babylonian foretime to have been computed by lunar years we require

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{600 \times 742}{60 \times 12} \\ \frac{1800 \times 742}{60 \times 12} \end{array} \right\}^*$  for a cosmic year of 600 ordinary years 618 years and 4 months, that is, and for three such cosmic years,  $3 \times 600$  years, exactly 1855 years. The first six periods, then, of the prediluvial period of mankind from Kenan to Lemach, amounting

to 4878 years, contains seven complete cosmic years (which reminds some investigators of the seven days of creation);  $7 \times 618\frac{1}{3} = 4328$  with 550 years over or eight cycles less 50 years.

According to this reckoning, therefore, the prediluvial world lasted eight cosmic years, supposing the last to have been computed in solar years; and it is supposed that from this time forward there is a sequence of solar years, which justifies the assumption.

3. Noah to the flood (Gen. VII. 6.) Ninth cycle 600 years.

Shem (Gen. XI. 10-12). Tenth cycle 600.

There remains of course to be explained the deficit of 50 years in the eighth cycle, but it is thought that this is explained by what is said as to the length of Noah's life after the flood. He is stated (in Gen. IX. 28) to have lived 350 years after the flood, in all 950 years. These 350 years intervening between two cyclical dates, it is supposed, it may originally have been half a cycle, 300 years, and that the overplus of 50 years belongs to the eighth cycle, that immediately preceding Noah.

Two separate calculations existed here: The epochs of the prediluvian or old world and then the Noachic period as the starting point of the postdiluvian or new world. Noah being connected in the calculation with the close of the primitive age and the commencement of the new, in connecting the two together, it is thought, a slight confusion may have taken place.

If, without considering its origin, we look at the sum of 1835 years, which is apportioned, not quite equally, to Adam and Enosh, we find it corresponds, within 20 years, to three cosmic years, converted into lunar years. Three complete cycles would require it to be 1855 lunar years. If we suppose that in the early days of Mss.

\*60 tropical years = 742 months 2 days and 20 hours. Consequently  $600 = 7420$  months —  $28\frac{1}{3}$  days = 1 small lunar month of 29 days, will equal 7419 lunar months as exactly as necessary.

an error crept in, and that Enos, the primeval man, had originally 925 instead of 905 years apportioned to him, we may thus account for the 20 years that are wanting.

In the process of construction these would likely be reduced below 912 as soon as Seth was represented as a son of Adam, other than Cain, and father of Enosh. The letter denoting 20 need only have been omitted in order to convert 925 to 905.

This process would give us to the Flood, reckoning, however, only nine patriarchs, for prediluvian time twelve cosmic cycles, which, considering the nature of the number 12, some might think as reasonable and probable to have been intended as the exhibit of ten cycles to the demise of Shem. But we should remember that we reckon here only nine patriarchs, whereas in the record itself there are ten, corresponding to the ten prediluvial patriarchs of the Chaldaean system.

In reference to this last, Bunsen says: "The assumption of ten patriarchs is founded upon a misunderstanding; and the conjectures which have been thrown out about it fail in supplying any explanation of the original tradition; but if they were right they would explain something which originally did not exist, but owes its existence only to a fusion of two lists into one." Egypt. IV. 401.





THE NAMES OF THE PREDILUVIAL PATRIARCHS IN THE JEHOVISTIC AND ELOHISTIC RECORDS SHOWN TO HAVE HAD AN IDENTICAL REFERENCE AND TO HAVE BEEN, IN SUCCESSION, 7; AND THE PATRIARCHAL AGES FROM ADAM TO JOSEPH INCLUSIVE AND FROM ADAM TO CHRIST SHOWN TO HAVE BEEN CYCLICAL PERIODS, MEASURED BY THE NUMBER 7:

The foregoing demonstration originated, so far as I know, with Bunsen, and I give it in my language as illustrative of a variation of my idea. A general survey, however, of the patriarchal tradition in its progressive development in the Old Testament and in connection with the Phœnician cosmology, will show the utility of the following restoration as tending to unite simplicity with correctness:—

Javeh-Elohim.

Adam=Saeth=Saedhamh=Seir=Edom=Saeturn=Israel=Kronos.

Cain—Cainan=Chna=Chon =Schaedhghan.

Enoch=Enos=Chanoch=Chaenghaes=Chaenshach, &c.

'Hirad=Iarad=Irada=Iered.

Mehujael=Mahalaleel=Malaliel=Mahalael=Mechiyyael.

Methusael=Methuselah=Methuselach=Methushael.

Lamech=Lemach=Lemech=Lamach.

Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-Cain: Noah

Shem, Cham, Japheth.

This tabulation gives the number of patriarchs from Adam to Noah, these two included, as eight. But it is likely that if the names have reference to cyclical periods the number to be reckoned before the Flood is only seven, which number represents the days of the week: and the life of Noah extending into a new period, begins, as it were, a second week. This appears, indeed, to have been the intention; for reckoning the names in the patriarchal list, as I here restored it, from Adam to Joseph, inclusive of these two, there are found 21, or 3 times 7.

Giving, therefore, in this manner, the list, with the number of years attached to each name, from Adam to Joseph inclusive of these two we have:—

		Years.
First Patriarchal Week.	1. Seth ( <i>i.e.</i> , Saedhamh, <i>i.e.</i> , Adam) . . . . .	930
	2. Cainan . . . . .	910
	3. Enos . . . . .	905
	4. Irad . . . . .	962
	5. Mahalaleel . . . . .	895
	6. Methuselah . . . . .	969
	7. Lemach . . . . .	777
Sec'd Patriarchal Week.	8. Noah . . . . .	950
	9. Shem . . . . .	600
	10. Arphaxed (Mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan) . . . . .	438
	11. Selah (Mission) . . . . .	433
	12. 'Heber (Passage) . . . . .	464
	13. Peleg (Division; Derivation) . . . . .	239
	14. Reu (Rohi, near Edessa) . . . . .	239
Third Patriarchal Week.	15. Serug (Colonies at Osroene) . . . . .	230
	16. Nahor (Colonies in Padan-Aram) . . . . .	148
	17. Terah (in Haran) Gen. X, XI . . . . .	205
	18. Abram (Gen. XXV, 7) . . . . .	175
	19. Isaac (Id. XXXV, 28) . . . . .	180
	20. Jacob (Id. XLVII, 28) . . . . .	147
	21. Joseph (Id. L, 26) . . . . .	110
		10,906

It is seen that the middle points of these three weeks of patriarchal men are occupied by Irad, Selah and Abraham, and the beginnings by Adam or Seth (which is here the same), Noah and Serug (this last being a fuller form of Seth). We do not find that the sums of the numbers representing those patriarchs, when taken either by sevens or weeks or altogether, are to be measured by the lunar cycle; but if we divide the aggregate of the numbers of years given to these 21 patriarchs by 600 years, the limit of one patriarchal cycle, we shall find the small number to be contained in the large 18 times with a fraction of  $\frac{53}{300}$ . This remainder, if the numbers were cyclical, might indicate either that there had been a mistake made by transcribers or copyists at some time in regard to the numbers apportioned to some of the names; or if these numbers be correct as they stand, and at the same time cyclical, that the cyclical

period goes along and does not stop at the death of Joseph, but is to have a limit at some remarkable point further down, where the aggregate number will be found to be a multiple of the cyclical period.

Now, the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint version agrees with other versions and with Josephus that the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, after the entrance thereto of Jacob, was 215 years; and if we add together the time from the migration of Abraham from Haran into Canaan to the birth of Isaac (Gen. XXI. 5) 25 years; and then 60 years to the birth of Jacob (Gen. XXV. 26); then 130 years more to the migration of Jacob into Egypt (Gen. XLVII. 9) we shall find it amounts to 215 years or the one-half of the 430 years spoken of in Ex. XII. 40, and in Gal. III. 17. This last passage would seem to indicate clearly enough that the 430 years spoken of were to be reckoned from the time the covenant was made with Abraham till the time of the Exodus from Egypt.

If now we reckon up the whole period from Adam to the birth of Christ, following the chronology of Usher and keeping strictly to the numbers given in the Hebrew version of the Scriptures we shall have as follows:

10,906	years, the sum of the numbers given to the 21 patriarchs from Adam (in full Schaedhamh) to Joseph inclusive.
195	years from the death of Joseph to the Exodus from Egypt.
480	years from the Exodus to the erection of Solomon's Temple. (1 Kings VI. 1).
1,019	years before the birth of Christ was the founding of the
—	Temple, this being close to Usher's approximate reckoning.
12,600	If we divide this sum of 12,600 by 600 we shall have a quotient of 21, indicating three weeks (3x7) cycles of solar years from Adam to Christ.

**AN INQUIRY INTO THE DATE OF THE EXODUS, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE DATES OF THE CAPTURE OF TROY ; OF THE FOUNDING OF NEW TYRE ; OF THE FOUNDING OF THE TEMPLE BY SOLOMON ; OF THE FOUNDING OF NEW CARTHAGE BY DIDO, ETC. :**

Before going farther it is expedient that we have some understanding in relation to the 195 years we have allowed to the Israelites in Egypt, as above. To do this we shall have first to consider what the age of Jacob probably was at the time of the birth of Joseph. It is reasonable that we allow Jacob to have been a young man of about 20 years of age, when his mother, fearing lest he should marry a daughter of Cheth, sent him away to her brother Laban at Padanaram. A consideration of Gen. xxx, 23, 25, where it appears that Jacob prepares to leave Laban, almost immediately after Joseph's birth; and of Gen. xxxi, 41, where Jacob says to Laban: "Thus have I been twenty years in thy house. I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters and six years for thy cattle," shows it to be a reasonable supposition that Joseph was born when Jacob was not less than 38 years of age, or, more likely, 39 or 40. We learn from Gen. xlvii, 9, that Jacob was 130 years old when he first stood before Pharaoh; and from Gen. xlvii, 28, as well as from Josephus (*Ant. II, ch. viii*) that he died when he had lived 17 years in Egypt, consequently at the age of 147 years. In Gen. L, 26, we learn that Joseph died, when he was 110 years old. He very probably died in the second or third year after the death of his father, his death, possibly having been hastened through grief on account of that, to him, sad event: for we see in that last chapter of Genesis that Joseph and his brethern took the death of their father much to heart and made a great mourning over him when burying him in Hebron. In all probability then Joseph died in the 19th or 20th year after his father Jacob had come to make his home in Egypt. The data we have, reasonably interpreted, seems to make this conclusion a necessity; for if he were born, say, in the 38th year of Jacob's life and died at the age of 110 years, he must have died the next year after his father's death; if he were born in the 39th year of Jacob's life he died in the second year; and if in the 40th year of Jacob's life he died in the



third year after his father. Now his dying in the third year after his father's death would reasonably mean that the date of his death was  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or  $2\frac{3}{4}$  years after that of his father, that is, it would be within the third year, a date which I for many reasons have regarded as the most probable. It has appeared evident to me that God had business for him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Israelitish colony in Egypt for say  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years after his father's death.

Thus in the above calculaiton I subtract from the 215 years, which belong to the Israelites in Egypt, after the entrance thereto of Jacob, the 20 years which Joseph lived after the entrance of his father into that country, and which were already included in the aggregate of the sums given to the 21 patriarchs, viz., 10,906 years from Adam to Joseph inclusive.

The year of the founding of Solomon's temple, which in the approximate chronological reckoning of the Bible we have in the Hebrew version is usually given at 1014 B. C., is discovered by Movers to be 969 B. C. We learn from 1 Kings, vi, 1, that the temple began to be built in the 4th year of the reign of Solomon; and from Josephus (*Ant.* viii, iii, 1) we learn not only this much, but that this was the 11th year of the reign of Hiram over Tyre, and the 240th from the time of the building of the new city of Tyre. For this last mentioned event, however, there are different dates given by different authors, Eratosthenes having it in 1183 or 1184 B. C.; the Parian register at 1209 B. C.; Herodotus, Thucydides and others at some date between 1250 and 1270 B. C. Justin Martyr (xviii, 3) remarks that Tyre was founded by the Sidonians, who had fled thither when the King of Askalon captured their city and that the date of its foundation was the year before the capture of Troy?

Now, the first Olympiad is 776 B. C. and Dicaearchus places the Trojan affairs 436 years before that Olympiad. This would bring the founding of the Temple to about 973 B. C. at the latest. This, however, may not be found to throw much light on our subject; but Josephus again gives us some data, who tells us (*contra Apion*, B. 1, 18) that "the whole of the time from the reign of Hiram to the building of Carthage amounts to 155 years and eight months; and since the temple began to be built at Jerusalem in the 12th year of the reign of Hiram there were from the build

ing of the temple to the foundation of Carthage 143 years and 8 months.

“Carthage,” says Rollin (1. 210), “existed a little over 700 years. It was destroyed in the consulship of Cneius Lentulus and L. Mummius in the 603d year of Rome, 3857th of the world and 145 years before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed in the year of the world 3158, when Joash was King of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome and 846 before our Savior.” Taking the 144 years of Josephus between the founding of Carthage and that of the Temple at Jerusalem this would leave the latter event at 990 B. C. But the building of Carthage under Dido took place somewhat earlier than the date Rollin ascribes for it.

Appollodorus places the interval between the first Olympiad and the taking of Troy at over 480 years, while, as shown above, Dicæarchus places it at 436 years. This, according to the former would place the capture of Troy at 1256 and according to the latter at 1212 B. C. These two afford us fixed points for the sufficiently extreme dates of the Greek computation; and this, taking the 240 years of Josephus between the founding of New Tyre and the founding of Solomon’s temple, would leave the latter event, according to Appollodorus, in 1017 B. C., and, according to Dicæarchus, in 973 B. C.

Let us see what the Egyptian history will afford us on the subject. This, however, comes to us through the Greeks which they could have learned only through Egyptian priests: In Manetho we find two synchronistic data which have a special bearing upon this inquiry.

Opposite the name of Petubastes, the first King of the 23rd dynasty, is the following notice in Africanus:

“In his time the first Olympiad was celebrated.” This reign, however, lasted 40 years.

And against the name of Thuoris, the last King of the 19th or first of the 20th, as according to some, is the following notice: “Who is called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alkandra. In his time Troy was taken.”

This, as a very indistinct landmark, may help us in fixing the date of the capture of Troy. Homer represents Menelaus and his wife Helen in their visit to Thebes after the fall of Troy as receiving

princely gifts from King Polybus and his wife. In the 4th book of the *Odyssey*, verses 125–132 are as follows: —

“ And Philo brought her silver basket, gift  
Of fair Alkandra, wife of Polybus,  
Whose mansion in Egyptian Thebes is rich  
In untold treasures and who gave, himself,  
Ten golden talents and two silver baths,  
With two bright tripods, to the Spartan prince,  
Beside what Helen from his spouse received  
A golden spindle and a basket wheeled  
Itself of silver and its lip of gold.”

This gives us a Greek name of the King of Egypt, who was contemporaneous with the taking of Troy; and the same is clearly given in the second clause of the above notice in all the epitomes of Manetho. Taking the largest numbers I find given in Africanus from Thuoris to Petubastes, the full reigns given to these two being included, we have the following: —

Full reign given to Thuoris	.	.	7 years.
“ time “ “ the 20th dynasty			135 “
Longest “ “ “ “ 21st “	.		130 “
“ “ “ “ “ 22nd “	.		120 “
Full reign given to Petubastes	.		40 “

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432 years.

First Olympiad in 776 “ B. C.

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Leaving the capture of Troy to be in 1208 “ B. C.

This leaves only 4 years' difference between this calculation and that of Dicaearchus for the capture of Troy, and 1 year's difference from the Parian register. It is supposed, however, that the above calculation, so far as the Grecian element in it is concerned, was borrowed by Manetho from Herodotus or rather from Dicaearchus, who had just preceded him. He was the more likely to have followed the latter as he disagreed much with Herodotus and wrote a book upon his blunders in Egyptian history; or, perhaps,

if not a separate work, yet a criticism by him of Herodotus may have been gathered from his historical works into one book.

Sesonchosis or Shishak, the first king of the 22nd Egyptian dynasty, invaded Palestine "in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam," the son and successor of Solomon. The date of this invasion is put down approximately at 970 B. C., as according to our present Biblical chronology. Saul (1st Sam. x. xxi margin); David (2 Sam. v. 4); and Solomon (2nd Chron. ix. 30, 31) are each entered for a reign of 40 years. This indicates that the Biblical chronology, for these three reigns, is merely approximate. Neither have we other than an approximative chronology before the era of Nebuchadnezzar who took Jerusalem and Tyre; the latter about 573 B. C.

But in the above synchronism of the dates of Manetho with Dicaearchus and the Parian register we had to take in the full reigns of the two extremes, first, that of Thuoris "in whose time Troy is said to have been taken" and, secondly, that of Petubastes, "in whose time the first Olympiad is said to have been celebrated." If we take from these two reigns what some might think a fair proportion, namely, to put the capture of Troy in the 5th year of Thuoris and the first Olympiad in the 21st year of Petubastes, we shall have 25 years to subtract from the above sum 1208 B. C., leaving 1183 B. C., the date given, approximately, by Eratosthenes for the foundation of New Tyre.

Now, taking the date of Dicaearchus or 1212 for the capture of Troy and adding thereto 1 year, for the date according to Justin Martyr, at which New Tyre was founded, or the year before the fall of Troy, we shall have  $1212+1=1213$  B. C. for the founding of Tyre. If from this we subtract, as according to Josephus, 240 years from the building of New Tyre to the foundation of the Temple we shall have  $(1213-240=)$  973 B. C. for the founding of the Temple. This, however, would be bringing the foundation of the Temple much too near the time of the foundation of Carthage and so could not be correct, for  $973-143$  leaves 830 B. C. for the foundation of Carthage by Dido, which seems must be considerable too late. There is, however, something wrong in the calculation of Josephus here for I find that the absolute time he gives for the interval between the founding of the Temple and the founding of Carthage does not agree with the data he himself fur-



nishes. This data, Movers, in his "Phœnicians," submits to critical examination; but the data itself I will here subjoin:

Abibalos was succeeded by

	<i>Reigned.</i>	<i>Lived.</i>	<i>Accession.</i>
Hiram, his son	34	53	in 20th year.
Baleastartos, son	7	43	" 37th "
Abdastartis, son	9	29	" 21st "
Popular rising, headed by the four sons of the royal nurse: the murderers, the eldest of whom became king; Anonymous (government seized by the Slaves)	12	—	" — " "
Astartos, son of Baleastartos	12	54	" 42nd "
Astarymos, his brother; is de- throned and murdered by his brother	9	54	" 46th "
Pheles, dethroned and slain	0 8 mos	50	" 50th "
Ethobalos	32	68	" 37th "
Balezaros, son,	6	45	" 40th "
Matgenos, son,	9	32	" 24th "
Phygmalion,	47	56	" 10th "

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177 years and 8 months.

Now, Josephus himself makes the 11th year of Hiram to be the 4th of Solomon and that in which the Temple of Jerusalem was founded, in the following words (Ant. VIII. III. 1): "Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign." "Now that year in which the temple began to be built was already the 11th year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the Temple there had passed two hundred and forty years." Another remark of Josephus is upon Menander and to the following effect: "In the seventh year of Pygmalion his sister fled and founded the city of Carthage in Libya."

It does not appear that the list with the dates given above needs a severe criticism. Everything appears in its natural order and nothing appears to have been omitted; if it be not that the 12 years given to the anonymous government is simply a repetition of that given to Astartos, next following, who is said to be "son of Baleastartos" next preceding. In this way there may possibly be 12 years too many expressed in the sum total of 177 years 8 months, a matter which has been noticed by Bunsen and others; and it looks as if this were really so. But I do not see how

Josephus could have made the interval between the founding of the temple and the founding of Carthage to have been 143 years and 8 months out of that data; for taking the sum total of the reigns as it stands above what we have to deduct from it, supposing it correct, is the 11 years of Hiram before the founding of the Temple at Jerusalem plus the 40 years of Pygmalion after the departure of his sister, Elisa, to found New Carthage, which makes 51 years. Or, if that sum total be 12 years too much, we subtract from the sum 51 plus 12 equals 63 years. In the first case we have 177 years and 8 months minus 51 years equals 125 years 8 months, which, subtracted from the date 973 B. C., found above upon the authority of Dicaearchus and Josephus for the founding of the temple, we shall have 973 B. C. minus 125 years 8 months equals 847 years 4 months B. C. for the date of the founding of Carthage. If, however, there be an error of 12 years too many in the above sum total, as has been thought not unlikely that would put the date of the building of Carthage at about 860 B. C. Bunsen was long wavering as to the proper dates for the foundations of Solomon's temple and of Carthage, but finally to suit his own synchronisms in Egyptian and other history he settled down on the dates 1014 and 814 B. C. for those foundations respectively. But in thus doing he appears to me to have created as many anachronisms as he has proved synchronisms; although still he seems to stand proud and erect amid his arbitrary self-support. Speaking in relation to these points he says: "The year of the building of Solomon's temple (969 in Movers) I no longer make 1003 but 1014" — "and," again, "we, therefore, assume that 814 B. C. is the year of the commencement of the Carthagian era." Egypt. III, 414, 415.

There was an era not only of modern but of Old Tyre, and there are said to have been registers in the temple of that city of the third millenium B. C., out of which Menander of Ephesus compiled a historical narrative from which Josephus made extracts (see, Contr. Apion, 1, 17, 18). It was by the Egyptians that old Tyre was destroyed. Some have this capture to have been made by my Rameses II; but my own opinion is that it was taken by my Rameses VII; in about 1262 B. C. Sesostris or Rameses the Great conquered Canaan about in 1542 B. C. Bunsen's opinion was that his Rameses III (my II) was the Proteus of Diodorus in whose time tradition said Troy was taken. Would old Tyre have been

the veritable Troy? By a transposition of some letters Tyre is Troy, *i.e.*, Traigh, the ancient *a* having largely the modern German (ancient Gaelic) sound of that letter. The story of Paris and Helen is connected with Egypt. Would it be only another version of the legend of Typho and his lover, Thoueris, the strong, the mighty lady. She left Typho and attached herself to Horus who received her and slew the serpent by whom she was pursued. This lover of Typho was, according to some, called Aso, the queen of Ethiopia. Helen left Menelaus and joined herself to Paris; and under the head of Thuoris, the last ruler of his 19th dynasty, Africanus says: "who is in Homer called Polybus, the husband of Alkandra, in his time Troy was taken." So Eusebius, and Syncellus in his *Laterculus*; the former adding that Thuoris was "a very strong and brave man." Some names among the ancients were common to males and females. If, as according to my conclusion, th Rameses VII, of my Egyptian list, was the conqueror of old Tyre, his name was not either Thuoris or Proteus, but, as No. xxxiii, of Eratosthenes' list, Stamenemes (root Seth-Amun-ma, *i.e.*, given or endowed by Amun and Thoth). He was 32nd successor of Menes and immediate predecessor of King Cheops. In a mythical legend the Greeks appropriate this whole Trojan business to themselves. Would some of the Egyptian colonists of Greece have been in the train of the capturers of Troy as allies of the Egyptians? In the name Agamemnon, we have involved the Egyptian name Amun or Amenophis, which is Amun-Phis or Amun-Seph or Seth and is, in effect, the name Stamenemes. The component parts of the name are *Agem*, root *Ag*, being the root, and of the meaning of our word "act" and Amun-Chon or Seth. Agamemnon, "King of Men" (Homer), was the acting chief of the forces in the war against Troy.

Menelaus has in it the Egyptian root Men, as in Menes; and la for ra, the l and r in the Egyptian being identical; and Paris (Pa-Re, the sun or ruler) (masc.) would equal Thueris (Ta-Re, the ruler etc.) being of the same general sense, but ordinarily feminine though sometimes masculine. There can be little doubt that old Tyre and Troy mean the same and that the capture of Troy refers to that of Tyre. By Homer Troy is called Illium, and in Phœnician Mythology the names Elion and Israel are connected with Tyre. Skepticism, though sometimes unpopular, may yet be productive of excellent effects. It is said of Eratosthenes

that in the midst of gushing credulity "he ventured to doubt the historic truth of the Homeric legends." "I will believe in them," said he, "when I have been shown the currier who made the wind bags, which Ulysses, on his voyage homewards, received from Eolus."

Bunsen, also in adjusting his chronology for the time of the founding of the Temple places the founding of new Tyre in 1254 B. C.; 1254 minus 240 making 1014 B. C. This must however, be a near approximation to the real date, for it connects on both sides reasonably; making on the one side, the founding of Carthage to be in 869 B. C., and on the other side, it would make the date of the Exodus to be in 1495 B. C., Usher making it about 1491, while the result of our calculation leaves it to have taken place in 1498-1499 B. C.

Our process, as seen above, is as follows:—

*Years.*

10,906 The aggregate of the numbers set against the names of the 21 patriarchs from Adam to Joseph, these two included.

195 The length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt after the death of Joseph. It represents the 215 years of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt, as according to all the versions of the Bible properly understood, minus the twenty years of Joseph after the entrance of Jacob to Egypt there to abide, which 20 years are already contained in the aggregate number of years given to the 21 patriarchs aforesaid.

480 From the Exodus to the founding of Solomon's Temple.

\*1019 From the founding of the Temple to the birth of the Christ.

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Sum total, 12,600 Which divided by 600, the patriarchal cycle, gives 21 ( $3 \times 7$ ) or three weeks of cycles of solar years from the first Adam inclusive to the Second.

\* This reckoning makes the Exodus to have taken place in 1499 B. C. But this refers to the movement of the Israelites from the eastward to the westward of the Jordan; for, according to my reckoning on the Great Pyramid in "Creator and Cosmos," p. 544, which is confirmed by my reckoning as to the date of the Exodus of the Shepherds, in my "Critical Review of the History of Ancient Egypt," pages 47-8 and 52, the Shepherds left Egypt in 1541-2 B. C. The two reckonings, therefore, may be found to account for the 40 years' wandering of the Israelites, an item which appears to have been sometimes left unnoticed in the reckonings.



Since the Christian era began we have passed over three cycles and now occupy the middle cyclic day of another week of cycles of years.

From the above it would appear that Herodotus and Thucidedes, and even Bunsen, may have had a more intelligent understanding of the real Troy and its capture than had Eratosthenes. In allusion to the passage in Justin Martyr, which states that "Tyre was founded by the Sidonians the year *before* the sack of Troy," Bunsen, after having said that this was not an invention of Justin, says: "The above remark of Justin may probably be of importance to us hereafter, but it can never form the starting-point of serious research, because it is altogether unsupported." (Egypt iii:423.) It appears to me, however, that the remark of Justin in relation to Tyre having been founded *in the year before the sack of Troy* was altogether gratuitous on his part, for I see no trace of it in his quotation from Pompeius Trogus. It certainly appears to be his own sapient remark! Would he have been trying to improve upon Homer? Bunsen promised to return to that remark of his again in the preface to his fifth book but he has failed therein to notice it.



REMARKS PARTICULARLY ON THE PATRIARCHS FROM ADAM TO  
JOSEPH INCLUSIVE :

Now, as to the Patriarchs from Adam to Joseph, inclusive, and the times that are set against them, it is plain from the foregoing they have, at least, a cyclical reference. There are many other ideas also implied in the names and numbers from Adam to Shem, inclusive, which for me to enter into here would take me too far from the main thread of my design and which I will leave to be treated of by specialists.

But, beginning with Arphaxed, the son of Shem, and coming downwards to Joseph one cannot fail to see in the names and their numbers in each case a reference to place and tribe. The reckoning in this section may be called loco-tribal as well as cyclical. It would appear to begin when the children of Shem had taken possession of Arpakhatis, the mountainous district between Armenia and Kurdistan. Some Biblical critics, who adopt the Septuagint's date of the creation, or who even throw it back to 6,000 years B. C. or earlier suppose this removal took place about 5,000 years B. C. Selah (Mission) indicates that the race had descended from their mountainous habitations and pushed forward its settlements. They are still to the eastward of the Tigris, but nearer to that river and to Mesopotamia. Heber, Eber (Passage) is not that of the Euphrates, which was still to be crossed by the race under the designation Abram.

It must, therefore, signify the passage from east to west of the Tigris. From this time during the continuance of six successive epochs, as given in the Table, or until Abram, the historic home of the race appears to be Mesopotamia, and in a southwestwardly direction. During these movements in this direction, the third location appears to be at Osroene near Edessa. Rehu (Reu) Rohi is the old name of Edessa and Serug or Sarug is the district somewhat to the west thereof. Peleg (Partition, derivation) would indicate the branching off from the stem, at this point, of the race of Joktan, the brother of Peleg, the father of the 13 South Arabian tribes. (Gen. X. 25-30.) The word Nachar means a river and Nachal, a brook, and the Greek form Mesopotamia is in the Egyptian records Naharaina, that is, the country between the rivers, (Tigris and Euphrates). Charan was brother of Nachar and the district of

Charan, the modern Karra, was to the northwest of Osroene or Edessa, which latter Buttman ingeniously shows to be identical with the district called Serug. A little to the southeast of the latter is the City Resen (Gen. X. 12) the Rezaina of Ptolemy, said to have been founded by Nimrod. Nearer to the Tigris, but in the same latitude is the district wherein was situated Nisibis, not far from which was Ur of the Chaldees. This latter city is between the eastern confluent of the Charboras and Tigris. This last named locality takes us in the patriarchal list, to the name Terah, a word which from the analogy of the Gaelic, we know to mean a sunny or much enlightened place, a place well exposed to the sun's rays. Ur, in the old languages, has, for one of its meanings, light (Heb. Aur.), as in Hebrew, Urim and Thumim, lights and perfections. The name of Terah (Luke III. 34 Thara) we first meet with in connection with the local name Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. XI., 24-32). This name (full Gaelic form, Teabhrach) is merely the expanded root of our word tower. It has a reference to the sun as well as to an elevated place, in a tower, on a hill or in the observatory of a palace, which was exposed to the sun's rays or used for taking astronomical observations. From this it is seen that Ur is simply a contraction of tur or tower, the full form of which is given above. The Chaldaean Shepherds were famous for their astronomical knowledge.

The name Abram, in the index of proper names appended to the Bible, is said to mean "father of Aram;" and Abraham is said to mean the "father of a multitude of a people or peoples."

Alexander Polyhistor gives the name as signifying "father's friend." In Gen. XIV., 13, he is called "Abram, the Hebrew," that is, Abram, who migrated over the Euphrates (not the Tigris).

It was after this Abram, the Heber, that the city of Hebron was named, "which before was called Kirjath-Arba," (Gen. XXIII., 2; Josh. XIV., 15). In this general progress from Chaldaea through Canaan and southwards, Abram now visited Egypt and became on terms of intimacy with the Pharaoh of that country.

This took place, as near as I can come to it from the data given, within the same year in which Abram passed over the Euphrates or 25 years before the birth of Isaac. The modest company of Abramic emigrants could, doubtless, make the tour, under passport, in as short a time as a well equipped army of Shepherds from Chaldaea, whose passports were their swords, could make it; to

which latter I would suppose about a year, in the then state of things in the countries named, would have been sufficient to have subjugated those peoples all the way through and appointed administrative governments of their own in full working order among them. In the name Abram (father of Aram or Raam) is personated the patriarchal government of this people at the time indicated; and in Gen. XIV we find him exercising in the field his patriarchal governmental prerogatives as he encounters and defeats Chederlao-mer, king of Elam, a Cushite district of Southern Persia. Let it be noticed that the people of Abram in all those progresses are still distinctively of the Shepherd kind; as we see in Gen. XIII, where it is said that the land (meaning Canaan or Phœnicia) could scarcely maintain Abram and Lot, after their return from Egypt, "they were so rich in cattle and silver and gold."

In Gen. XVII. 5, God makes a covenant with Abram, after the birth of Ishmael, but nine to ten years prior to the birth of Isaac, in which he changes his name from Abram to Abraham, giving as the reason of the change that he had made him "the father of many nations." The Hebrew word for people is usually spelled am but it is more properly written Gham or 'ham: Consequently this indicates to us the proper spelling of this patriarchal name, of which one proper interpretation is "the people that passed over." Of the forms appearing in English as Heber or Eber and Abr, as in Abram, the primitive root must have been the same, *i.e.*, English Abr; but the Rabbinical writings make the initial vowel different in the Hebrew, that is, of the two Hebrew vowels which are usually translated into English a they begin the name Abraham with Aleph and Eber with Ayn. Now, Eber with initial ayn would be better translated into English Ghabar, a root, beyond doubt, primitively allied to Gbar a lord or a man; and by adding to Ghabar the word for people usually translated am, but more justly gham, and transposing its last vowel, so as to bring it after r, we have Ghabragham, meaning "the people who passed over" or "the people of passage," meaning "wanderers," as the old Scuthic shepherds were usually designated. Of this Shepherd class were also the Philistines (Palaischeth) after whom Canaan was called Palestine, and who also inhabited Chithim or Cyprus. Of Palestine they were the Chethites, Hittites.

Eber is a variation of the root Abr, passage, meaning over (eber) in the sense of beyond and over in the sense of above the head as



roof, firmament. As mentioned above thirteen South Arabian tribes descended from Yoktan, the brother of Peleg (Philistine, Pelasge) son of Heber. These were also pastoral tribes. The root Gbar, which I have above supposed primitively the same with Ghabar, if prefixed to the word for people, would give about the same form as that we have above, but with the *g* unaspirated, and would mean "chief of the people," "Patriarch" or "King." From this root Gbar, mighty, strong, comes the Phœnician Cabiri of whom they reckoned eight among their Gods. These eight have, first, an Arkite reference, namely, to Noah and his wife and his three sons and their three wives, and secondly, a celestial reference, the firmament, sun, moon and stars.

Gabar or guber is the root of Latin gubernator, a pilot, whence our English governor. The Phœnician and Greek Chronos, root Charan, is identical with the Latin Gubern, English, Govern, and Gaelic Cran, a tree, a ship's mast, as well as represented in Grian, the sun. These deities were supposed to exercise a particular influence over the sea and maritime affairs, and the Phœnician mariners were accustomed to have their images placed in the poop of their ships. Whether or not the visit of Abraham to Egypt may have had any peculiar significance in regard to the after affairs of that country may perhaps better be gathered from a consideration of our subject as connected with our "Critical Review of the History of ancient Egypt." The patriarch Isaac is not said to have visited Egypt during his life in obedience to the injunction he had received from the Lord (Gen. XXVI. 2); but in reading of his experience among the Philistines, a person would think they had Abraham's experience repeated in his. The name we have in English as Isaac (Heb. Ytschk, in which the root is Tschk) means either son of the strong, powerful, or son of the chief of the country. Green's Hebrew Grammar (p. 216) says: "Nouns formed by prefixing *Y* or *Th* denote persons or things to which the idea of the root is attached." Under this rule he puts the name, Ytschk as one of the examples. Now, the root Tschk is simply the Gaelic Taeseach, with *k* guttural added on to the root, and this word means literally "the first man," he who begins, leads. This would be the Hebrew or Phœnician meaning of the root Tschk, and the *Y* prefixed would mean son of the chief, the patriarchal chief in this case, who, in his place, was both priest and chief. The account we get of this patriarch gives the impression of a quiet, meditative personage. His dynasty lasted 180 years.



## ESAU AND JACOB, THE GEMINI OR TWINS:

Of the two sons he left after him who, by the way, were twins, the best known in sacred history, and the most expatiated upon in oratory was the one last born. In Hebrew the name Jacob means heel. *Chuil* pronounced *Queel* or *heel* is one of the clan names of the Gaelic clan *Tuseach*. It has been said the name Jacob means supplanter, because this man succeeded, by his wily intriguing in receiving from his father, whose eyesight had become dim with age, the blessing which had been designed for his elder brother; but independent of any act of his the name Jacob in the Hebrew means heel, and this means literally supplant, for, says Webster in regard to the derivation of the word supplant; “*sub* and *planta* (Latin) the bottom of the foot.” The name, therefore, means supplanter, and, at the same time heel, and is the name *James* in English. In common with *Ishmael*, the son of *Abram* by *Hagar*, who had twelve sons that were ancestors of twelve Arabian tribes (*Gen. XXV. 13-16*) the Scriptures (*Gen. XXXV. 23-27*) give to Jacob also twelve sons that were ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. The name *Israel* Jacob obtained from his having prevailed with God, as the theologians very reasonably understand it in the way of prayer; seeing this is the only way one can hope to prevail with God. But *Israel* means a leader, champion, *Hercules* among the Greeks, and, in the case of Jacob, illustrates the fact that a person can become a champion in achieving the conquest over his own unruly and inordinate passions, desires and will by his denying himself and living a life of righteousness and active godliness, in an infinitely better and more honorable way than by having achieved a conquest by violence over others.

As a common personal appellation, however, *Israel* is an equivalent for *Alexander* and for the Gaelic *Seach*, *Seghan*, or *Seachlan*; as, doubtless, it is for *Jacob*.

*Esau*, the elder of the two sons of *Isaac*, is said to have obtained that appellation because of his red color, or rather because of his being, at his birth, “red all over like an hairy garment.” — (*Gen. XXV., 25*). But the form *Esau* being evidently a variation of *Edom* or *Adam*, which means, as to color, blackish red, it is seen that it was on account of his reddish color rather than on account of his hairiness that he was called “*Esau*, who is *Edom*,” — *Gen.*

XXXVI, 1). This idea is confirmed by verse 30, chapter XXV of Genesis, where it is said: "And Esau said to Jacob: 'Give me to eat I pray thee of that red (pottage); for I faint; therefor was his name Edom.'" Or, in regard to the derivation of the form Esau, we can understand it in as simple a way as being derived from Heb. Shav, or Shva (which has one of the meanings of the name Abel) by prefixing Y to that root: Thus Yeshav is Esau. Or, as we know the name Esau to have been the same originally with the form which has come to our knowledge as Jesus, then we have Yesha, meaning salvation, as the original. The form "Seir or Sechor as Esau is called," as Bunsen says, rather indicates roughness, a high place. It is easily seen that from the word Seir itself may come our word hair, as very frequently the letter S is represented in the Greek, English, etc., by the smooth breathing, our h. But as to how the name Edom or Adam is also Seir it is explainable as follows: The full form of the name Adam in the old language would be Saedhamh, that is, the Hindoo-Scythic or Phœnician would, as the Gaelic continues to do, aspirate the d and the m in the word; the Gaelic contracting it into Samh or Shamh, meaning the Sun, as the Phœnician, which is the Hebrew. Now, the root of Saedhamh, which is Saedh, is commonly used for the full form, as Seth, a precise equivalent for Adam: And Sether, would be simply a repetition of the meaning of the root, Seth, meaning the Sun. The addition of r to the root might, however, indicate only fulness, causation, intensiveness. The root Shichor means not only rough and hairy, but has various other meanings, such as merchant, trade, trader, reddish-black, the river Nile, a mountain, a rough and high place; the Sun, the dawn, morning, Sirius, the dog-star.

But what is expedient to notice further about this is that Esau, being called both by the names Edom and Seir, the country of his dominion was also called by those two names (the mount Hor, (not Chor,) Numb. xx, 22, etc., being only another variation of Seir); this being so it will be the more easily apprehended that he had twelve sons, inasmuch as the five ascribed to the man Esau, and the seven ascribed to the man "Seir, the Horite, who inhabited the land" (Gen. xxxvi.) are all to be reckoned as the sons of one man; so that, as regards the number of sons he was favored with, Esau is found to have been not a whit behind his uncle Ishmael or his brother Israel.

Josephus in his account of the birth of Esau and Jacob (*Ant. Book 1, ch. xviii 1.*) says: "Accordingly she (Rebeka) in a little time, as God had foretold, bore twins; the elder of whom from his head to his feet was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his beel as they were in the birth. Now, the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews call such an hairy roughness Seir; but Jacob, the younger, was best beloved by his mother." This makes plain that the Hebrews understood the form Seir as an equivalent for Esau, a fact which Mr. Whiston, the translator, was fully cognizant of, doubtless from his own Hebrew scholarship, independently of Josephus; for he says in a foot-note to this passage: "For Seir, in Josephus, the coherence requires that we read Esau or Seir, which signifies the same thing."

## JOSEPH:

It remains for me now to say but a word in regard to the patriarch Joseph, the son of Israel, of whom in treating of Egypt I had to make frequent mention. I find his name to be spelled Joseph in all the Old Testament, wherein, there is much related concerning him, excepting in one place, Psalm lxxxi, 5, where it is spelled Jeoseph or Yhvsph. It is the same name however, relating to the same person. At him there, is evidently a turning point in the patriarchal history.

There is a matter connected with this whole subject of the Patriarchs, which could not fairly be passed over in silence and that is in relation to the limit of the duration of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt; and as Josephus in his treatise against Apion assumes the identity of the Hebrews with the Shepherd races or Hyksos of Egypt I have found it necessary to discuss at length in my "*Critical Review of the History of Ancient Egypt*," the whole subject of the Egyptian dynasties of the empire so called of Menes, in which will be perceived what the assumed connection of that Kingdom with the Hebrews or with any other people foreign to it may amount to. To that discussion I do, at this point, think necessary to direct your attention.



## CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES.

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### AS TO THE ORIGINES AND PRIMEVAL HISTORY OF THE CHINESE DOWN TO THE FIRST RECOGNIZED IMPERIAL DYNASTY.

The origines and primitive history of the Chinese, have not apparently much of any connection with those of the Chaldaeans. Although some have claimed to perceive among the data in the ancient history of China an account of the Flood; yet the critics have now long been generally agreed that the Chinese, "who," as they say, "migrated before the Deluge," have in their ancient records no account of that catastrophe. In this respect, which is a negative consideration, the Chinese records of their origines agree with those of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, while presenting a remarkable contrast to the positive Diluvian view contained in the Chaldaean and Hebrew.

### ORIGINES, COSMOGONY AND PREDILUVAL OR DILUVIAL HISTORY:

The Chinese Cosmogony, as briefly set forth by Litse, one of the most distinguished writers of that nation, is as follows: —

The Universe sprang from the union of the male primeval power, Yang with the female, Yin. Æther constituted the first beginning. The organized All sprung from Chaos, the finer parts mounting up (heaven) the grosser remaining below (earth).

Out of the Cosmic Egg proceeded Pu-An-Ku the primeval man: He lived 18,000 years. Then came in order the reigns of Heaven and Earth; of men, during repeated myriads of years. One of those old rulers, Sui-Shin, investigated the five elements; discovered fire and practiced astronomical observations.

To these succeeded the Five Rulers, who represented (mythically)



historical epochs, in the primitive history anterior to Yao, as recorded in the Annals of Shen-Si, the very ancient home of the race.

In the reign of Fohi, who is called the great and brilliant, astronomy and religion as well as writing was cultivated. The duration of his reign was 110 years: To his succeed fifteen reigns which are enveloped in much obscurity.

Shin-Nong, the Divine Husbandman, cultivated agriculture and practiced a primitive homeopathy in medicine.

In the reign of Hoang-Ti (great ruler), who began a new dynasty there was an improvement made in the written character, said to have been suggested by the lines on the tortoise shell; there was also invented the smelting of copper for the manufacture of weapons, vases of remarkable contrivance and money. His invention for the improvement of writing consisted of 500 hieroglyphs of which about 200 can still be pointed out. It was in the 61st year of his reign he established the astronomical cycle of 60 years: He also caused to be erected fixed habitations throughout his dominions and invented musical instruments. In his reign appeared the fabulous bird Sin and through his means was the empire much extended towards the southwards. Under his immediate successor, Shao-Hao, who appears to have been his son, the heresy of demon-worship is said to have sprung up; which appears to have been true as far as regards a variation, which crept in, of the ancient Chinese worship of the Shin, the spirits of the departed. This worship of the spirits of their departed ancestors, the most vital element in their religion of the present day, is a primitive tenet of theirs, associated with the worship of heaven and earth.

In the reign of Tshuen-Hiü, the second successor of Hoang-Ti, a conjunction of the five planets is recorded.

Kao-Sin or the Black Ti-Ko, an elective ruler of another race, followed. He lived, on the whole, an effeminate life, displaying generally a remarkable taste for music. His mother is said in the Shi-King (IV. 3, 3) to have been the ancestress of the second imperial dynasty, Shang.

His eldest son followed and was shortly afterwards dethroned on account of his excesses; Yao was elected in his place and appointed the posthumous brother of his predecessor governor of the province of his maternal ancestors.

In the time of Yao the celestial globe was made, on which are represented the constellations: Before this, from the neglect of in-



tercallation, the computation of the years had fallen into confusion.

A man of enormous stature and a son of poor parents, named Shin, was chosen by Yao as his son-in-law and coadjutor in the government. Of him several interesting stories are told by Mr. Guzloff in his history of the Chinese. Yao and Shin form the junction between the old history of the aboriginal country and the imperial history. Shin became the successor of Yao. There are in the Shuking some ancient maxims of both these kings which are interesting, and some which are difficult to be understood.

Yu, the son of Kuen, who had been engaged in draining the country of vast floods of water which were wont to overflow periodically certain portions of it from the rivers and streams up to the days of Yao and Shin, succeeds the latter after having reigned for a considerable time jointly with him. These inundations, in the time of Yao and Shin, from whose evil effects Yu, the son of Kuen, saved the country by erecting enormous dams and sinking ditches and canals to carry it off, suggests to Mr. Guzloff and some others the Flood of Noah. With this idea they are more strongly impressed because that Yu is looked upon as the first of the recognized historical dynasties. The critics generally, however, see in Yu only a remarkably enterprising king, who proved himself a great benefactor to the country by his vast public works, more especially in the way of drainage of the parts ordinarily overflowed and overmoist from the periodical freshets of the streams from the mountains and rivers. He was the founder of the dominion of the kings or princes of Shen-Si, in northern China, as far as the great river, which province, he, to a large extent, rendered habitable and productive by his having diverted the course of the Yellow River and thereby rendered the naturally fertile plains between the rivers capable of cultivation. The Chinese records contain a statistical survey of the empire said to have been made in his time, with details of plans and institutions of public works. But one would suppose that Mr. Guzloff and all others who have thought of the deluge in connection with Yu, would have plainly perceived that the time set down for him, 2000 B. C., is later than the time given for the deluge as according to the Septuagint, Samaritan or Hebraic version, this last as interpreted chronologically by Usher, that is, unless they made their date to coincide with that precarious one of Yao and Shin, his immediate predecessors. But on this sub-

ject a certain Christian author speaks as follows : “ The inundation in the time of Yu had just as much to do with Noah’s flood as the dams he erected and the canals he dug had to do with the ark. The learned Jesuit fathers were well aware of this ; but they were prevented by orders from Rome from publishing the truth. The fact of so absurd an idea being accepted by the English and Scotch missionaries and even by Morrison himself is a very melancholy instance of the way in which the sound judgment of learned men may be warped by Rabbinical superstition and the intolerant ignorance of their churches, in the investigation of historical truth.”

It is, however, generally understood that this province of Shen-si was largely habitable and inhabited before the time of Yu ; for the dynasty, called the Shin-si possessed annals of an earlier date at the head of which were the renowned Fohi (whom indeed, some also, have supposed to be Noah, as if they were determined to have the deluge take place in that province) and Hoang-ti ; and still earlier annals even than these. This earlier history of Shen-si is divided into two parts. First, the primeval time or the life of the ancestors of those people in their aboriginal country in northern Asia, the country of Kein-lung and the river of the north. Secondly, the history of those people within China proper, particularly the province of Shen-si.

All the ancient geographical traditions of the Chinese, as may be seen in Ritter’s Chinese History, refer to the immigration of their ancestors from the northwest.

Chinese writers have always conveyed their understanding of the works of Yu as being in the sense of a deliverance of a certain portion of the country from the evil effects of the periodical overflows from certain streams. In a brief account of it, in the Chinese translated by Julius Von Klaproth, is the following : —

“ In the sixty-first year of the reign of the emperor Yao, serious mischief was caused by inundations. The emperor took counsel with the great men of the empire, who advised him to employ Kuen to drain off the water. For nine years Kuen was engaged upon it without success and was condemned to be imprisoned for life. His son Yu was to be appointed in his stead. At the end of nineteen years he succeeded in stopping the overflow and made a report upon the subject to the emperor.”

The historical truth of this general fact is considered fully proved not only by the work itself but by an inscription supposed to have

been left by Yu on the top of the mountain Yu-lu-fun, in the district of Shen-shu-fu. The locality answers exactly to the very interesting description of the empire in the time of Yu, which we find at the opening of the second book of the Shuking. It purports to be a public document relating particularly to Yu and his works, which some suppose to have been made in his reign, or drawn up shortly after his death, in which, doubtless, they are mistaken. One critic says it will bear comparison with the monument Ancyranum of Augustus. You can judge of the epic character of the Shuking in the canon of Yu from the following in relation to the floods: —

“The emperor said: O thou governor of the four mountains of the empire!  
 The swelling flood is producing mischief;  
 It extends itself far and wide;  
 It surrounds the hills, it overflows the dams;  
 Impetuously rushing along it rises up to heaven;  
 The common folk complain and sigh.”

The urgency of the matter necessitates the appointment of Kuen, who sets himself earnestly to work, but, at the end of nine years, has accomplished scarcely anything in restraining the floods. The emperor, now in his seventieth year, promises his throne to any one who will prevent the evil. Yu-shin, an unmarried man, is proposed; which is clearly a mythical combination of Yu and Shin, in order to connect the great deliverer with the two old emperors, Yao and Shin. Afterwards the person chosen is called simply, Yu. The punishment of Kuen is mentioned in the second chapter, “the Canon of Shin.” Under the head of “the Deliberations of Yu, the Great,” the emperor thanks Yu in the following terms: “In the time of the great floods thou didst perform thy promise and complete thy work;” a quite important piece of information for Yu.

The apparent character of the stories in the Shuking would lead to the conclusion that they are a compilation of historical ballads and authentic records. The historical ballad is the later form and is in several places at variance with historical facts.

The story in the Shuking might be thought a misrepresentation, in so far as regards any personal connection between Yao and Yu. The latter is made to save the country from the great inundation in the time of Yao, when he was viceroy of certain provinces, by

erecting dams and tunneling canals through rocks, etc., and then after Yao and Shin are both dead he becomes king himself and enjoys a long reign. This, after consideration and comparison of the authorities, might be thought impossible. For the difference between the commencements of the reigns, respectively, of Yao and Yu is as follows: —

According to Semakuang 2357 and 2207 = 150 years.

“ “ Panku 2303 “ 2183 = 120 “

“ “ Bambus-Book 2147 “ 1991 = 156 “

While this last authority is deemed the best on the subject it is seen that in it there is a greater difference than in the others.

Now, while there is no reason to doubt the historical existence of Yu the Great, any more than there is that of Cæsar or Tamerlane, still there is no confidence, historically speaking, to be placed in the inscription, spoken of above, as left by Yu upon the mountain Yu-lu-fun, which is of the same class and sprung from the same source as that of some of the so-called historical ballads in the Shuking. The inscription itself, however, which is quite ancient, evinces the great antiquity of writing in China; for the characters in which it is written are perfectly conventional and the meaning is quite clear. The French version made of it by Father Amiot is a transcript of the simple text in which considerable interpolation has been made, as an examination of the original proves. Of this original, which is pure ancient Chinese, von Klaproth's is the first which deserves to be called a translation, and some parts, even of it, might be rendered more accurately.

In it “the venerable emperor, Yao, tells his assistant and counsellor how that the lowlands and valleys are overflowed and nothing but the mountain tops, the forests, and caverns are out of the water. He enjoins upon him, as a care, to open such channels as will let off the water and to provide measures against the overflow. He complains of having been long necessitated to live apart from his house, upon the top of Yo-lu, his body being consumed with anxiety and with a restless spirit. He walked to and fro; he settled; he ordained. He declared emphatically that Shoo-a, Yo, Tai, Shen are the beginning and end of his numerous works. However, his task is now completed: he has offered his sacrifice in the second month; his trouble is at an end, the dark destiny being



changed; the streams of the south now flow down to the sea; clothing is now to be had; food is in store; the people are freed from anxiety and all enjoy themselves in mirthfulness and dancing."

All this refers to the wonted rising and outbreak of several streams in the northern part of the now empire of China, not to any general overflow of water throughout the whole of the country; and the confusion of the missionaries arises from their understanding this event as referring to the Flood of Noah, to which at least similarly to either the Hebrew, Chaldaean or even Hindu records the Chinese annals do not refer.

This Yu, whose name is spelled in Chinese with the same signs as that which they have translated Yao, and whose date is given above, was, as said before, the founder of the first dynasty of the Chinese, which is reckoned by the moderns as strictly historic. With him they begin the history proper. His dynasty is called that of Hia. There is, however, no good reason to doubt the historical character of Yao, which is understood to be proved by an astronomical passage in the Shuking, translated by Ideler.

In the first chapter of Yao the four Zoadical signs are recorded, namely, the equinoxes and the solstices, with which, in his time the four cardinal points of the year coincided. Of these, two still bear the same name; and an explanation of the other two is found in a tradition emanating from learned men in the time of the Han. Ideler having computed the constellations backward for 4000 years, from 1837 A. D. to 2163 B. C., found the latter date to differ by only sixteen years (2163 instead of 2147) from the date given in the Bambus Book for the commencement of Yao's reign. That is, the year 2163 would be 16 years prior to his accession. If he began his reign in 2147 and reigned, as given in the tradition, 101 years he ended his reign in 2046 B. C., at which time his son-in-law, Shin, would have come to the throne, intermediately between him and Yu, our first so-called historic dynast. As seen above, according to Panku, Yao, began his reign in 2303 and so ended in 2202 B. C.; and, according to the Semakuang, he reigned from 2357 to 2256 B. C. About the year 2000 B. C., therefore, did (with the grace of our modern permission) the historic dynasties begin to exist in China; all preceding which we, of course, decide to have been mythical; our Yu being a trifle later than Menes.

But, in regard to Ideler's calculation, the Jesuit Gaubil says that very little reliance can be placed on that astronomical entry

in the Shuking in connection with the reign of Yao, because we cannot be sure that the place of the stars was at that time accurately calculated. Freret, also, thinks there is an uncertainty to the extent of three degrees, which would leave a margin of 210 years. It is understood, however, that Gaubil was obliged to be circumspect, for it is stated on good authority, that in compliance with orders from Rome, the Jesuits did not venture to dwell too much upon the antiquity of observations or other data which antedated the Flood. Ideler's computation appears, on the whole, effectual and trustworthy and to furnish the data here sought for in connection with the entries in the Chinese history.

Freret says that, according to the most ancient account in the Shuking, Chap. Y. hiun, of the 12th month of the first year of Taikin, the second ruler of the Shang (second dynasty) the only chronological systems respecting the commencement of Yao's reign, on which reliance can be placed, are those of the Bambus-Book and the Semakuang. But even thus there is still the discrepancy between 2147 and 2357. In order, therefore, to the more definite determination of the date it is felt that recourse must be had to the oldest astronomical data possibly attainable.

From the entry in the 12th moon of the first year of Taikin, the second king of the Shang, who according to the Annals reigned from 1753 to 1721, the date of Yao's accession must have been either 2357, as according to the Semakuang and the Annals, or 2147, as according to the Bambus Book, for which last date Freret has 2145.

Some might suppose the chronological date, 2348 B. C., given at the head of the middle column of Genesis VIII-X., as for the approximate time of the occurrence of the Deluge, had been made out to suit the date of 2357 of the Semakuang for the accession of Yao, who thus, instead of Yu, would stand for Noah.\* But it is by

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\* The following article, which I find in a daily paper, the *St. Louis Republican*, of March 16th, 1888, as it has been copied into the newspapers generally from the *North China Daily News*, shows that the valley of the Yellow River is as yet subject to some such freshets as it has been of old, and that there is yet need occasionally of such engineers as we may suppose Yu the son of Kuen to have been to restrain the floods, without our necessarily

no means certain, nor have I ever seen it mooted, that our chronologist, Usher, had in his mind either Yao or Yu, as being the patriarch Noah. Nothing, probably, can be made out of the sur-

thinking him to have been equal in engineering skill to the patriarch Noah : —

#### YELLOW RIVER OVERFLOW.

OVER SIXTY THOUSAND MEN EMPLOYED IN REPAIRING THE BREAKS — TWENTY MILLION TAELS TO BE SPENT IN RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

The *North China Daily News* has made an interesting discovery. Those who are familiar with the map of China know that the Yellow River, as it existed a few months ago, after running from north to south, suddenly turned nearly due east, and held this course along the northern part of the province of Honan, emerging from which and entering Shantung, it took a northeasterly direction, ultimately emptying into the Gulf of Petchili. What happened on the occasion of the recent catastrophe was that the river burst its banks about the middle point of its journey through Honan, and turning southward spread itself over that province, or made its way to the Yangtse via the Grand Canal and other minor routes. Shantung, therefore, ceased to receive its waters, and large tracts of land in the latter province consequently became arable. It was generally supposed by foreigners that in none of its previous escapades had the river taken this route through Honan, and that as the natural configuration of the country seemed to lend itself to the river's new course, any attempt to restore it to its old channel must prove a failure. But it has now been discovered, by reference to Baron Richthofen's letters, published in 1879, that two years previously (1868) the Yellow River burst its banks at a point only ten miles higher up stream than the present breach, and poured out its waters over practically the very region now immersed. The only difference was one of degree. In 1868 the breach was comparatively small, the depth of the inundation was much less and the loss of life was insignificant. The government succeeded in repairing the bank and restraining the river in its former channel at a cost of 2,000,000 taels. On the present occasion it is proposed to spend 20,000,000, and there seems to be no valid reason why the restoration of the river to its old course should not be effected.

No one seems able to determine what shall be done with the Yellow River. The question remains *statu quo*, and the river too. The mischievous stream made its way, as our readers will remember, into the low-lying lands of Honan and Anhui, which it converted into a lake, while at the same time large tracts of land in Shantung, formerly covered by its waters, have now become cultivable. Whether the balance is one of loss or of gain to the Chinese Empire has not yet been determined. But how is the river to be dealt with? Some hold that the course now taken by the stream is that indicated by nature. Dr. Williamson, who ought to be competent to speak, maintains this view. The river now, he says, runs through "lakes which can in a measure receive its overflow, through a vast area which it can irrigate, and through a natural channel throughout its whole length to the sea." He therefore advocates encouraging the river to remain in the course which it has taken. But this theory, sensible as it sounds, has one drawback; no one is in a position to say where a natural channel to the sea does exist from the lakes into which the river has poured itself, and from the areas it has inundated.

face similarity of the forms, Yao and Noah, or of the connected forms Yao and Shin with Noah and Shem; for, although the N and the Y both in the Indo-European and Semitic languages may be understood as having arisen from the G, yet the subject is of such antiquity, the Chinese being justly regarded as the base of them both, we can only say here the words may have had a distinct origin,

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On the contrary, the evidence goes to show that as yet no considerable volume of the errant waters has found an outlet seawards.

An engineer, J. C. Fergusson, who lately paid a visit to the river, recommends the formation, along its upper course, of huge reservoirs. Into these the overflow could be turned in flood seasons, and when the river fell again the water in the reservoirs would flow back, free of silt, materially helping to scour and cut out the channel. Nature herself employs this system of reservoirs. Examples of them are furnished in China by the Tung-ting and Poyang lakes, which in summer are actual inland lakes, but in winter become vast expanses of sand with little streams creeping through them. It is, however, objected to this scheme that the reservoirs would occupy as much land as the river bed has now flooded, some 5,000,000 acres, and that the remedy would not be permanent, since new reservoirs would be required so soon as the old tilted up. It is evident that the essential preliminary to any sound plan is a survey by competent engineers, and this the Chinese authorities have not yet ordered, though they seem to be growing sensible of the necessity.

The Tsing Kian Pu correspondent of the *Temperance Union* writes, under date of January 23, as follows: There are now 60,000 or upwards of men at work on the old bed of the Yellow River. Of these about 10,000 are in the vicinity of this city. The channel opened seems to a casual observer very narrow, but according to statements given by those engaged in the work it will be of considerable depth. The aim is to get the whole channel ready before the freshets next summer. From what I am able to learn the breaches in Honan are being closed, and the bank will be opened at the proper place to let the water into the old channel when ready for it. A few days ago I saw more than 30,000 taels of silver wheeled out to pay the workmen. They are paid 164 cash per day and find their own food.

A Tientsin journal states that the number of Yellow River flood refugees, most of whom are in a most pitiable condition, tormented both by hunger and cold, is about 110,000, and until the spring sets in no diminution can take place. A meeting was held on January 16 at Tientsin, attended by a good number of prominent foreign residents, when it was resolved that subscription lists shall be sent to the foreign community, appealing for their charitable contributions. We find it also stated that the native officials, gentry and traders have given large benefactions this year in particular to the poor. Various soup-kitchens have been opened, at one of which 6,000 people daily receive two substantial meals.

The *Chinese Times* says: All inquiries tend to show that about a third of China north of the Yellow River is suffering more or less acute distress, and in Honan and Anhwe large parts of these governments are under water and are likely to remain so for some years. The only remedy possible is to take the people away and put them into new countries, such as Manchuria, which can readily receive a few million people, who might in a few months support themselves and in a few years become prosperous citizens.



and from different circumstances. The Chinese language is far removed from the Egyptian formation, which a comparison of the original languages and a study of their progressive development shows as compared with it to represent the middle ages of mankind, the Turanian and Chamitic stages of development. For proofs of the vast antiquity which even the numerous records of language compel us to assign to the origins of the Chinese, search may be still made in other quarters than in the extant chronology recognized as standard. Owing, indeed, to the great antiquity of the historical records of the Old Testament, especially the patriarchal, it was found at an early period in the progress of the inquiry that China was remarkably deficient in authentic, contemporaneous monuments of any period prior to the historical commencement of connected Hebrew chronology. It may have been from the unchronological character of the period prior to Yao, that Confucius does not, in his commentary, dwell upon this period. The reigns which have been ascribed to it, to a greater or less number, appear from an analysis of the fragments to be rather of a traditionary character.

The reigns of Yao and Shin constitute, in the modern chronological sense, the Second Period, being the transition from what they call the mythic to the historical. It is usually computed at 150 years; but the Bambus-Book allows them 156 years of reign. As seen above, according to the Balladic version of the Shuking, these two rulers are not only placed in historical connection with each other but with the founder of the first historic dynasty, whom they call Yu or Ta-Yu; the great and good Yu; others, Pankee, for instance, (as is supposed in order to render this somewhat the less apparently improbable) have reduced this period, the latter, at least, to 120 years. There is here apparently a gap which they have been trying to patch up: and the historical and imperial chronology commences with Yu. To the original seat of the race, the northern district of Shen-si, pertains the particular history of Yao and Shin, and it is not certain that they were personally connected.

THE IMPERIAL DYNASTIES OF THE CHINESE FROM 2000 B. C. TO  
264 A. D. :

The following are the dates of the canon in the Bambus-Book of  
the third Epoch ; the Imperial Dynasties.

	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Beginning.</i>
I. Dynasty Hia, First Emperor Yu ;		<i>B. C.</i>
Duration.....	432	1991
II. Dynasty Shang, First Emperor,		
twenty-eight reigns in fifteen gen-		
erations. Duration.....	509	1559
III. Dynasty Tsheu, length of the first		
eleven reigns.....	269	1050
Twelfth King, Yeu Yang: his year		
is the identical day and year of the		
eclipse of the sun of 776 B. C., as re-		
corded in the Shu-King, consequently		
his first year is 781. Under this dy-		
nasty lived Confucius, who calculated		
the solar eclipses between 720 and 481		
B. C. (551-479).		
	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Beginning.</i>
		<i>B. C.</i>
IV. Dynasty Tsin. Duration 255-207	=49	255
V. Dynasty Han. Duration from 206		
B. C. to 264 A. D.....	470	206
		to
		A. D.
		264

AS TO THE CHINESE CYCLES OF 60 YEARS ; OF 19 YEARS ; OF  
129,600 YEARS ; AND AS TO THEIR CYCLES GENERALLY AS WELL  
AS THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS IN ASTRONOMY IN VERY EARLY TIMES :

The astronomical cycle of 60 years which we have seen first  
mentioned in the 61st year of Hoang-Ti and the 77th recurrence  
of which, it is said, will happen in 1924 A. D., appears to have  
been a primitive institution of the Chinese and a key to their astron-

omical calculations. A consideration of the Chaldaean and Egyptian systems, in connection with that of the Chinese, leads to the conclusion of the greater antiquity of the latter as a primitive and very simple equation of lunar and solar years.

The Egyptian periods, called *Trikontæteridæ*, or festivals held every thirty years, are thought to be explainable by the cycle of 60 years, which is supposed to have been divided into two parts in order to give each king the opportunity of having them celebrated in his reign. In his work on Isis and Osiris (c. 75), Plutarch unquestionably alludes to this cycle, when he says that the sixty eggs of the crocodile and the sixty years that it lived were admitted by persons skilled in astronomy to be symbolical, to be the first measure or lowest unit of the equation of time. At the end of every 60 years there was a difference of half a month between the fixed tropical and the vague civil year. When Martini asserts that the Egyptians computed by the Era of 60 years of Hoangho? he doubtless ment Hoang-Ti.

We find the Indians to have commenced their cycles with the rude equation of five years; but it is supposed they made use of one of  $12 \times 5$  or 60 years as a corrective formula. But there is no proof of their being acquainted with the Chaldee cycle of 600 years, which evidently belongs to a date posterior to that people's having made a remarkable advancement in science.

But, in regard to the Chinese, Ideler (p. 214) has fully established that they used a lunar year, which they regulated by the solar year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days. It is, also, satisfactorily proven that they used a sexagesimal cycle for days, months (of 5 years,  $5 \times 12 = 60$ ) and years. The cycle for days implies a year of  $6 \times 60 = 360$  days, as well as a fixed lunar year. Their Metonic cycle of 19 years, equaling 235 synodic months (that is,  $19 \times 12 = 228 + 7$  intercallary months), only occurs after the time of Han, whose dynasty embraced the beginning of the Christian era. Still they must have used, prior to that time, a cycle for the same purpose of equation, and everything tends to the conclusion that it was one of 60 years; \* for the cycle of 60 days can be explained by it; and the cycle of 60 years must have been so arranged that after a certain period the annual cycle was again coincident with the first daily cycle. There appears, it is true, no direct mention of it in the Shuking; and the

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\* That is,  $60 \text{ years} = 60 \times 12 = 720 + 22$  [intercallary months] = 742 months.

notation of the *Annals* by means of it after the time of Yao, as appears in their present arrangement, may have been afterwards introduced by calculation. Yet, even if not in use therein, it is universally admitted that this system is well adapted to the old chronology.

One circumstance is seen by Ideler to be explained by it, which he fails to perceive is explainable in any other way; this is, that the year so arranged by Yu gradually got into such disorder, that, instead of beginning at the sign of Aquarius, it receded into the sign of Sagittarius.

In the idea of Freret it must have been computed as follows: 60 solar years=742 months—2 days and 20 hours. Therefore, in 600 years=7420 months— $28\frac{1}{3}$  days=1 small lunar month of 29 days with far less error than the Julian intercalary period, which is 1 day in excess every 125 years.

Now, as made out from Ideler (78 *seq.*) the following divisions of time were in use among the Chaldaeans:—

1. The year of 12 years, the *Annus Chaldaeus* of Censorinus, for the fertility of the years. Scaliger found that the 12 yearly zodiacal cycle, which is in use among the Tartars, Mongols, Mandschus, Igurians, the Thibetans, Japanese and Siamese, dated from the earliest times. Among some of the Tartaric peoples, however, this is a cycle of 60 years ( $12 \times 5$ ).

2. The cycles of 60 years—600 years—3600 years.

Sossos            Neros            Saros

When we find, in connection with this system, that 600 years give an excess of one lunar month with much greater accuracy than the Julian year, we conclude it probable that this cycle must have been in use among the Chinese, it being indispensable where that of 60 years was in use; or it must have been in use with those from whom they borrowed the latter.

The Saros cycle of  $6 \times 600 = 3600$  years does not pertain to the equation of the year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days with the lunations. Wherever the lunar year was the one in general use it was only necessary to intercalate months not years as was the case with the Egyptians.

The Chinese Cosmic year of 129,600 years mentioned by Shao-



Kang-tsi and Tshu-hi (Neuman, p. 59), also implies the periods of 60 and 600 years : —

$$\begin{aligned}\text{For } 129,600 &= 6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216 \times 600 \\ &= 2160 \times 60 : \text{ Then } 2160 = 6 \times 360,\end{aligned}$$

a multiple which hardly can be accidental.

It is generally admitted that the year of 360 days has in it so much astronomical significance that it must have been a good deal recognized in the ancient calculations. For, first,  $360 = 12 \times 30$ ; and, secondly, the three decades into which the month is divided imply a reference to 30, the number of days in a month as being the standard for the year. In the "little" month the decade consists of only nine days.

Now, it being admitted that the Chinese, from the earliest times, made use of a sexagesimal cycle for the division of the year  $= 6 \times 60$  days, and that they marked the years by a cycle of 60 years, running concurrently with the cycle of days, what, it may be asked, have we to learn from this?

1st. We conclude that this cycle must have been instituted originally at a time when the first day of the daily cycle coincided with the first year of the annual cycle, that is, when they commenced on the same day.

To find out when this was some think impossible, owing to the irregularity of the old calendar; but it might, possibly, by the patient collection and collation of the ancient data be ultimately ascertained.

In regard to astronomical observations, for example, Laplace found that the notice about the size of the sun's shadow, as observed by the viceroy Tsheu-Kung, about 1100 B. C., was singularly correct. By this prince, the brother of Wuwang, the founder of the Tsheu dynasty, was the shadow measured at the solstice.

Of the most ancient astronomical entry in the Shuking (chap. Y hiün) the date, according to Gaubil (in his *Lettres Edifiantes*, pp. 322; comp. 272) is the first year of Tai-Kia, the second ruler of the Shang. But the most important entry is in the first chapter of that record. The signs of the four cardinal points of the year are there noted in the reign of Yao. By inspection and calculation Ideler found that they were exactly correct for a period of about 4000 years before 1837 A. D., that is, to about 2163 B.

C.; and this, according to the most trusted authorities, as seen above, is near the time set down for Yao's reign. But, according to the chronology of the celestial empire now in use, which has been framed on no sufficiently limited basis, it is placed in the year 2300 B. C.

If after sufficient research and accumulation an attempt should be made to fix the ancient chronology care should be taken that the data be properly understood. It is easy, for instance, to calculate backwards eclipses of the sun as the Romans, Greeks and Egyptians have done. But phenomena of rare occurrences, which are difficult to calculate, such as the conjunctions of the planets, must be either contemporary notices of some extraordinary phenomena or sheer inventions.

One instance that may be mentioned is the observation of a conjunction of five planets (among which the sun and moon are spoken of) on the first day of Leitschin in the reign of Tsheuen-hiu, the second successor of Hoang-Ti.

Suppose this were the conjunction of the three upper planets, to which Kepler first directed his attention in reference to the date of Christ's birth, and which occurs every 794 years and four months; then it occurred in the following years: —

	7	years,	4	mos.	12	da.	A. D.
	786	“	6	“	00	“	B. C.
	1580	“	10	“	12	“	B. C.
	2375	“	2	“	24	“	B. C.

This last date might answer to the conjunction in the time of Tscheuen-hiu; for, according to the official Chinese Tables, as given in Ideler's work, he reigned from 2513 to 2436; but the dates vary to the extent of more than 200 years and the year 2375 comes within the limits of these fluctuations.

#### AS TO THE PRIMITIVE DIVISIONS OF THE YEAR AMONG THE CHINESE:

On this most of our information is derived from Gaubil and is as follows: —

1. In the second dynasty the day commenced at mid-day. The founder of the third dynasty, Wee-wang, fixed it at midnight.

2. The week of seven days ( $Zi = 7$ ) is proved by the 28 lunar stations to be of great antiquity among the Chinese, but it was by them only for astrological purposes. It plainly depended, originally upon the four lunar phases, but in China, as elsewhere, it was connected with a certain succession of the planets. Gaubil says Confucius mentions the Zi-week as being in use in the time of Tsheu, the third dynasty :

3. Their solar year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days the Chinese began to reckon from the day of the winter solstice, which they fixed by observation of the longest shadow on the ground at midday.

4. Their civil year commenced at the lunar month in which the sun entered Pisces. This is determined by the conjunction in Aquarius. The beginning of the first moon is the new moon in Aquarius, consequently the vernal equinox is the full moon of the second moon, the Autumnal equinox the full moon of the eighth. With the full moon of the fifth and tenth months the solstice coincides.

The Chinese have four seasons of three months each, being the first, second and third moons of each season. They are divided into six sections (zi tshi) of 15 to 16 days. Hence they divide the ecliptic into 24 equal parts, each containing half a sign.

1. Zi tshi. Winter Solstice, Dec. 21 = beginning of Capricorn.
4. " Beginning of Spring, Feb. 5 = middle of Capricorn = 45 days before the vernal equinox. Sid-suen = the first new moon of the year.
7. " Vernal equinox = March 22 = beginning of Aries.
10. " Beginning of Summer, May 5 = middle of Tauros.
13. " Summer Solstice, June 22 = beginning of Cancer.
16. " Beginning of Autumn, Aug. 5 = middle of Leo.
19. " Autumnal equinox, Sept. 22 = beginning of Libra.
22. " Beginning of Winter, Nov. 5 = middle of Sagittarius.

The beginning of their civil year, as above is seen in the month nearest to the middle of Aquarius, is said to have been instituted by Tshuen-hiü (2513-2436 B. C.), that is, one of the kings prior to Yu, the first historical dynast, so called.

The great Yu farther ordained that the first month of Spring, that is, the month in which the sun entered into Pisces (Gaubil,

Traité, 21), should be the first of the year, consequently 45 days before the equinox, equal to Feb. 5th. In the Annals it is stated that during the second dynasty, Shang (1766–1154 B. C.) the beginning of the civil year was moved forward *one month*, that is to about Jan. 7th, consequently the year began when the sun entered the sign of Aquarius.

In the third dynasty, Tsheu (1122–314 B. C.) it was again brought forward *a month*, and, therefore, it began in the month in which the sun entered capricorn or about Dec. 7th. This is based upon old traditions and notices of solar eclipses, which have been preserved in the commentary of Zo-Tshuen upon Confucius' Annals of the collateral dynasty, which commentary was written about the year 500 B. C.

In the time of the Tsin (255–207 B. C.) the beginning of the year was pushed back one sign (Ideler, N.): but it would seem, notwithstanding, that the system of Yu was always adhered to, namely, that the month with which the year commenced should be called the *vernal month*. In the time of the Tsheu, therefore, the beginning of Spring in the civil calendar fell in the middle of Saggittarius or about Nov. 7th.

All these changes are explainable by the cycle of 60 years, in which every 600 years had an error of one month.

Taking the year 2200 as the beginning of the first dynasty Hia, then:—

	month was lost at the year 1600 :	
2 months were	“ “ “ “	1000 :
3 “ “ “ “	“ “ “ “	400 :

This took place under the Tshin (255–207) and must have occurred after 256 and before 206 (the year in which the Han succeeded).

From a variety of considerations it appears that the supposed beginning of the reign of Yu cannot be sustained. It is, however, worthy of remark that the great solar eclipse mentioned in the Annals as occurring during the reign of Shin (the immediate predecessor of Yu) took place on the 25th of October, 2007, which, according to the most trusted authority, was the 16th year before the accession of Yu. Granting this assumption to be correct (*i.e.*, that 1991 B. C.=the first year of the first recognized historic dy-



nasty) and calling this beginning in round numbers 2000 B. C., we shall have those periods to have commenced in the years:—

2000 — 1400 — 800 — 200:

which last is nearly the first year of the Tsin. During the reign of this dynasty (48 years) a permanent improvement was made in the calendar.



CONCERNING THE ORIGINES, THE PRIMITIVE HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDOOS.

Of these peoples the origines and early history are found to be somewhat obscure. They are of the Arian stock and came into the country in the very early ages from those northern districts, which in those times or in the later times in books were called Iran (*i.e.*, Airya).

THE FOUR COSMIC AGES OF THE HINDOOS AND THEIR RATIONAL ANALYSIS IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORIC RECORDS OF THE HINDOOS LEFT US BY MEGASTHENES, ARRIAN AND OTHERS:

I will begin with their exhibit of the four Cosmic ages, so-called.

According to Manu, the patriarch of the human race, the world had passed through three ages, and this being so, as a natural consequence, we have been living in the fourth age from or from before the time of Manu. The synopsis is as follows:—

	Years.
Satya (Krita), 4,800 years of Gods, reckoned each at 360 human years .....	= 1,728,000
Trêta, 3,600 years of Gods, each 360 human years..	= 1,296,000
Dvapara, 2,400 years of Gods.....	= 864,000
Kali, 1,200 “ “ “ .....	= 432,000
	<hr/>
	Total, 4,320,000

In the first book of Manu these names are explained as follows : —

- I. Truth ..... Prevailing Piety.
- II. The three Sacrificial Flames ..... Knowledge.
- III. Doubt ..... Sacrificial Worship.
- IV. Sins ..... Liberality.

Max Mueller and Lassen thought the original reference in this system of Cosmic Ages was to the changes of the moon ; but if there were any such reference it must have been an indirect one, for the arbitrary make up simply indicates ages in some sort, mythical, of course, but made out in an astronomical way. It is allowed that myth implies history as a counterfeit implies an original, or a false God a true one ; but the question which concerns us here is how far back into the antiquity does the history of India, which we have, give us a connected thread? Even the old hymns of that country imply a great antiquity for its history, as well as the hundreds of years of cataclysms, which separate the so-called historic ages from each other, imply history in some sort before and after those gaps.

Proceeding to an analysis of the numbers, which make up those Cosmic Ages, we find the number constituting the fourth, namely, 432,000, to be made up of  $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216 \times 2 \times 1,000 = 432,000$  ; the third age to be the double of this fourth ; the second to be its treble and the first its quadruple, in duration ; *i.e.*,  $432,000 \times 4 = 1,728,000$  years, which is the number of years given for the first age.

The best source of information concerning a connected ancient history of India is the information of that sort left by Megasthenes, a Greek writer. He has the reputation of having been well learned and generally well accomplished for his age. After the short war which had place between Seleucus Nicanor and Sandrokottus (Kandragupta) a King of India, he went as envoy for Nicanor to the court of the latter at Palibothra, where he accomplished his mission cleverly and effected besides a matrimonial alliance. The information he sets out to convey, then, concerning ancient India is supposed to be derived from headquarters and his statements on that ancient subject, especially as contained in Arrian, are the main source from which the Greeks and Romans since the time of the latter have derived their information on that subject.

Megasthenes begins his account by stating that between the reign of Dionysos (whom he makes his first historic King of India, and who was succeeded by Spatembas) and that of Sandrakottus there were 153 Kings. The best Mss. of Pliny gave the same number as does Arrian. These are said to have reigned 6042 years; but, according to Pliny's copy, 6452. The critics consider they have some reason to think Pliny's statement the more correct one.

In the sentence whereof these statements now given form a part there are a few words wanting; but Duncker and other eminent critics conclude the sense to be that the succession of kings in that long period was thrice broken by the introduction of a government of the people, which Diodorus in two parallel passages calls a democracy in the separate cities or states. We also learn that the durations of these interruptions were, respectively, the first for 200, the second for 300 and the last for 120 years. Deducting the sum of these, that is, 620 from 6452 years we have left 5832 years, which being divided by 153, the number of kings, gives 38 years of average reign, which, being somewhat too large an average for experience, plainly indicates there is something wrong at the bottom of the calculation. For such a long period experience shows the average reign would not probably be over 26 to 28 years at the most, which last average would allow to the 153 kings an aggregate of 4284 years; while an average of 20 years, which might appear to experience just as reasonable, and which is two years more than Sir Isaac Newton found to be the average length of reign of monarchs, would give to the 153 kings an aggregate of 3060 years. We have no need here, therefore, of supposing contemporary, parallel lines of kings, inasmuch as the time given for the 153 kings would require, at our calculation, double that number of kings in succession to occupy it.

Lassen supposed this list of Megasthenes to represent the three last Cosmic ages, beginning with Treta, but others, with perhaps more reason, applied it to the whole four, their argument being that the three breaks were caused by falls or displacements of dynasties in each case, and that the three breaks imply the four periods, one respectively for the end of the first of the second and of the third.

The length of the reign of his first king, Dionysus, Megasthenes does not seem to have given. He represents him as having found a rude population, clothed in skins, unacquainted with agriculture and without fixed habitations. To him is ascribed the introduction



of agriculture and a degree of civilization. By a close consideration of the data given we might succeed in approximately determining the time of the Arian immigration to India, for Dionysus is represented as the leader of that immigration into India, of people of the same identical Turanic stock as in the main were already in occupation of the country. Dionysus, according to Diodorus, died in India after he had reigned 52 years; which term is allowed by the same author to his colleague and successor Spatembas. Dionysus is the celebrated God Bacchus; whether Spatembas was afterwards understood as a God does not appear; but if their term or reign was meant to symbolize the Zodiac or course of the sun, then we may suppose the number of weeks in the year was signified by fifty-two.

Spatembas was succeeded by his son, Budyas, who reigned twenty-two years; and he by Kradeuas.

Fifteen generations after Dionysus reigned Hercules (Krishna): Diodorus represents him as having built several cities, one of which was Palibothra. He had many sons, to each of whom he left a kingdom, as well as one to his daughter, Pandara.

Some modern interpreters understand Dionysos as the elder Manu, the Primeval Man, son of the Sun (Vivasvat). He appears to hold a somewhat similar position in the primeval history of India as does Gemshid (Jima) among the Iranians. According to Arrian no date of reign is given to him in Megasthenes. Doubtless the latter understood him as a God, to a ruler of which character the Indians allowed 1000 years of reign.

If Dionysus is the elder Manu, Spatembas would reasonably be understood as the Younger Manu (Svayambhuva, the self-existent) who is regarded by the Indians as the progenitor of all their kings.

In Budyas, *i.e.*, Buddha (Mercury, son of the moon) husband of Ilâ (Earth) who was daughter of Spatembas, we possibly have another reign of a God represented. His name signifies the "awakened." It has been suggested that the 22 years of reign ascribed to him may be through mistake for 28, the four weeks of the phases of the moon.

The races of the Moon are supposed by the Sanskrit lists to be derived from him (Kandravansa); and from this race are descended the kings of Magadha (Palibothra, Pataliputra, above Patna on the Ganges). According to the Book of Manu, on the other hand, the race of the Sun is descended from Manu. In Megasthenes' epitome

mists the two races appear somewhat mixed up. It appears that the race of the Moon were not content to give precedence to that of the Sun, the Kings of Oude (Ayodhya).

The name of the successor of Budyas is more properly read Purûrava than as the Greeks have it Kradeuas. It is likely Megasthenes read it Prareuas, which would have given rise to the latter form. Pururava means "the glorious:" He appears in the Veda as a mythical personage, the husband of Urvasi, a celestial water nymph (Apsaras or Apsara, *i.e.*, Undine). He is represented in the epics as a great conqueror and powerful ruler, who, however, perished, as a result of his own presumption. The system of castes (from Varna, color, perhaps from the castes being distinguished by differently colored garments) originated with him. Before his time the Arian people were undivided and only one God, Narâyana, (Egyptian Naharaina, Rivers?) was worshiped. At the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, namely, Allahabad, was his royal residence.

All this is supposed to be the tradition of the learned men at the court of Sandrokokottus.

The ruler in the fifteenth succession was Krishna, whom the Greeks call the Indian Hercules, and who was especially worshiped in the country of the Surasêns. He is the king in the land of the Prasians (the Easterns) having his royal residence at Mathura, Weber thinks that the notion of his posterity being descended from him and his own late-born daughter Pandaea is but a misunderstanding of the old myth of the creation of the world in connection with a female. The probable historical sense of it, as it appears also in the Pragâpati, is that the renowned race of Pandava, with whose downfall the third era concluded, or perhaps the princely house of Pandiva (Pandya) whose residence was Madura (later Mathura), in the Southern country of the Ganges, were descended from Krishna's daughter. Sir Wm. Jones (Works, vol. IV. 209) says the Sacred books expressly place an Avatâra between the first and second eras. This impersonation, which does not exist in the Vedas is Krishna. It is probable, also, that Rama, the third divine hero, the extirpator of the royal races, is introduced between the second and third eras. This position of Rama is discovered by Lassen from the tradition to have been quite ancient.

Megasthenes, then, represents his first era as of fifteen or sixteen generations, having a God as the founder and a God as the destroyer of the dynasty.

Now, the Arian tradition represents not Krishna as succeeding to Purûrava, of the race of the moon, but Ayus, whose son, Nahusha (the man, human?), is represented as being under the ban on account of his overbearing character. Upon the death of his grandson, the much esteemed Yayâti, the partition of the world takes place. To his youngest son, Puru, he left his kingdom and to his other four sons he distributed the rest of the earth. In this matter his sons were treated like the three sons of Ferêdun, who, when the partition of the earth took place among them, as according to Firdusi, the youngest, Iredsh, obtains Iran, the home country; and the other two, Selm and Tur, obtain the western and eastern countries respectively, the latter having for his share Turkestan and Tshin (China). This, in the mind of some, would indicate not only the settlement of China and Manchuria, but the western countries of Europe also by the Iranians. The four other sons of Yayâti are named in order: Yadu, the father of Yadava, people of the south; Turvasu, the father of lawless races, with whom some of the books connect the Yâvana; Druhyn, the ancestor of the inhabitants of the deserts by the sea, who had no kings; Anu, the patriarch of the northern people.

These four primeval names occur in the hymns of the Rigveda in the same order. Max Muller suggested that Turvasu might contain the tribal name of Turan and Turk. In the battle song of the Rigveda, Turvasa is the leader of the races who are the enemies of Indra; and in the Zend books the Turanians are styled Firdusi's Tûirya, *i.e.*, the foes of Firdusi, king of the Iranians. The south-east of India doubtless pertained to this race, being inhabited from the Vindya mountains by Turanian races.

But to Anu the dominion of the north is given. It is thought the Bactrians are meant or the Assyrians, and it is a remarkable coincidence that the name of the ancestor of the Assyrian kings was Anu, which was also the name of a god of the Assyrians.

But, according to the Indian tradition, the patriarch, Yayati, reigned a thousand years. He is supposed to represent the interval between the era of the primeval or mythical world and the beginnings of history proper, or it might mean a transition from one mythic period to another, the name meaning "advancement," "progress." If the period of fourteen or sixteen rulers, over which we have passed, represent the first period, then it ended with

a kingdom in the Punjab, of which only very vague reminiscences have been preserved, and then ensues a democracy after it for 200 years, as according to Megasthenes.

The Sarasvati Kingdoms begin our second era, whose great heroes are the Bharata; and the Ramâyana is the epic representation of it and its violent end. To this era ensues a democracy of 300 years.

In the third era, the Pankâla (the five races), the conquerors of the Bharatidæe struggle with the Kuru and the latter again with the Pandava, after whose war of extermination the last era ensues.

As, according to Megasthenes, the first era closes with Krishna-Hercules, so apparently does the second with Rama; and as the Râmâyana is the epode of this second period, so is the Mahabharata of the third. The mutual contentions of the princes themselves here bring about their own downfall.

According to our application there should 120 years intervene between the third and fourth eras; but in some of the Parsee books there appears here again the mythical period of 1000 years, which simply means that the duration of the interval could not, at the time of the making of the list, be exactly determined.

Our assumption, then, of the Cosmic eras being representations, in some sort, of dynastic periods, and the intervening periods representing governments of the people, it is plain that down to the end of the third era, what information we have concerning those dynasties is rather of a shadowy character and without a chronology.

In regard to the chronological starting point of the Fourth Period it was found the Brahminical starting point of 3102 B. C. was in error more than 1000 years in the time of Alexander. The only certain point in regard to it is that Kandragupta (the Sandrakottus of Megasthenes) ascended the throne of Palibothra, in the kingdom of Magadha, between 320 and 312, probably 315 B. C.

Kandragupta overthrew the house of the Nanda, a royal house, indeed, respecting which the Brahminical traditions are very confused and contradictory. In a chronological point of view the notices of the earlier dynasties of the kingdom of Magadha are unchronological. The following is a shadowing forth of this



Fourth Period, in regard to the supposed dynasties and their periods, as according to Lassen (i. 501, Purana list):—

I.	Barhadrâtha.....	20 or 21 kings.....	1000 years.
II.	Pradyota.....	5	“ ..... 138 “
III.	Saisunâga .....	10	“ ..... 360 “
IV.	Nanda .....	9	“ ..... 100 “

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1598 “

Supposing the accession of Kandragupta to be... 315 “ B. C.

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Then the beginning of the Kali or Fourth Period

is.....1913 years B. C.

#### CONCERNING THE AGE OF BUDDHA.

The chronology of Buddha is recognized as the first resting place in the Indian history after we go back of Alexander. Lassen has proved that the only tradition worthy of notice in the chronology of Buddha is that of the Cingalese. (Lassen ii, 51-61). According to it in the year 543 B. C. Buddha escaped from the limitations of earthly existence, having then arrived at self-annihilation (Nirvâna).

The Buddhistic list of kings is that of the house of Magadha, which was then seated to the south of Pataliputra, in Ragagriha, so called after an ancient city of that name in the Upper Punjab. The house of Samudradatta from Mithila (Vidêha) consisting of 25 kings, of whom the last was called Dipankara, reigned there in the first instance. To this succeeded the house of Bhattiya, called also Mahapadma, “abounding in stones,” which was the Brahminical epithet of the house of the Nanda kings, the sons of Mahanandi and a Sudra. But as Bhattiya lost his independence the dynasty commences with his son Bimbasira, who reigned 52 years and was succeeded by his son Agatasatru, who reigned 32 years. The seventh king after Bimbasira was Sisunaga, who reigned 18 and was succeeded by Kalasoka, for 28 years, whose son Bhadrasêna, with 22 years for himself and his nine brothers, was the immediate predecessor of Nanda.

According to the Buddhist tradition, as intimated, Bhattiya became tributary to the king of Anga, but his enterprising son, afterwards King Bimbasira, expelled the tax collectors of the king of Anga, by whom the country was oppressed, defeated the king himself in battle, and made Kampa, the capital of Anga, his royal residence till his father's death. The latter had appointed him king in his fifteenth year, which is an explanation of the long reign of 52 years.

Now, Bimbasira was only five years younger than Buddha and in childhood a friend of his. When he was invested with the sovereignty by his father Buddha, was 20 years old. The latter was the son of Suddhodana of the race of the Sakhja, kings of Devadaha, and styles himself the Sramana Gautama, the colonist of the race of the holy patriarchs of the kings of the eastern country, Gotama, a name which occurs in the Veda as belonging to a celebrated family of minstrels.

Now, supposing Buddha to have died in 543 B. C., the traditions afford the following data for fixing the chronology: —

	B. C.
Buddha born 5 years before the birth of Bimbisara.....	598
Dedicates himself to reflection in his 29th year; Bimbisara's 24th year and the 10th year of his reign.....	569
Appears as teacher at 35, being the 16th year of Bimbisara's reign .....	563
Dies in the 21st year of his teachership, aged 56.....	543

If, therefore, Buddha died in 543 B. C., the first year of Bimbisara's reign was 578 B. C. and the list is as follows: —

#### I. The House of Bhattiya:

	B. C.
1. Bimbisara reigns 52 years.....	578—527
2. Agatasatru “ 32 “ .....	527—495
3. Udayabhadra (Udaya) reigns 16 years.....	495—479
4. Anurudhaka (Munda) reigns 8 years.....	479—471
5. Nagadasaka reigns 24 years.....	471—447
End of this dynasty.	

## II. The House of Sisunâga : —

1. Sisunaga reigned 18 years.....447—429
  2. Kalasoka reigned 28 years.....429—401
  3. Bhadrasêna and 9 brothers, 22 years.....401—379
- The last of the brothers, Pingamakha, was  
dethroned by Nanda.

## III. The House of Nanda and his sons : —

1. Nanda becomes king and reigns 66 years.....379—313
2. Nanda's younger brother dethroned by Kan-  
dragupta .....313—312

The dates and figures may not be all correct here, but they are approximate ; and the matter hath on the whole as clear a face, as with the data we possess we can undertake to give it. Mahananda, (the Great Nanda) ruled over “ the whole earth.” The Brahminical lists, which are often found untrustworthy, give him a reign of 43 years and the balance of twelve years of that dynasty to his son Sumâlya. Lassen makes the period of the dynasty 88 years ; but I conclude there is reasonable ground for the number I have given, 66, as being nearly correct.

To the kingdom of Kandragupta (the kingdom of the Prasians, that is, the Easterns), also belonged the peninsula of Gugerat, which extended on the north as far as the Indus and to the south as far as the mouths of the Ganges and the limits of Kalinga. His grandson and second successor may be said to have conquered the whole of Aryavâra. His forces are said to have consisted of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry and 900 elephants. He died in the 24th year of his reign, supposed 289 B. C. To him succeeded Vindusara, who reigned 28 years, consequently to B. C. 261. His successor, Asoka, is that king who adopted the doctrines of Buddhism. His inscriptions, in which the Buddhist doctrines are inculcated, and the 84,000 Buddhist sanctuaries (Kaitya), that is, partly temples and partly tumuli (Stupa, Topes), which he is reputed to have erected are, in the present day, admired among the monuments of Buddhism. His reign of 37 years was the meridian of the empire of the Maurya ; immediately after which its downfall took place, 225 B. C.

From what we have already had, the conclusion of historical criti-

cism will not be a matter of wonder, namely, that the four cosmic eras of Manu are but the mythical sacerdotal offsets to the obscurity of the history or the traditions of the four historical ages, or states, with their respective democracies or interregna at the end of the first three. If the first age contains only general mythical representations of the divine progenitors, with some minute details towards the close, this does not justly detract from the reality of the period itself. The indications enable us to conclude that the second period commenced previously to the old settlement in the country of the Five Rivers, on the Sarasvati, the holy land of the Brahmins. There must, therefore, have been a long antecedent period, commencing with the incoming of the Arians, and which implies there then residence within the country. The end of that first period cannot, I think, be reasonably put at a later date than 3000 B. C. We have then, according to Megasthenes, an interval of 200 years of democracy; then a second dynastic period connected at its end with a democracy of 300 years; then a third dynastic period, connected with a democracy of 120 years; after which commences the fourth period or Kaliyuga.

As the statement of the lengths of the monarchial periods can, in the circumstances, be only approximative, it may not be necessary to remark that to limit the time of the monarchies to about the double of the intervening times of democracy is not necessarily the most probable computation; for it is implied in the exceptions that the periods of monarchy were much longer than they.

Taking into consideration the 200 years of democracy after the end of the first period, it is reasonable to suppose that the second monarchial period commenced about the year 3000 B. C., and the calculations of the time of the beginning of the fourth period by Lassen justifies us in ascribing to the two middle periods an average of 800 years duration.

In these conditions the approximate determination of the epochs will be about as follows:—

	<i>B. C.—Years</i>
Beginning of Fourth Era, about.....	980 — 880
Duration of Third Democracy.....	120 — 120
End of the Third Era, about.....	1100 — 1000
Duration of Third Era, about.....	800 — 800
Beginning, therefore, of Third Era.....	1900 — 1800



Duration of Second Democracy.....	300 — 300
End, therefore, of Second Era.....	2200 — 2100
Duration of Second Period.....	800 — 800
Beginning, therefore, of Second Era.....	3000 — 2900
Duration of First Democracy.....	200 — 200
End, therefore, of First Period.....	3200 — 3100
	or
	3100 — 3000

As regards the duration of the First period from the immigration of the Arians into the Indus country to their becoming possessed of the land of the Sarasvati we have no standard to judge by, if it arise not to us from a consideration and comparison of language. All that it is expedient to say is that peculiar habits of life were contracted in the land of the Five Rivers (Punjab), and that out of the religion there instituted, allusions to which are found in the oldest Vedic hymns, the Brahminical system, with a new mythology, and the introduction of castes gradually grew up on the other side of the Sutledj. The first epoch of the Arian kingdom in India only comprised the country of the seven rivers (the country of the five rivers or Punjab); and to that locality all the narratives of the first period refer.

When we speak of the Sanskrit Indians and of the Vedic Indians we mean Arian people all the same; but the former are distinguished by their peculiar religion, their manner of life, and the peculiar turn of genius. The Sanskrit Indians have, of all the Arian races, the least inclination for historical pursuits. With them everything cosmical resolves itself into the ideal and symbolical and then assumes a fantastic shape. Between these and the Vedic Indians there is a marked contrast, which shows itself plainly in their ancient poems. Indeed, it is said the Vedic Indians are merely Iranian Arians, who crossed the Indus, as regards their language, their customs and their religious observances. The chasm which divides the Vedic literature from the Sanskrit is a wide one. The former, at least in the shape in which it has reached us, belongs as far back as the second era, doubtless to the first and preceding. Even in the time of Buddha, in the fourth era, Sanskrit was a dead language, in the sense of being a learned one, as we say in reference to Latin. He

lived in the country of the Brahmins, yet he did not teach in their language, but in Pali. Internal convulsions in the way of dynastic and political changes in a country produce remarkable effects in regard to language. A change of dynasty may have the effect of giving a new language to a country, or at least such a variation of the old as is almost equivalent to a new. The Anglo Saxon is a different language from that of the ancient Britons, the French from the old Gallic, and the Italian, a Gothic language, from the Latin, all of which were induced by dynastic changes. A language does not die out except in consequence of such remarkable events. It is said the Hebrew became a sacred language only after the Babylonian captivity; this was after the old thought of Phœnicia had returned from Babylon clothed with a new dress. The word Sanskrit signifies the complete, *i.e.*, learned language in contradistinction to the popular idiom. Between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the time of Buddha no event that we can discover of such a nature as to change the language took place. But between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth era there was an interval of democracy, so called, of 120 years, preceded, and, doubtless, followed by protracted and destructive wars. Whenever it was the Sanskrit reached its zenith, then the Vedic, the language of the Seers, was neglected. This was the demotic or popular language as compared with the Sanskrit, now become the language of the learned.

The Zendic language is that of the old Bactrians of the home country, that is, East-Iranian. To the Vedic as well as the Sanskrit languages it presents a contrast. On the other hand, we find that of the first cuneiform character to be Median or West Iranian of a later epoch.

The organic law which is developed in those changes of language here spoken of may be called the limitedness of a language in a conquered nation as compared with its natural flow in the home country. As the Indian literature of the Vedic language (the popular language of the first era) appears about the end of the second period, so the literature of the Sanskrit language, the popular idiom of the third period begins to appear in the fourth.

CONCERNING THE LOCATION OF ANCIENT IRAN WHENCE THE ARIANS  
EMIGRATED TO INDIA.

The text of the opening Fargard or section of that ancient Arian record, the Vendidad, may give some idea as to the geographical position of that country vaguely called Iran, from its giving a description of the climate.

“There *Angro Manyus* (*Ahriman*), the deadly, created a mighty serpent and snow; the work of *Deva*; ten months of winter are there; two months of summer.”

The ancestors of the Arians, according to this, inhabited what may be called a very cold country. The truth appears, on the whole, to be that parts of the country which the race inhabited were of a cold and other parts of a temperate climate. The following passage found in the same record, which appears inconsistent with the above, may refer to that part of ancient Iran which has been called “the land of pleasantness.” It is as follows:—

“The warm weather lasts seven months and winter five,” etc.

It is said this last passage was added by a later editor, “traces of whose interpolation and tampering are discernible throughout.” What is regarded as a proof of this position is that the passage is omitted in the *Huzuresh* or *Pehlevi* translation; and *Lassen*, in his *Indian Archaeology*, gives as his opinion that it is an interpolation. If it be properly regarded as an interpolation, it may, as I have intimated above, be said that the interpolator was quite intelligent in his insertion.

It is understood that the Arians left their primitive abodes in consequence of a convulsion of nature by which a remarkable change of the climate was produced. Some have thought it referred to disruptions of the earth by internal and perhaps external forces through which the Caspian and Aral and other inland seas may have been produced or enlarged, and by the existence of which eventually the climate became sensibly colder. The Caspian Sea borders upon old Iran, and the Aral is in the trans-Caspian district, in the same latitude however, though distant.

In the mention of *Ahriman* having created “a mighty serpent and snow,” the latter would pertain to the idea we have just now been considering. Namely, the change from a temperate to a cold climate

the former, "a mighty serpent," would, doubtless, refer to human enemies, some nomadic nations, perhaps, of those northern regions, who by their cavalry incursions may have rendered the Arian positions even more uncomfortable than the snow had done. But some suppose the great serpent may refer to volcanic eruptions, which they think "could play only a subordinate part" in the great convulsion.

The primeval home of the Arians, whence they migrated on their way towards India is placed by some of the best investigators upon the slopes of the Belur Tagh, in the Highland of Pamir between the 37th and 40th degree of north latitude and the 86th and the 90th degree of longitude. On this western slope of the Belur-Tagh and the Mustagh, the Tian-Shang, or Celestial Mountain of the Chinese the Harô-Berezaiti (Albordsh) is also found, which is invoked in the Zenda-Vesta as the principal mountain and the primeval source of the waters. Lassen has remarked that at the present day the old inhabitants of that district and generally those of Khasgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Turfan and the adjacent highlands are Tadshiks, who speak Persian and who are all agriculturists. The Arians either found the Turcomans already there or the latter came later.

After our Arians had started on their migrations the first settlement they made was at Sogd, and the third at Bakhdi (Bactria). They did not follow the course of the Oxus, for if so they would have come in the first instance to Bactria and not to Sogd. Their course, therefore, was more northerly. The climate of Sogdiana is said to be exactly what the record describes the home of the Arians to have been after the change produced by the above convulsion took place; it has only two months of warm weather.

Between their primitive abode and their settlement in India the Arians made fourteen settlements of which, as said, Sogdiana was the first, and Punjab the 14th.

Their second settlement was Mouru, *i.e.*, Margiana; the third Bakhdi, *i.e.*, Bactria. The fourth was Nisaya, *i.e.*, Northern Parthia. The fifth is Haroya, *i.e.*, Aria. The sixth Vekereta, *i.e.*, Segestan. The seventh is Urva, *i.e.*, Cabul. The eighth is Khneuta, *i.e.*, Candahar. The ninth Haraqaiti, *i.e.*, Arachosia. The tenth Hêlmat, *i.e.*, the district of Hilmend. The eleventh Ragha, *i.e.*, Northern Media. The twelfth Kakhra, *i.e.*, Khorasan. The thirteenth Varena, *i.e.*, Ghilan. The fourteenth Haptu-Hindu, *i.e.*, Punjab. The land of the seven Hindus is the country



between the Indus and the Sutledj. In the Vedas the country of the Five Rivers is also called the land of the Seven Sindhus, *i.e.*, the seven rivers.\* The Indus and the Sutledj are each formed by the junction of two arms, which in their earlier course were independent rivers.

It was not, therefore, till the fourteenth settlement after the emigration from the primitive country that the Arians (Agriculturists or Nobles) passed the Hindu-Kush and the Indus. Who can estimate the duration of the abode of the ancestors in each of the countries mentioned, or, in other words, the number of generations for each of the localities respectively, reckoning in a direct line from the time they left the primitive country till they passed the Sutledj? The previous resting places form an unbroken chain of the primitive abodes of the Arians. The last link in those earlier settlements is in Afghanistan on the western slope of the Hindu-Kush. An observation of the countries possessed in the progress shows that the Arian ancestors occupied in succession almost all the fertile spots in East Central Asia, excepting southern Media and Farsistan or ancient Persia. But, as history shows the Arian race spread through the whole of Media, although dominant only in Persia, it is a reasonable conclusion that Ghilan and Masandaran, to the southwestward of the Afghan country (which indeed secured their previous possessions with the passes of the Caspian) may have formed the nucleus of those ancient possessions which afterwards became, in many ways, so celebrated.

As already intimated, history, as well as personal observation in the present age, gives unequivocal proof of the Iranian having been the popular language in all those districts so that each country of the Arians was an Iran (Airya). The names in the ancient record before us, when compared with the Sanskrit, are found to be all variations of the very ancient Iranian formations. Moreover, in the inscriptions of the Achemidae, pertaining to Persia, we recognize several of these names, which have become historical in recent times.

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\* There are seven rivers pertaining to this part of the country of which the Greeks had the names. They are as follows:—

1. Kaphen (Kubhā)
2. Indus Upper,
3. Hydaspes (Bidaspes)
4. Akesines (Askni)
5. Hyarotis (Hydraotis, Iravati, Parusni),
6. Hyphasis (Vipasa).
7. Saranges (Upper Satadru = Sutledj)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I. Indus.</li> <li>II. Hydaspes.</li> <li>III. Akesines.</li> <li>IV. Hydraotes.</li> <li>V. Hyphasis</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

By our critics great confidence is placed in the historical character of the Vendidad, which they claim to be what it purports to be, at least in part, a history of the early immigrations of the Arians. Its first Fargard or section is divided into two parts; the one comprising the immigration from the Eastern and North-eastern primeval country to Bactria in consequence of some natural catastrophe and climatic change; the other the subsequent extension of the Arian dominion throughout central Asia which terminated in the occupation of the Punjab. The document has, of course, suffered more or less by the interpolation of geographical remarks, the absurdity of some of which shows them not to belong to the text.

The description as to climate of the primeval land would indicate the high lands of central Asia, that of the Altai and of the Chinese Himalaya. This ancient record is corroborated by the most ancient traditions of India; and it is thought the Biblical traditions may represent the Western Aborigines, the Hamites and Shemites, whose primeval abodes are located at the sources of the Euphrates and northwards about those of the Oxus and Jaxartes; while the Turanian or so-called Aryan tradition may represent the Eastern tribes in the primeval land. Some have thought the cause of the climatic change to cold in the northern latitudes might be attributable in the Bible account to the action of water, especially in such peculiar operations of its forces as disrupted the earth's surface and formed inland seas, such as the Caspian, Aral, etc., which so would effect the temperature of the climate. In the Turanian or Arian tradition the cause assigned for the climate's change to cold is assigned to the sudden freezing up of the rivers, which, considering the picture presented by heaps of ice piled up or floating in the waters, suggests to some good investigators the upheavals and dislocations of the superficial strata from the operation of internal forces, principally water in connection with fire. Ten months of winter is the climate of Western Thibet, Pamer and Belur, at the present day, which corresponds with that of the Altai country and the district east of the Kuenlung, the Paradise of the Chinese. In both the general traditions, however, effects are described rather than causes; except we consider that in the Bible the cause given for the occurrence of the Flood is the will of God that it should be so in consequence of the sins of mankind; while in the Vendidad Ormuzd or Ahriman is the cause (creator) of the conditions good or bad, just as they happen to be or to become.

## AS TO THE AGE AND DOCTRINE OF ZOROASTER.

In the Armenian Edition of Eusebius we find the name of Zoroaster in his Chaldaen list of kings of Berosus. It is the name of the Median king who conquered Babylon in the year 2234 B. C. It is supposed this king obtained this title from his being a follower of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) the celebrated prophet, that is, that he was a professor of his doctrines. This king founded in Babylon a new dynasty, called Median; but he was preceded in Media by 84 other kings. It is clear, however, from his date that he was not the prophet Zoroaster, and besides, Media, the country from which he came, was not the historical birthplace of the language (Zend) or the religion of the prophet Zoroaster.

Both Aristotle and Eudoxus, according to Pliny (N. H. xxx, 2), place Zarathustra 6000 years before the death of Plato; Hermippus, the Alexandrian, who himself translated the works of Zoroaster and wrote upon astrological topics, put him 5000 years before the Trojan war, which would make it about the same as the date given by the others. The two dates above given being found to agree and the death of Plato being put at 348 B. C., we find the date of Zoroaster and of the introduction of his religion at 6350 B. C. This date, considering the authority on which we have it, is thought to be correct.

The names of the 84 kings who ruled Media before Zoroaster, the conqueror of Babylon, are given by Polyhistor; but some have doubted, as to whether this Zoroaster was himself a Median, supposing he may have conquered Media from Bactria as he afterwards did Babylon from Media. The man himself, however, doubtless understood himself as the hereditary king of the Medes; and allowing for the average reign of his 84 predecessors 20 years, which is the highest average I am disposed to allow for so many in succession, we have the approximate date for the first of that series at 3914 B. C.

According to Haug\* the old songs of the Zendavesta describes the prophet as follows: "He it is who offers words in songs, who

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\* Deutsch-Morgenland. Zeit. ix, p. 685.

promotes purity by his praise: he upon whom Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd) conferred the good gift of eloquence; he was the first in the world who made the tongue subservient to the understanding; he is the only one who understood the doctrines of the Supreme God and was in a condition to transmit them." He was a priest of the Fire Worshipers, who found the doctrine of the good and evil principle already in vogue, although it is found that the name Ahriman does not yet occur in the oldest records. In his doctrine what is understood principally by evil is evil thought (*akômanô*) and this is, contrasted with good thought, which is identical with the good principle. It can hardly be said that a personification of the good principle is to be found in his writings. He rather favored the faith in good spirits, Ahuras, the Living, which are called the "Dispensers of Wisdom," (Mazdas); this he found already in existence; but he opposed the faith in the gods or powers of nature as being the highest beings. At the head of all he placed the One Holy God, Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), "the highest Spirit." He is the creator and sustainer of all existence, the Lord of all the powers of nature. By spiritual life Zoroaster understands a better state on this earth; over all earthly and spiritual life the Lord rules. The great axiom of Zoroaster was that "the highest Trinity (*drigu*) is Thought, Word, Deed." These three in his view are pure in the pure, evil in the evil; from the thought proceeds the word, from the word the deed. His followers have been distinguished as worshipers of Agni or fire.



### CONCERNING THE HINDU REMINISCENCES ABOUT THE PRIMEVAL COUNTRY AND THE FLOOD.

Neither among the Bactrians nor the Hindus have the reminiscences of the catastrophe in the primeval country nor the account of the flood, in some sort, been altogether lost.

Of the Hindus the North with the sacred mountain of Meru is the primeval land.

Upameru, that is Pamer, that is Meru is the primeval country itself. You can see the Pamer High Land marked on your map on the western slope of the mountain chain, running north from India and bounding China on the west. There is no doubt but that the primeval land, so-called, was understood as extending to the east of that mountain chain, both into Thibet and China, as well as towards the west and north. All allow that the Ottorokorrha of Ptolemy are the Uttara-Kuru or Northern Kuru of the Hindu traditions. In his geography the latter described them as inhabiting a district in the extreme north of central Asia of which he gives the latitude and longitude. This information he must have derived from the Hindus while Hecateus must have derived the information he gives concerning them from the Persians. The two, however, are found to agree in their account. The agreement, therefore, of the Indian and Iranian accounts concerning the location of the primeval land shows that the Indians did not get all the knowledge they possess concerning those northern countries after the time of Alexander the Great.

The Vendidad, the code of the present Parsees, has undergone various processes of composition, of which three main steps are distinguishable: Avesta, Zend and Pâzend. The Avesta is to be considered the original ground work of the code. It means direct higher knowledge, divine Revelation. Its origin is ascribed to the post-Zoroastrian age. Of the laws which it embodies there sprung up in the course of time several interpretations and comments, which as they emanated from recognized competent authority gradually acquired as much weight as the original and came to be incorporated with it. This is the Zend, which means the explanation, commentary of the Avesta. In these comments, however, there were found many things unintelligible to the after genera-

tions, which gave rise to other further comments on these known as Pâzend. All three of these steps exist and are recognizable in the present Zend-Avesta or more properly Avesta-Zend.

As said above the original of the Vendidad, after having stated by way of preliminary that Ahura Mazda had changed the world from its former desert condition into a place fit for civilized habitation, goes on and briefly enumerates sixteen best countries or paradises created by Ahura Mazda, each of which was distinguished from the others by some noteworthy property. In contrast to these certain counter creations of Angrâ Mainyus (the black spirit), are then recorded; but without any further description of them.

But, if now we look more closely into these scanty preliminary notices as to locality we shall find that the geography of the Zend-Avesta was by no means limited to the countries mentioned in this chapter. The whole globe was on several occasions divided by those Airyans into seven Karshvares, or cultivable districts, the names of which frequently recur in the Jeshts, where they are called Areza, Sava, Fradadhafshu, Vidadhafshu, Vouru-baresti, Vouru-garesti and Qaniaratha. This account is deemed very ancient, inasmuch as the seven-portioned earth is mentioned in the Gathas, a collection of songs ascribed to Zarathustra.

The passages which contain the direct evidence of the geographical knowledge of the compilers of the Zend-Avesta are where mention is made of the countries of the Airya (Iranians), the Tûirya (Turanians), the Sairima (Sarmatians), the Saini (the Sauni of the classics, to the west of the Caspian, or, as some think, the Sakini), the Dâhi (the Daher or Daer of the classics, in Hyrcania). In the legend of Shahnameh we find the three sons of Feredun, Selm, Tûr and Ireg, mentioned as the three patriarchs, among whom the whole earth is divided. Most of the particular nations mentioned in the Zend-Avesta belonged to Iran, or Airya in its widest acceptation.

In regard to the Hindu tradition about the flood, Weber, in his "Indian Studies," has argued that the variations in the account of it in the Brahmanas of the Yagur-Veda are very ancient in opposition to Burnouf and Lassen, who supposed it to have come into the Indian literature through the Semitic.

As this account appears in the Vedic contemplations (Brahmanas) which form the second part of the White Yagur-Veda, edited by Burnouf, it seems rather in a fabulous garb; but it nevertheless

may have a meaning to convey. Its general picture is about as follows : —

Manu, the patriarch of the human race, found, one morning, a little fish in some water in which he was going to wash. He took it up in his hand and the fish said to him : “ Take care of me and I will save you.” “ Save me from what ? ” said Manu. “ A flood,” replied the fish, “ will sweep away every living thing ; I will save you from it.” “ How shall I take care of you ? ” said Manu. “ Keep me carefully in a jar till I grow big, then put me into a tank, which you will make for the purpose ; and at length throw me into the sea.” The fish having grown to a good size said one day to Manu : “ In such a year (naming it) the Flood will come ; build a ship and turn to me in spirit ; when the waters rise get into the ship and I will save you.” Exactly as he was bidden Manu did ; and when he was in the ship the fish came swimming towards him, whereupon he fastened a rope to it and the fish set off across the northern mountain. “ You had better lash your ship to a tree,” said the fish, in order that you may not be carried away, although you are on the mountain and when the water subsides you can let yourself down gradually.” This is the reason why the northern mountain is called “ the slope of Manu.” The Flood destroyed all flesh. Manu alone survived. He offered up sacrifice for an invocation of the All (Good) and a prayer for his blessing, whereupon a woman, bringing him the blessing out of the Sacrificial Oil, rose up and addressed him thus : “ He who begat me, his am I ; I am the blessing thou hast desired.” She became by Manu the mother of his race, who still survive ; and whatever blessing he desired with her that he obtained. *Idâ* or *Ilâ* is the name of woman, the original meaning of which is “ thanksgiving,” though afterwards signified “ earth ” and is the ordinary name for Manu’s daughter.

The *Purâna* tells this same story with some variations, and expressly mentions the fish who saved Manu, in the Brahminic tradition as *Vishnu*. In one of the *Epodes* Manu escapes from the Flood on to the *Himavat* (*Imaus*, *Himalaya*) on the top of which he is saved, and where the family of human beings he had brought with him in the ship took root. The tradition is not mentioned in the *Vedas*, in which, however, *Vishnu* is used for the name of the Sun. It is not, therefore, wonderful to find that the first migrating movement of mankind came from the mountains of the north

In the Hindu version of Cosmogony is found much that is common Arian property. Here we find the Cosmic egg. According to Manu Brahma created out of himself the waters which contained a germ or seed. From this came an egg, from which he, "as the first ancestor of all the worlds," was himself born. There are perceived in the Vedas also allusions to this, but the doctrine of the Cosmic egg is more ancient than the Brahmins and the minstrels of the Indus country.







ORIGIN  
OF THE  
ANCIENT CIVILIZATION  
OF THE  
NILE'S VALLEY.

BY  
ROBERT SHAW, M. A.,

AUTHOR OF  
"CREATOR AND COSMOS;" OF "COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF  
JUDGMENT;" OF A "CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT;"  
OF A "CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTS OR GAELS;" OF THE  
"ORIGIN OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION," ETC.; OF AN "INQUIRY  
INTO THE SUBJECT OF THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY;" OF THE  
"PROPHECIES OF REVELATION DEVELOPED IN THE HIS-  
TORY OF CHRISTENDOM;" OF A "CHAPTER ON THE  
CYCLES OF THE ANCIENTS;" OF THE "CHALDEAN  
AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HIN-  
DOO ORIGINES," OF THE "PHEN-  
ICIAN COSMOGONIES," ETC.

REVISED.

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ST. LOUIS:  
BECKETT & COMPANY.  
1889.



## INTRODUCTION.

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### (ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION OF NILE'S VALLEY.)

The extraordinary interest ever attaching to the subject herein treated, together with what I may be allowed to understand in myself as a praiseworthy desire to perpetuate the true idea in regard to the ancient civilization of the Nile's Valley will, I trust, be gracefully accepted as my apology for the publication of the following treatise.

This treatise will serve, first, for the perpetuation of the memory of a race of men, who, although found to have been many-sided in their abilities and energies, yet, being steady and orderly in their general habits, and having bent their genius and energies largely in one direction during a long course of ages, have surpassed in their productions of statuary and architecture all the other races which we know to have existed on the earth.

The idea of their marvelous works our treatise will serve to perpetuate, while at the same time it will serve to perpetuate the idea which I in common with many of my contemporaries entertain, and which many of our predecessors have entertained as to their ethnical origin and race peculiarities—an idea whereof I suppose I give good proof—as well as my idea of the origin and varied nature of their institutions, political and civil.

With these few words as preliminary I ask the reader to attend to the treatise itself, which, after he shall have finished, he will find my “Critical Review of the History of Ancient Ægypt,” added last in the 2nd volume of my works, to throw much light upon, and leave some of its points and connections more definitely understandable.

ST. LOUIS: 1889.

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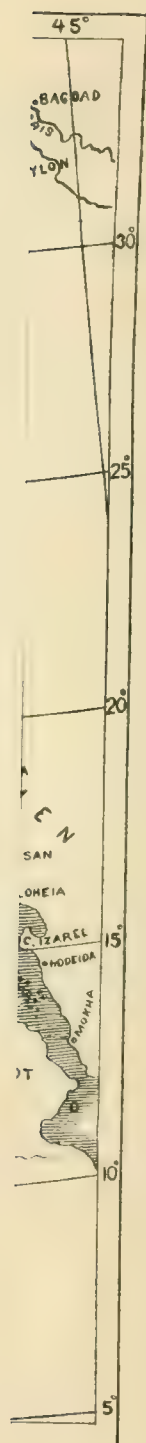
*(Origin of Civilization of Nile's Valley.)*

AS TO THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF THE VALLEY OF THE NILE  
AND ITS ORIGIN—ITS ANCIENT WORKS OF ART BEING DE-  
SCRIBED AS THEY APPEARED AT AND BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF  
THIS 19TH CENTURY—AND AS TO THE GENERAL COSMOPOLITY  
OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

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AS TO THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION  
OF THE  
VALLEY OF THE NILE AND ITS ORIGIN.

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ITS ANCIENT WORKS OF ART BEING DESCRIBED AS THEY APPEARED  
AT AND BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THIS 19TH CENTURY.

AND AS TO THE GENERAL COSMOPOLITY OF ANCIENT ÆGYPT.

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Egypt, according to its own traditions, was originally inhabited by savage tribes, without agriculture or organized government, who lived upon such fruits as the earth spontaneously produced and upon fish with which the Nile was always well stocked, while their buildings consisted merely of huts made of reeds. Of a portion of its inhabitants, namely, the shepherd and fishing tribes, the mode of life in later times evidences the truthfulness of this account. But it appears evident from its history that as the ages passed on Egypt was governed by different dynasties, so called, and although the obscurity which overhangs this subject owing to its great antiquity does not permit us to trace as clearly as we would wish the lineage of those successive governing clans, still we may conclude it not only probable, but true that some of those dynasties were in







their origin foreign not only to Egypt but to the valley of the Nile; and consequently that each of those governing races must in its turn have more or less impressed itself upon the then actually existing Egyptian race.

It is the opinion of some very able investigators upon this subject that the history of the political growth of Egypt did not arise from those savage tribes with which the history of Egypt begins; but from a race of different language and somewhat different color, who settling among those barbarians in the fertile part of the land, especially in the valley of the Nile, became the builders of cities, the promoters of agriculture, the originators of public works, the founders of colonies and states and the constructors of such magnificent temples and monuments as the world never elsewhere beheld; that these joined or assimilated to themselves the aboriginal peoples or brought them kindly into subjection to their civilization. Their dominion was thus established, not so much by force as by superior knowledge and a kind of civilization which arose from and was connected with their religion. This the Egyptians themselves express in their own way, when they ascribe the foundation of their civilization to their gods, particularly to Osiris, Isis and Amun.

But, if in the whole range of Egyptian antiquities there is to be found one proposition less open to contradiction than another it is that the Egyptian civilization, more especially political improvement, did not spread from the sea inland, but rather from south to north. Upper Egypt was, according to the history and traditions of the nation, more early civilized than Middle Egypt — even the first Egyptian dynasty coming from This — and there was a time when the name of Thebes was generally synonymous with the civilized portion of Egypt. It is equally certain that Lower Egypt was not cultivated till after both those portions, partly for the reason that it was not habitable till later and partly from the direction of the progress of the civilization.

Speaking of the real and standing civilization of the Egyptians at a very early period Mr. Geo. Rawlinson says: "Shuré was the leader of the 4th dynasty, and his name found by Mr. Perring on blocks built in the northern pyramid of Abouseer shows him to have been the founder of that monument. This may be called the Memphite or the pyramid period.\* And not only does the con-

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\* Dr. Lepsius mentions 67 pyramids, which necessarily represent a large number of Kings. As it is likely that each pyramid represents a different king then it is unfortunate that the 67 Egyptian pyramids cannot now be traced.

struction of the pyramids, but the scenes depicted in the sculptured tombs of this epoch show that the Egyptians had already the same habits and arts as in aftertimes ; and the hieroglyphics in the great pyramid written in the cursive character on the stones, before they were taken from the quarry, prove that writing had been long in use. The position too of each pyramid, corresponding, as it does, to the four cardinal points and the evident object they had in view of ascertaining by the long line of one of its faces the return of a certain period of the year, prove the advance made by the Egyptians in mathematical science ; and all these evidences being obtained from the oldest monuments that exist, introduce them to us as a people already possessing the same settled habits as in later times. We see no primitive mode of life ; no barbarous customs ; not even the habit, so slowly abandoned by all people, of wearing arms, when not in military service ; nor any archaic art. And if some clumsy figures have been found in the neighborhood of Memphis, probably of the 3rd dynasty, their imperfections are rather attributable to the inferior skill of the workmen, than to the habitual strife of the period ; and rude figures were sometimes made long after the fourth dynasty."

" Whatever may have been the style of construction in the pyramids of Venephes certain it is that in the 4th dynasty, about two centuries after Menes, the blocks in the pyramids of Geezeh, many of which were brought from the cataracts of Syene, were put together with a precision unsurpassed by any masonry of ancient or modern times ; and all these facts lead to the conclusion that the Egyptians had already made great progress in the arts of civilization before the age of Menes, and perhaps before they emigrated into the valley of the Nile. In the tombs of the pyramid period are represented the same fowling and fishing scenes as occur later ; the rearing of cattle and wild animals of the desert ; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus an inventory of the estate which was to be represented to the owner ; the same boats, though rigged with a double mast instead of the single one of later times ; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests ; the same introduction of music and dancing ; the same trades, as glass-blowers, cabinet makers, and others ; as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements and granaries. We see also the same costume of the priests ; and the prophet or Sam, with his leopard's skin dress ; and the painted sculptures are both in relief and intaglio," etc., etc.



The most ancient Egyptian States, according to the histories of Manetho and others, were altogether in the valley of the Nile, on both sides of the river. The nature and constitution of the Nile's valley shows this to be so, because in Lower Egypt or the Delta, where the plain on both sides of the river considerably expands, the soil itself was not formed until at a considerably late period. The kingdoms of Upper and Middle Egypt, as mentioned by Manetho, are, beginning from the southern frontier, the States of Elephantis, of Thebes or Diospolis, of This, afterwards called Abydos, of Heracleopolis and of Memphis, this last named being not far from the place where the Nile divides. States in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, are not mentioned till towards the end of his dynasties, namely, the States of Tanis Bubastis, Mendes, Sebennytus and Sais.

The dynasties of Manetho, it is true, contain but little more than mere catalogues of successive kings, but they are, notwithstanding, of the greatest importance in regard to Egyptian antiquity, not only because they lead us to correct ideas concerning that, but more especially because they make known to us the names of the cities in which those kings reigned and so point out the localities of the most ancient Egyptian civilization. In a nation, whose whole being, language, government and civilization were so much formed according to the local circumstances these give the first ideas, the foundations upon which all further inquiries must be built.

In the period of her highest civilization the Egyptian polity exhibits the form of a complete hierarchy, in which every germ, which in a less fortunate soil must have perished, by favoring circumstances in various ways shot forth. A consideration of this subject in its various features leads to the conclusion that the civilization of the Nile's Valley, including Egypt, Nubia, Meroë, etc., was largely due to the instrumentality of the priest-caste. Thebes, as well as the States in general, of Upper Egypt, are called, in the annals of the priests colonies, from Meroë in Ethiopia (Diodorus Sic. 1, p. 175-6); and at Thebes the service of Jupiter Amun, whose temple was the common center of this State as well as of that of ancient Meroë, gives of itself a striking proof that such was the case. Elephantis most likely owed its origin to the navigation of the Nile. The situation of the place, lying just at the point where the river became and ceased to be navigable, made it what it became. Memphis, whose situation is so remarkable from the dams

and embankments, is called a colony of Thebes (Diodorous, 1, p. 160). Other principal cities of Egypt, likewise, derived their descent directly or indirectly from Ethiopia, of which they considered themselves as colonies and to which fact their religious institutions appear to give testimony. (Id. p. 175.)

These testimonies, then, and indications render the conclusion reasonable that the same race which ruled in Ethiopia and Meroë spread themselves by colonies, in the first instance, to Upper Egypt; that these latter colonies, in consequence of their remarkable prosperity, became in their turn the founder of others; and as in all this they followed the course of the river, there gradually became founded a succession of colonies in the valley of the Nile, which, according to the usual custom of the ancient world, were probably at first independent of each other, and there formed, as the Greek cities, just so many little States.

This outspreading colonization must not of necessity be understood to have taken place step by step in exact geometrical order, so to speak, for that there may have been a mutual colonizing of Ethiopia by Egypt at times in the course of ages is not to be denied.

That the whole of Egypt, as then existing, was governed by Menes, their first king, as according to their existing records, and not only one constituent part or state of it, is reasonably the understanding which their ancient history as transcribed into the Greek language and handed down by their high priest Manetho in the time of the Ptolemies was intended to convey; and that it was successive dynasties, from Menes downwards, which were in the mind of Manetho, and not contemporary ones in some ages, preceding the 18th dynasty, as some critics, Eusebius, among others, have supposed, is as fairly to be understood in like manner of Manetho, so far as his meaning may be required, and however the case may really have been.\*

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\* This I wrote in 1837, but during the last year my researches have satisfactorily and conclusively proved that the commencement of the empire of Menes, was with the 18th dynasty, so called; and that the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, so called, when fully expressed, are the substantial prototypes of the dynasties expressed before them in the history, which had an existence only on paper. This discovery I see now obtains corroboration from the Statement then added from Rawlinson as follows: "With the exception of the pyramids of Memphis and the Labyrinth, some fragments and small objects, some stelae and obelisks of Osirtasen I. at Heliopolis and in the Fayoum, nothing is met with of old times before the 18th dynasty. This may be reasonably ascribed to the invasion of the shepherds, as the preservation of the early tombs may be explained by the feeling common to all time of respect for the dead." (Herod. App. Bk. ii, p. 338.)

It is seen, therefore, that the monuments do not help us out much in regard to the history of the dynasties preceding the 18th; but there has been some stress laid upon one short passage in Manetho, translated "Kings of Thebais and of the other provinces of Egypt," which, whether or not of his original penning, was thought by some to favor the idea of contemporary dynasties.

But this general conclusion, considering the subject not only from its historical, but also from its physiological and ethnological stand-points, which gives us for the originators of this ancient civilization a race not so much Egyptian or Ethiopian, if you will (for going back far enough in my mental vision I look upon the primitive root of those two appellations as the same); but a race pertaining from a very high antiquity to the Nile's valley, and thus in so far differentiate not only from the Asiatic but also from the other African races. That the civilization of ancient Egypt, however, as to its origin, was as likely to have descended as to have ascended the Nile's valley will appear more clear if we take into consideration not only the ethnological character of some Ethiopic nations as compared with others, but also the character and the degree of civilization established among them.

Prof. Heeren (*Researches, etc.*, p. 171), speaking in reference to what he had just said in a preceding chapter, says: "The Ethiopians with which we have become acquainted in the foregoing chapter must altogether be ranked in the lowest order of civilization. There still, however, exists an evident difference as to improvement amongst them. We have already seen all the various gradations from the complete savage, as described by Hanno, whose rank might have been disputed by the Ourang Outang to the hunting and fishing tribes; and again from the latter to the nomad herdsmen; yet we do not anywhere discover a single nation, that united in a settled abode, formed itself into a great and well organized State. Nevertheless, there certainly existed a better cultivated and, to a certain degree, a civilized Ethiopian people; who dwelt in cities, who erected temples and other edifices, who, though without letters, had hieroglyphics; who had government and laws; and the fame of whose progress in knowledge and the social arts spread, in the earliest ages, over a considerable part of the earth; that State was Meroë." Here we get a picture of Ancient Ethiopia as somewhat analogously though not strictly comparatively to Austria-Hungary or rather Russia of the present day, being made up of many different nations of various kinds and degrees of civilization, from what might be regarded as among the lowest to what might be regarded as among the highest at that time among men.

That this may be a tolerably fair representation of the case, no one, I think, will dispute; for it is certain that Meroë, has been now for two or three thousand years celebrated in various ways; but its peculiar and distant situation has always involved it in mys-

tery and obscurity. It is only within the last seventy years that the dark cloud, under which it had so long been hid, has been dispersed by the energetic and persistent efforts of Burkhardt, Bruce, Caillaud, Hoskins, and others. As a result of these explorations, Meroë did not by any means appear alone, but a new world of antiquities, whose existence had not even been hinted at as imagined by any modern writer, were laid open to the view of the astonished world. Hitherto had the southern boundary of Egypt and the last cataract of the Nile been considered as the ancient verge of civilization and science. The more distant regions were, however, now explored. By crossing the Nubian Desert, Bruce and his predecessors first led the way; others followed, who penetrated up the Nile, keeping near its banks, whereon they discovered that succession of monuments, which has created so much wonder among the lovers of antiquarian research; wonderful alike by their number, their peculiarity, and their magnitude.

Temple after temple appeared, sometimes erected upon, at other times, however, in the rock, and still at others excavated in the earth; scarcely had the explorers got out of sight of one, when another rose to their view. Colossal figures buried up to their shoulders in sand still towered above all these, and indicated the gigantic structures which lay concealed behind them. As the travelers continued their journey south, an immense number of pyramids appeared with temples and ruins of cities close by or intermingled with them; and, at last, the distant Meroë itself, with the ancient temple of Jupiter Amun, still erect and majestic in its ruins.

It may expedite matters if I here premise geographically that all the monuments to be noticed in this connection are found within the valley of the Nile, either close to the river, or at a moderate distance from it. The course of the Nile above Egypt, before its conflux with the Astaboras, lies through a valley enclosed on both sides by a chain of mountains or rather hills, which sometimes recede from, and sometimes advance towards the river, till they approach near its banks. These, while they offer no obstructions to the lesser windings within the valley, render impossible any great variation in the direction of the stream. From Burkhardt's observations, we infer that the soil of the valley to the southwards was at one time as fertile as it is in Egypt itself, for where it could remain in that State, it is still found so.



Thus, it becomes evident, that this valley may once have been a highly cultivated region, with a dense population, dwelling in cities and flourishing in science, art and religion. But these mountain chains being succeeded on both sides of the river by sandy deserts, (the Nubian on the East, and on the west, that of Sahara, which extends across Africa), the sand has proved an opponent quite more formidable here than in Egypt. The lower mountain chain affording but slight protection, this deadly enemy of all civilization not only has penetrated into the valley, but has frequently in part or in whole buried the monuments. It cannot, therefore, seem at all surprising that the same causes should have occasioned some alterations in the course of the river itself, many branches of which may perhaps have been forced into one, and small islands joined to the main land. It is, however, found as a matter of fact, that the valley of the Nile has been in times past in some places very different from what it is now. Traces are everywhere visible of old canals formed for extending its periodical overflow; and these changes alone would have been sufficient to have caused the inhabitants to sink and degenerate even if other untoward events had not conspired to that end. The river, deviating from its usual straight course, forms a curve of from  $19^{\circ}$  to  $23^{\circ}$  by running westward deeper into Libya, and soon winds again toward the East, and reassumes a northerly direction, which it maintains throughout Nubia and Egypt. The interior of the bows which it makes by these windings, is occupied largely by the Nubian Desert and by the kingdom of Dongola.

For the first accounts as to the course of the Nile above Egypt, we are indebted to Herodotus. He collected them in Egypt, probably at Thebes or Elephantin, beyond which place he did not travel. We are not, therefore, to consider him in this case as an eye-witness, but as reporting what he had heard from others. Some differences, though slight, between his account and the present course of the stream appear to confirm what we have just said; but on the whole, we have justly to admire the keenness of the inquiry of Herodotus.

“Beyond Elephantin,” the boundary of Egypt, says he, “the country becomes rugged, and in that part they drag on the boat, fastening a cord on either side as you would to an ox. Should the hawser break the boat is forced back by the violence of the current. This navigation continues four days, the Nile winding like the Meander; and it is a space of twelve schœni (nearly 82 English



miles) over which you must navigate in this manner. Next you come to a smooth plain where the Nile flows round an island called Tachompso. The parts above Elephantin are inhabited by Ethiopians as well as one-half of the island, the other half of which is held by the Egyptians. Close to the island is a vast lake on whose shores dwell Ethiopian nomads. Crossing this lake you fall again into the stream of the Nile, which flows into the above lake. Then, disembarking you will perform a journey of forty days upon the bank of the river; for in this part of the Nile sharp rocks rise above the water, and many shoals are met with among which it is impossible to navigate. Having past through this country you will again embark in another boat and navigate for twelve days after which you will come to an extensive city, the name of which is Meroë, and as some say, the capital of the rest of Ethiopia. The inhabitants here pay divine honors to Jupiter and Bacchus only, but these they worship with the extremest veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations they permit with the most implicit obedience to regulate all their martial expeditions."

If we compare this general statement of Herodotus with respect to the route with the general statements of late explorers we shall find that what in their nature are not liable to change, such as rocks and cliffs, still answer to his description; while, in other matters, supposing Herodotus to have been rightly informed, some changes seem to have taken place. The river contains many islands of which a more accurate statement is wanting, but the lake through which it is said to flow is the great difficulty. The river, it is true, sometimes expands to a greater or less extent, but a lake nowhere in this region appears. It is not an unreasonable supposition that the surface features of that whole country may have changed a good deal since the time of Herodotus, and that what was once a lake may have become filled up with sand. At any rate at the time of the yearly floods, it is certain that the Nile in many parts, where the mountain chains run back and permit the waters to overspread the whole valley, presents the appearance of a lake.

Since the researches of Livingston and Stanley have been published I believe that very many people interested in the subject have come to the conclusion, either that the lake called Nianza is the Nile's source, or that the proper source is so connected with it that the Nile may be said to flow through this lake, somewhat perhaps as we know the River Rhone flows through the Lake of

Geneva, or the Jordan through the Lake of Tiberias. But Nianza could not have been the lake here referred to by Herodotus as the locality cannot once be suspected of answering thereto.

Above the second cataract, which is near Wady Halfa,  $21^{\circ} 50' N.$  Lat., the bed of the river is often interrupted by rocky shoals which cause rapids. Senkowsky, the Polish traveler, enumerated five of these; besides the two near Wady Halfa; a third near Wady Altyr; a fourth near Wady Ambigo; a fifth under  $21^{\circ}$ , near Wady Lamule, beyond which Burkhardt met with two others, the farthest being on the northern boundary of the kingdom of Dongola,  $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} N. L.$  This far he states the navigation of the river to have been obstructed; while Caillaud continues the obstructions to Merawe, forty-five leagues farther, where the Great Falls begin. The Arabian geographers, who seem to reckon as one all the cataracts enumerated by Senkowsky, place the first cataract in Nubia, near Bakin, ten days journey above Es-Souan, which is the same as that of Wady Halfa; the second near the island Sai,  $20\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; and the last near the fortress of Astemun. But we must not expect exact uniformity in those enumerations of travelers, for the bed of the river in the whole of this course is rocky or shoally; according to the depth of the water there may appear to be more or less cataracts; and two cataracts may easily be reckoned for one.

Above the northern boundary of Dongola, the features of the country become much changed; the mountain chains retire farther back; the Nile, hitherto frequently pressed into a narrow channel, here spreads out into many branches, which enclose a number of fertile islands, adorned with palm groves, vineyards and meadows covered with numerous herds, especially camels. "Everything," says Hanbury, "might here be found in abundance;" the hopes this expression gave rise to, however, seem to have been in many cases disappointed, arising from the devastations of warfare; but in a normal and peaceful state of the country they would doubtless be realizable to a large degree.

The foregoing researches bring us to the neighborhood of the confluence of the Astaboras or Tacazze and the Nile, that is, to the beginning of the ancient island of Meroë. We will, doubtless, find it expedient to take a stand here, and, before advancing farther, become somewhat acquainted with the monuments of the Nile's valley, to which the name of Nubian has been given. The nature of the monuments requires this distinction, as the region of the pyramids begins in Meroë; there has not been discovered any trace of

them in Nubia; and the various idea of the Egyptian, Nubian, and Meroëan monuments will have become sufficiently clear before the whole sequel be got through with. There is little more necessary in this connection than to enumerate the Nubian temples in succession.

The valley of the Nile on both sides of the river was once dotted with towns and villages, of which Pliny has left us the names of only twenty on each side. In his time the large ones no longer existed, and he informs us that they were not destroyed by Roman wars but by the earlier contentions between Ethiopia and Egypt. These places must of necessity have been quite ancient, and, although no very evident proof exists of any of those places having been remarkably flourishing cities, still the great population of the upper valley of the Nile favors our carrying them back to an early period of the Pharaohs.

The great works on architecture here, as well as in Egypt, were confined to public edifices. The Nubian, during the day, lived almost entirely in the open air, his dwelling being little more than a resting place for him during the night. No wonder, then, that those slightly-built cities, which were merely huts congregated together, should have disappeared from or in the earth, or have dwindled down to mere hamlets. Notwithstanding this the ancient Parembolè is still found in the present Debut or Debod; the name of Taphis is preserved in Tafa; Kalabshe is the ancient Talmis; Pselcis is the present Dakke; Metacompso is the modern Kobban; further south, Primis is now Abrim; all these are on the northern side of the first Nubian cataract or Wady Halfa. But, though the splendid dwellings of man have disappeared, the ruins, at least, of those of the gods remain. The series of temples begin again on both sides of the Nile, almost immediately above the Egyptian cataracts. The first is that of Debod, twelve miles beyond Philae, on the western bank of the Nile. At nearly the same distance that of Kandassy; and at only five miles further that of Tafa. At nearly the same distance again are the two temples of Kalabshe, the one built above the ground, and the other hewn in the rock. At about ten miles more the temple of Dandour; and, again, at a like distance, the temple of Ghyrshè, partly hewn out of a rock and partly above ground. In ten miles more the temple of Dakke; and at the same distance that of Maharaka, and sixteen miles thence that of Seboa, half built in the earth and half above the surface.

Thirty miles farther on stands the temple of Derar; and sixty

miles farther, the temple in the rocks of Ebsambal, with its colossi, forty-eight miles below the second or first Nubian cataract of Wady Halfa, near to which stands another temple. Beyond this the chain is broken and does not recommence till about one hundred and fifty miles have been passed over, below the isle of Sai, where we meet with a large temple, and then thirty miles onward is discovered the temple of Soleb, which Burkhardt takes for the most southern temple of the Egyptian model.

The first chain ends here, but a new one begins at the frontiers of the ancient Meroë; for at about two hundred miles further, near Merawe and Gibel el Birkel, lying contiguous, the temples appear accompanied by groups of pyramids.

About two hundred and forty miles beyond this we come to the junction of the Nile and Astaboras, immediately across which we are entered into the island Meroë, and proceeding about ninety miles further, we arrive at the temples and pyramidal ruins of the ancient city of the same name, whose location we must now define as clearly as possible.

Herodotus only mentions the city of Meroë while all the other early writers describe Meroë as an island with a city of the same name. They, therefore, do not in this case contradict Herodotus, whose general statements concerning the location of Meroë agree with theirs. In what he told us as to the Nile's course above Egypt, he advises us to leave the vessel near the island Tachompso, in order to avoid the cataracts, and to make a forty days' journey on land near the banks of the river, after which a new voyage of twelve days will bring us to the city of Meroë.

The fixing of the journey near the bank of the river was thought to be the safest, as by this course the Nubian desert was avoided, although by following the various bendings of the stream the distance was very much lengthened. There has, however, been hitherto much vagueness in those statements, as the windings of the river had not been pointed out with such minuteness and accuracy as was required.

According to Waddington's map the distance from the second cataract, or the first Nubian, that at Wady Halfa, to the junction with the Tacazze, is six hundred geographical miles; to which must be added one hundred and twenty geographical miles from Kalabshe, where we supposed the island of Tachompso is and where Herodotus advises to leave the boat, to Wady Halfa. However uncertain, therefore, the reckoning may remain the forty days journey will



take us into the territory of Atbara, between the Nile and the Astaboras, to the northern part of the empire of Meroë or of Sennaar.

“The Astaboras,” says Agatharchides, “which flows through Ethiopia, unites its streams with the greater Nile and thereby forms the island of Meroë by flowing around it.”

“The Nile,” says Strabo, “receives two great rivers, which run from the east out of some lakes and encompass the great island of Meroë. One is called the Astaboras, which flows on the eastern side, the other Astapus. Some mention instead the Astosabas and distinguished therefrom the Astapus, which runs in a course very nearly parallel with the Nile. Seven hundred stadia (about 79½ English miles) above the junction of the Nile and the Astaboras is the city of Meroë, bearing the same name as the island.”

To these statements, which would of themselves be quite sufficient to determine precisely the position of Meroë, I will add the statement of Pliny. “In the midst of Ethiopia,” says he, “the Nile bears the name of Astapus. It here forms great islands which it scarcely flows around in five days, especially the island of Meroë, where its left branch is called the Astaboras and the right Astaspes. It first takes the name of the Nile where all those branches unite.”

A glance at my map of the Nile's valley will, therefore, show where the ancient Meroë is found. The Astaboras which flows around it on the eastern side is the present Atbar or Tacazze, which runs through Temesis, down from the country of the Gojam. The Astapus which bounds it on the west is the modern *Bahar el Abiad* or White River, which is said to be the proper Nile. That which is marked on my map, as according to Brown, Horneman, Lyon and Burkhardt, the Blue river, the Arabian geographers appear to call the Green Nile and make it the proper Nile instead of the White river, as according to all the moderns; while to the Astaboras or Tacazze, which flows on the east side of Meroë, they appear to give the name of Blue river. Not only the names of the streams but the local names have been changed by the Arabians and Turks, since they have had the dominancy in those countries, which introduces no little confusion, when we try to trace topography as according to the ancients. I am satisfied that either the White river or the Blue river, as marked on my map, is to be taken as the proper Nile; doubtless the former, as according to the general modern understanding.

Diodorus (l. c.) is found to have accurately stated the size of the island of Meroë as three thousand stadia or three hundred and forty



English miles in length and one thousand stadia or one hundred and thirteen miles in breadth.

And, finally, Pliny determines its distance in miles from Syene in Egypt. Eratosthenes, he says, computed it at 525, and Artemidorus at 600 Roman miles. Shortly before his time, he says, under Nero, the distance was measured and found to be 873 Roman miles to the nearest point of the island. Now, all those different measures may have been correct according to the routes taken. The Roman commissioners having followed in the whole journey the course of the Nile chose very much the longest way. The Greek geographers reckoned according to the short caravan route, which, leaving the Nile, strikes across the desert of Bahiuda. Bruce went by a still shorter way from Meroë to Assouan as he ventured to pass directly across the great Nubian desert, the same route taken by Burckhardt on his return.

From the foregoing statements the following general conclusions are not only admissible but safe:—

1st. That the ancient island of Meroë is the present province of At-bar, between the river of the same name (anciently called the Astaboras or Tacazze,) on the east and the White river or the Nile on the west. The point where the island begins is at the junction of the Tacazze and the Nile. In the south it is enclosed by the Walduba, a branch of the Tacazze, and the Bahad a branch of the White Nile, whose sources are nearly in the same district, although they flow in different directions.\* It lies between 13° and 18° N. Lat. In recent times it has formed a great part of the kingdom of Sennar and the southern part belongs to Abyssinia.

2dly. Meroë was a considerably extensive district surrounded by rivers, whose superficial content was about forty thousand square miles. It cannot, of course, in the strictest sense of the word be called an island, because, although very nearly, it is not completely enclosed by rivers; but it was taken for an island of the Nile, because, as Pliny expressly says, the various rivers, which flow round it, were all considered as branches of that stream. Bruce, however, informs us that it becomes in the rainy season a complete island, consequent upon the overflowing of the rivers.

3dly. Upon this island stood the city of the same name. From

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\* If deemed necessary see the large map of Bruce, whereon will be found all the small streams and their tributaries, whose names are not given on other maps. The map I give will, however, with a little attention, be entirely sufficient to determine what is here spoken of to the satisfaction of most persons.

the statements of Herodotus alone we cannot determine precisely the site of this city. According to Eratosthenes, however, it lay seven hundred stadia (nearly eighty English miles) southwards or rather a little southeastwards of the junction of the Tacazze or Astaboras and the Nile, Pliny, following the statements of commissioners, whom Nero had sent to explore it, reckons seventy milliaria, sixty-three English miles, and adds the important determining fact that near it in the river on the right side going up stream is the small island Tadu, which serves as a port to the city. From this it may be concluded with certainty that the ancient city, Meroë, was not on the Tacazze or Astaboras, as might otherwise be conjectured from the names of those rivers being so unsettled, but on the Nile proper: and its situation, notwithstanding the difference of nearly seventeen miles between Eratosthenes and Pliny may be determined with the minutest accuracy by the small island, just mentioned, which Bruce has noted upon his map.

4thly. Therefore, the ancient city of Meroë stood a little south-east of the present Shendy, under  $17^{\circ}$  north latitude, nearly nine hundred miles on a parallel of latitude or a bee line from the Great Pyramid of Egypt, and in  $52^{\circ}$  east longitude.

Bruce saw its ruins at a distance. He says: "On the 20th of October in the evening we left Shendy and rested two miles from the town and about a mile from the river; the next day the 21st, we continued our journey; at nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog. Some pieces of obelisks likewise with hieroglyphics totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these remains were very extensive and that many pieces of statues both of men and animals have been dug up there. The statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess that this is the ancient Meroë." Thus Bruce.

But what he and Burkhardt only saw at a distance and hastily has since been carefully examined by later travelers and set forth in drawings. These inquiries have, however, shown that the antiquities of Meroë are not confined to a single spot, but are found in many localities. The whole strip of land from Shendy to Gherri

teems with them, and, with respect to such antiquities, may be considered classic ground. Much north of the island a group is found, that of Mount Berkal, which are concluded to have belonged to the Meroëan class of monuments.

The antiquities of Meroë are arranged under three principal groups, those of Assur, of Naga and of Messura; that of Assur lies a little to the north of Shendy, at about two miles from the Nile. The two others run southward, more towards the desert and are at some leagues distance from the Nile. The monuments still found consist of temples and pyramids; all private dwellings, pertaining to those ancient communities have long ago crumbled away and disappeared. According to Strabo they were built of only the frail materials of split palm trees and tiles; but the earth is in many places now so covered over with bricks as to leave it not doubtful that a city formerly stood here. The site of the ancient city of Meroë is still discoverable by the remains of a few temples and of many other edifices of sandstone.

To the east of Assur is the great church yard of pyramids so-called. It is impossible to behold without astonishment the number of those monuments, eighty being mentioned in the plan of Caillaud; but the number cannot be well ascertained as the ruins of many are doubtful. They are divided into three groups, one due east from the city; the two others a league from the river, one north the other south. The most northern one is the largest and best preserved. They indeed appear dwarfish in comparison with the monuments of a similar kind in middle Egypt, the height of the largest not being over eighty feet; but from their number they are more wonderful. They are built of granite and most of the largest of them have a temple-like building in the Egyptian style, a pylon and a door which leads into a portico and this again through a sanctuary into the pyramid. It does not, therefore, seem to have been the desire here as in Egypt to conceal the entrance. Whether the interior of any of these have been examined, so as to determine whether sarcophagi and mummies have been found therein or whether any such thing have been found beyond Egypt south of Phylæ and the cataracts, I am not aware.

According to Strabo, however, the Ethiopians did not embalm their dead, but buried them in a different manner, in earthen vessels near the sanctuary. The corners of the pyramids are partially ornamented and the walls of the Pylons are decorated with sculptures, that on the largest pyramid, drawn by Caillaud, representing

an offering for the dead. In one compartment a female warrior with the royal ensign on her head and richly attired, drags forward a number of captives as offerings to the gods; upon the other she is in a warlike habit, about to destroy the same group, whose heads are fastened together by the top hair, as appears also upon the ruins of Naga. On a third relief in the sanctuary she is making an offering of frankincense to the goddess. Annubis appears on a fourth field with a burning light in his hand, accompanied by the jackal, the guardian of the lower world. This representation, together with the magnitude of the pyramid, is thought to indicate the probability of its being the sepulchre of a king. In Ethiopia, and consequently in Meroë the pyramidal architecture was native from the earlier ages, whether or not the pyramids were there used or partially used as sepulchres of kings. But, if this Ethiopic pyramidal architecture be compared with the Egyptian, another proof appears of what may be thought to have been already established, namely that that peculiar species of architecture, which may have had its origin in Ethiopia was perfected in Egypt.

Ruppel, of Frankfort, who also visited Meroë, not only confirms the statement of Caillaud, but goes farther and informs us of similar groups of pyramids in the Island of Kurgos. "After having been for some time in sight of the ruins of Kurgos, which, are also mentioned by Bruce, I was at last able to go and examine them under a guard. On the other side of the Nile my way lay for fifty-seven minutes through the slime or mud. Traces were visible of ancient canals, running parallel with the bed of the Nile, a proof that this territory was once highly cultivated. Ten minutes after I came to a great heap of hewn and burnt stones. Time, however, had destroyed everything. With difficulty were some shafts of columns discovered, whose capitals were ornamented with the heads of animals; proofs that this was the site of ancient temples.

Twelve minutes farther a group of pyramidal mausolea. There were thirteen, all of hewn stone, forty feet high without an entrance. Near them was a lion's head in black granite, evidently a sitting sphinx. Thirty minutes farther east a group far more considerable than the former of twenty-one tombs. Some were of the pyramidal form with indented borders of plain workmanship. One of these monuments, the most southerly, differs from all the others. A prismatic steeple stands upon a socle twenty feet square. It has, like the rest, an eastern entrance, leading to the hall or gallery, as



in the sepulchres of Meroë (Assur). The walls are ornamented with beautiful sculpture; the reliefs like those at Meroë, but in greater perfection, they invariably represent the apotheosis of the dead. Among those pyramids there is one, as among those at Meroë, peculiar on account of its entrances. On both sides of this are two female figures, holding lances in their hands and in the act of piercing with them a band of prisoners. The drapery, grouping and keeping of this surpasses everything of the kind I have seen in Nubia and Egypt, not even excepting the temple of Tentyres. They are free from the stiffness which is found in the Briareus of this place. Those ornaments from their preservation seem of later date than those at Meroë.

A third group is met with five minutes southeast of the foregoing. It consists of nine pyramids, each with its entrance towards the east, the inner walls of which are covered with sculpture. The reliefs represent apotheoses of female figures only, while in all others they represent heroes, to whom offerings are brought. These southern sepulchres are also less than the others, the height not being above forty feet. In the group of twenty-one pyramids there are some which measure ninety feet. All of these monuments are built of hewn stone without mortar." Thus Prof. Ruppel.

The monuments of Naga and Messura to the south of Shendy are not pyramids but temples. In the city of Meroë two temples, a larger and a smaller, though neither of them seems to have been of any greater architectural magnificence, are laid down in the plan of Caillaud. A recent traveler has ascertained that the larger temples were not in the city but at a few miles distance.

At about eighteen miles southeast of Shendy lie the monuments of Naga or Naka and at about the same distance east of the Nile. They consist of numerous temples of which a large one lies in the center and various smaller ones are scattered around in every direction. The ruins show that at one time there stood here a considerable city. The remains of the principal temple show unmistakably to what God it was dedicated. An avenue of statues, rams couchant on pedestals, leads into an open portico of ten columns, out of which, after passing through a second similar gallery, we arrive at the pylon. Adjoining this is a colonnade consisting of eight columns; then a hall, and through a third door is the sanctuary. The door, the pillars and the walls of the sanctuary are of hewn stone; the rest are of brick with a coating upon which traces of painting are visible. The pylons and the pillars are ornamented



with sculptures highly finished. Those on the first pylon, on each side of the entrance, are especially remarkable. A king and queen bearing the emblems of dominion, are in a kindly manner, welcomed by the deities; the latter by Amun with the ram's head and the former by the same in human shape, but without further mark of distinction. In the freize above oblations are offered by both to the same deities; below, at the bottom, are maidens with vessels out of which they are pouring water. The building is in the Egyptian style and of a great size. The whole, from the first pylon to the end, is about eighty feet long. In the entrance there is this peculiarity; the duplicate gallery of rams, before and after the portico, is not common elsewhere; and the plan of the whole seems to show that architecture had not yet attained to the perfection which it afterwards exhibits in the great temples of Egypt. The western temple is smaller, but more fully decorated with sculpture. On the pylons the same scenes are again represented, as we have already beheld in the pyramids of Assur. A male warrior on one side and a female warrior on the other destroy a number of captives, whom they have bound together by the hair. The captives appear wholly in the power of these warriors and the scene may be meant to symbolize the absolute power of the deity over all mankind. The emblems of dominion, the ureus on the head dress; over each being also a spread eagle with a globe; and their magnificent attire show these warriors to be king and queen. The sculpture below it exhibits a train of single captives with their hands tied behind them. The reliefs on the interior represent the sacrifice of the prisoners to the gods. In the upper row appear the five male dieties, Amun with his followers, first the god with the lion's head and the ornament with the ram's horns; behind him Amun himself; Re, the sun god; Phtha, his son; and then, again Amun with the ram's head. In the under row appear the females in an equal number; first, Isis, who has already seized and holds fast the group of captives offered to her. The offerings are over the king followed by the men and under the queen by women. The following sub-scene is still more noticeable. In it appears the same god with the lion's head and the ram's horns on the head dress, but having a double head and four arms. It is the only subject of this sort, so far as has come to my knowledge, that has come under the observation of any explorer from the sources to the mouth of the Nile. It is unique and might be thought to have been borrowed from the Indian mythology. The king approaches

the god from one side and the queen from the other with tablets in their hands.

These representations, it is seen, possess many peculiarities and are not purely, but perhaps pre-Egyptian, more especially as to religious rites. In the worship of Amun and his kindred gods there appears here nothing essentially differing from the style of Upper Egypt. The relief already mentioned, with the male and female deities, contains this family of gods almost complete. In the persons offering, however, appears most noticeable differences. The queens appear with the kings, and not merely as presenting offerings, but as heroines and conquerors. Nothing of this kind has yet been discovered either in the reliefs of Egypt or Nubia. It has, therefore, reasonably been concluded that they are subjects peculiar to Ethiopia, that is, such as relate to the ancient rulers, male and female, of Meroë, and are devoted to the perpetuation of the record of their deeds and their devotion, such as that was, to the gods. A reference to ancient history will assist us to a general understanding here: "Among the Ethiopians," says Strabo (p. 1177, speaking of Meroë), "the women are also armed." Upon the relief at Thebes representing the conquest of Ethiopia by Sesostris there is a queen with her sons, who appears before him as a captive. A long succession of queens under the appellation of Candace (Pliny VI. 35) must have reigned here; and when at last the seat of government was moved from Meroë to Napata, near Mount Berkal, there was then also a queen who ruled under the title Candace. (Strabo, p. 820, Book of Acts, ch. VIII. 27.) Although history has preserved so little on the subject, it is, therefore, not strange but quite in agreement with Ethiopian manners in those ages, to see a queen represented in a warlike habit near her husband.

The perfection to which sculpture had been brought here is quite remarkable. In the Egyptian monuments there is in general nothing superior to it and in boldness of outline it seems even to surpass them. "These colossal figures," says Caillaud (speaking of some ten feet high he had seen here), "are remarkable for the richness of their drapery and the character of the drawing; their feet and arms are stouter than the Egyptian; yet are they altogether in the Egyptian style." In the case of the pyramids of Kurgos Ruppel notices a similiar perfection. Some suppose those monuments belong to that brilliant period of the empire of Meroë, the eighth century B. C., when the Ethiopian dynasty of Sabachus and Tirbaka ruled over

Egypt, to whom as they suppose, it would have been easy to send Egyptian artists to Meroë, to perpetuate their fame in their sculptural and generally artistic workmanship. What our hypothesis is concerning the origin of the Egyptian civilization will be remembered here, namely, that it descended the Nile's valley by means of colonization and was transplanted into Egypt in germ; where, having taking root, by genial influences it was brought to that perfection which to our knowledge it attained.

The second station, now called el Messura, for a description and drawing of which we are indebted to M. Caillaud (Plate XVII. Explication), is equally interesting. "In an extensive valley in the desert," says he, "eight hours journey from Shendy to the southeast and six leagues from the Nile, are very considerable ruins. They consist of eight small temples, all connected by galleries upon terraces. It is an immense building, formed by the joining together of a number of chambers, courts, temples and galleries, surrounded by a double inclosure. From the temple in the midst the way to the other is through galleries or terraces, one hundred and eighty-five feet in length. Each temple has its particular chamber. These buildings are placed in exact order and consist of eight temples, thirty-nine chambers twenty-six courts twelve flights of steps, etc. The ruins cover a plat of land two thousand five hundred feet in circumference.

But in the immensity of ruins everything is upon a smaller scale, the monuments as well as the materials employed. The largest temple is only thirty-four feet long; upon the pillars are figures in the Egyptian style; others in the same portico are fluted like the Grecian; upon the basis of one I thought I discovered the remains of a Zodiac. Time and the elements, which have destroyed accient Saba, seem to have been willing to spare us the observatory of Meroë; but until the rubbish be cleared away a complete plan of it cannot be expected. To find so few heiroglyphics in all those ruins excites, indeed, our wonder. The six pillars, which form the portico of the middle temple, are the only ones containing any, all the other walls being without sculpture.

Some hundred paces from the ruins are the remains of other small temples; and the traces of a great reservoir of water, surrounded by little hills, which protect it from the sand. There is here, however, no trace of a city, no heap of rubbish, no sepulchre. If the city of Meroë had been here the pyramids would not have been built at a distance from it of two days' journey. Some

think the form and the architecture prove that the public offices of Meroë were here and that the city was in the neighborhood of the sepulchres where the pyramids are.

It has been concluded that this is the site of the ancient oracle of Jupiter Ammon; first from the suggestion of the ground plan; and, secondly, because it is only thus that the singularity of the foundation can be accounted for, of that labyrinth of passages and courts which must be gone through before arriving at the entirely secret temple in the midst. Some have, indeed, supposed that there are here also subterranean passages as in the Egyptian Labyrinth. A passage of Diodorus defines more accurately the site of the ancient temple and strikingly confirms the above notion. It informs us that this temple did not stand in the city of Meroë, but at some distance from it, in the desert, as it is here situated. When, in the period of the Ptolemies, the then ruler of Meroë overthrew the dominion of the priests, he went with an armed company to the retired spot, where the sanctuary with the golden temple stood, surprised the priests and killed them. (Diodorus, 1, p. 178.) The passage in Strabo says that he went with armed men to the sacred place (τὸ ἱερόν) where the golden temple (ναὸς) or ship (ναῦς) as according to some, stood. Thus we see that in some ancient nations and languages the word for ship, or a dialectic variation of it, meant also a temple, as we have Noah's Ark, a ship and the Ark of the covenant or of the temple, a temple in miniature. "The smallness of the principal temple," says Prof. Heeren, "is not surprising; the same thing has been observed at Ammonium in the Libyan desert. It was probably a place merely for the preservation of the sacred ship, which stood between the pillars of the sanctuary." This idea would appear to connect those peoples around the Red and Caspian and Mediterranean seas, around the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile to its sources, in short in all those adjacent parts of Asia and Africa, as subject to the same general civilization, variations of the same system of religion, and, as related to each other, by a common ultimate origin.

The situation of this in the retired spot near Meroë is in a way similar to that in the Libyan desert spot spoken of before and will appear still more singular on further consideration, and especially when it is considered that one of the great trading routes passes just by it.

As the principal temple was so small, the others which are called temples may be considered merely as chapels, but it remains yet



uncertain for what particular uses they were designed. Hence, Caillaud in the explanation to his plates designates them "constructions." The separate members were small, but the aggregate was great.

Very remarkable here is the rarity of sculpture and hieroglyphics; no trace of that Egyptian art has been discovered, the new figures on the pillars now scarcely legible having nothing in common with it. One of them has the hair done up in the broad Nubian fashion.

In what relation the institutions at Messura stood to those at Naga can only be surmised. If Messura were the oracular temple, that body of the priesthood, which had the care of the oracle, would have resided there. The number of those in proportion to the whole class of ministers would be but small, perhaps only the high priest and his assistants. Naga, however, appears to have been the metropolis of the caste. Here stood a number of temples, not only dedicated to Ammon, but to the kindred gods and here also, are found the remains of a city, which would afford convenient dwelling to the priesthood, no traces of which are found in Messura.

"Thus," says Heeren, "we stand on that remarkable spot which antiquity frequently regarded as the cradle of the arts and sciences; where hieroglyphic writing was discovered; where temples and pyramids had already sprung up, while Egypt still remained ignorant of their existence. Who then can avoid asking what was here formerly? What took place here?" (Researches.)

In order to answer those questions as satisfactorily as is now possible, what we have to do is to select from existing records bearing on the subject, first, what may be regarded as facts and then add those things that are more or less probable.

The fact stands well attested, that besides the pastoral and hunting tribes which led a nomadic life towards the west and east of the Nile's valley, there existed in the immediate valley through which the Nile flows a cultivated people, who had from a very early period fixed abodes, built cities, temples and sepulchres, the monuments of whose intelligent industry do now after the lapse of so many centuries excite our admiration and astonishment.

It is further certain that the civilization of this people was in an especial manner connected with their religion; that is, with the customs and general manner of life connected with the worship of certain deities. The remains left of their institutions and the gen-



eral history of this people written in stone proves this too clearly for any doubt to be entertained upon the subject.

This religion consisted in the general idea connected with the worship of Ammon and his kindred gods. The circle of the Egyptian deities might possibly have been a little larger than that of Olympus among the Greeks. It became enlarged by the appearance of the same deity in different relations and consequently with changed attributes, under different forms and with different head ornaments. But the rites of Ammon so much prevailed that his emblem, the ram's horns, are seen everywhere and it seldom fails to happen that the kindred deities exhibit, in some part or other, something which refers to him. There is one thing worthy of remark, namely that of all the representations of Nubia, yet come to our knowledge, there is not one, which, according to European and American notions of propriety is offensive to decency.

Quite remarkable in this system of religion was the oracular element. Of Africa Ammon was the oracular god. If afterwards, as was the case in Egypt, other deities delivered oracles, yet they were of his race and kindred. "The only gods worshiped in Meroë," says Herodotus, "are Zeus and Dionysos (which he explains to be Ammon and Osiris). They also have an oracle of Ammon and undertake their expeditions when and how the god commands."

How those oracles were delivered we learn partly from history, partly from the representations on the monuments. In the sanctuary stands a high ship, upon which are many holy vessels, but, above all, in the midst a portable tabernacle, surrounded with curtains, which may be drawn back. In this is an image of the god, set, according to Diodorus, in precious stones; nevertheless, according to one account, it could have no human shape. The ships in the great temples seem to have been very magnificent. Sesostris presented one made of cedar to the temple of Ammon at Thebes, the inside of which ship was covered with silver and the outside with gold. The same was hung about with silver paterae. When the oracle was to be consulted it was carried around by a body of priests in procession, and from certain movements, either, of the god or of the ship, both of which the priests appear to have at least understood if not managed, the omens were gathered, according to which the high priest then delivered the oracle. Both upon the Nubian and Egyptian monuments this ship is often represented, sometimes as stationary and sometimes as carried in pro

cession; but never anywhere except in the innermost sanctuary, which was its resting-place. The tabernacle is in some cases without a curtain, in others veiled. Ammon appears in the same sitting upon a couch, an altar, furnished with gifts before him. In one representation the King is kneeling before the ship at his devotions, in another he approaches it with an offering of frankincense. In the sanctuary of the rock monument at Derar, in Nubia, we also discover it twice, once in procession, borne by a number of priests (here the tabernacle is veiled, and the King comes meeting it, bringing frankincense); in the other representation it is stationary. These processions appear not only upon the great Egyptian temples at Philae, Elephantin and Thebes, but also upon the great Oasis. The sacred ship was here the oracle ship. Some have supposed the god of the Nile to have been especially set forth here as representing the origin and means of fertility in the Nile's valley.\*

However, this may have been the oracles, certainly were the main support of this religion, and, if we connect with them the local features of the country it may be thought to throw light upon the origin of this idea. In all this valley fertility is confined to the borders of the river. At a short distance from it the desert begins, Meroë was a chief point of congregation for the trade of the regions of the Upper Nile and of the southern regions of Africa. It was the great emporium of the caravan trade between Ethiopia, Northern Africa and Egypt, as well as Arabia Felix and even India. Before going further it will, therefore, be well for us to learn what the ancients have to say concerning the history and political status of Meroë.

According to their accounts Meroë was a city as well as a State, which had its constitution and laws, its organized government and ruler. But the form of this government was a hierarchy, one very common in those southern regions. The government appears to have been in the hands of a caste of priests, who chose from among themselves a king. I shall transcribe here the account given of them by Diodorus, which is the most extensive and believed to be the most accurate we have.

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\* Although, in the ancient Gaelic tongue, Amhain or Abhain is a river, pronounced Awan, as in the oriental countries Abraham, for example, is pronounced Auraham or Aurahau (See Leayard's Nineveh, vol. 1, p. 189; also notice the English River Avon), yet, if the name Amun, under our consideration, arose from the river Nile or the idea of a river and all that pertains thereto, as it is very likely it did, I would think the idea would have been more general primitively than as if pertaining to any single stream.

“The laws of the Ethiopians,” says he, “differ in many respects from those of other nations, but in none so much as in the election of their kings, which is thus managed. The priests select the most distinguished of their own order and upon whichever of these the god (Ammon) fixes as he is carried in procession, he is acknowledged king by the people, who then fall down and adore him as a god, because he is placed over the government by the choice of the gods. The person thus selected immediately enjoys all the prerogatives, which are conceded to him by the laws in respect to his mode of life; but he can neither reward nor punish any one beyond what the usages of their forefathers and the laws allow. It is a custom among them to inflict upon no subject the sentence of death, even though he should be legally condemned to that punishment; but they send to the malefactor one of the officers of justice, who bears the symbol of death. When the criminal sees this he goes immediately to his own house and deprives himself of life. The Greek custom of evading punishment by flight into a neighboring country is not there permitted. It is said that the mother of one, who would have attempted this, strangled him with her own girdle in order to save her family from that greater ignominy.

But the most remarkable of all their institutions is that which relates to the death of the king. The priests at Meroë, for example, who attend upon the service of the gods and hold the highest rank, send a messenger to the king with an order to die. They make known to him that the gods command this and that mortals should not withdraw from their decrees; and perhaps add such reasons as could not be controverted by weak understandings, prejudiced by custom and unable to oppose anything thereto.” Thus Diodorus.

The government continued in this primitive state till the period of the second Ptolemy and its subversion is no less remarkable than its formation. By its increased intercourse with Egypt, the light of Grecian philosophy and Phœnician intelligence penetrated into Ethiopia. Ergamenes, at that time king, tired of being priest-ridden (which is the language of a certain writer on this subject), fell upon the priests in their sanctuary, put them all to death and became effectually a sovereign; a result, beyond all doubt, which was not generally expected in that dark and distant region. It is true that of the history of this State prior to the revolution just mentioned only scanty information has been preserved, but yet enough to show its high antiquity and its early magnificence. Pliny (VI. 35) tells us that “Ethiopia was ruined by its wars with Egypt, which it some-

times subdued and sometimes served ; it was powerful and illustrious even as far back as the Trojan war, when Memnon reigned. At the time of his sovereignty Meroë is said to have contained two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers and four hundred thousand artificers. They still reckon there forty-five kings."

In the Persian period Meroë was an independent and important state, otherwise Cambyzes, as according to Herodotus and Strabo, would not have been likely to have made such great preparations for an expedition against it which resulted so disastrously. During the last dynasty of the Pharaohs at Sais, under Psammetichus, the Kingdom of Meroë resisted his yoke, although his son Psammis undertook an expedition against Ethiopia.

If we go a century back of this, say between 800 and 700 B. C. we shall come to a flourishing period of the empire, contemporary with the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, where we shall consequently have a light from the Jewish annals in connection with the records of Herodotus. This is the period of a powerful Ethiopic rule over Egypt for according to Herodotus fifty and according to Eusebius forty-four years.

Herodotus does not represent Sabacus, his Ethiopic-Egyptian dynast of this period, either as a tyrant or a barbarian, but as an intelligent man and benefactor of his new charge, the Egyptian nation, by the construction of dams for the better protection and irrigation of the country.

But of this Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty Herodotus mentions only one name, Sabacus, to whom he gives a reign of fifty years ; Eusebius, however, mentions three to whom he gives an aggregate reign of forty-four years, namely, Sabacus, twelve years, Seuechus twelve, and Tirhako twenty years. I think the conclusion quite reasonable here that Sabacus and Seuechus are only different ways for spelling the same name, which here stands for the same man. The same number of years precisely is given to each of those names by Eusebius. And, as Herodotus mentions only Sabacus, it is barely possible that Tirhacus would be a family name standing for the same form, which in the Gaelic would be Seach, and thus that the whole three appellations would stand for the same man. The first supposition is, as I say, quite reasonable, the last barely possible ; for while Sabacus would be a Greek form Herodotus might give for Seuachus, then Tirhach-us might be conceived to be the family name, as Tir-Seach-us, or child of Seach. For, if in the old languages Tir means land, country, it must also have had the



primitive meaning of 'house,' 'son,' 'child,' by which in compound, as you perceive, a family name would arise. The fact that some authors identify Tirhako with Sethos, the priest-king of Herodotus, might be thought to give a degree of probability to this last supposition; for Sethos, root Seth or Seath, it is well known, is in the Gaelic exchangeable for Seach. But, without here saying anything for or against as to the identification of Tirhako with Sethos, I may say that notwithstanding Herodotus mentions only one in this dynasty, and as we may take Sabacus and Seuachus as two forms of the same name, we shall have here quite a literal reading as well as reasonable understanding by making Tirhacus both be and mean Son of Seachus. This would give two generations instead of, on the one hand, one, or on the other hand three for the forty-four or fifty years. The Jewish annals would seem to support the idea of two successive Kings in this dynasty; for the Seuachus or Sabacus is the So of 2 Kings xvii, 4, to whom Hoshea, King of Israel sent an embassy. Tarhacus or Tirhaco was the contemporary of Sennacherib, the successor of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria and deterred him (supposed *anno* 714 B. C.) from the invasion of Egypt, merely by the rumor of his advance against him (2 Kings xix: 9). The name and fame of Tarhaco was not unknown to the Greeks. Eratosthenes in Strabo mentions him as a conqueror who had penetrated into Europe as far as the Pillars of Hercules; and it is more than probable that he was not the same with Sabachus or Seachus, but his successor.

The kingdom of Meroë, therefore, must certainly about this period, and for long ages before have ranked as an important state. If we go back two centuries to the time of Asa, the great-grandson of Solomon, who ascended the throne of Judah about *anno* 995, B. C., or within twenty years after his grandfather's death, we shall find this to be the case. Against him, the Jewish annals inform us, came out Zerah, the Ethiopian, with a host of a thousand thousand men and three hundred chariots (2 Chron. xiv: 9). Michaelis, in this case, translates Ethiopian Cushite, which appellation embraces both the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, remarking, however, expressly by comparing 2 Chron. xvi, 8, that he must have been King of Ethiopia and probably of Arabia Felix as well. Although the expression a thousand thousand may merely indicate a large army, yet it affords a proof of the strength of the empire, which at that time, doubtless, included Arabia Felix; but the chariots of war which had never been in use in Arabia prove that



the passage refers to Ethiopia proper, as the seat of the government. Farther back than about the year 1000, B. C., or say the time of Solomon, the annals of written history are silent, but the monuments now begin to speak and affirm that high authority, which the traditions of Meroë as well as the generally enlightened opinion of antiquity attribute to this state.

The name of Rameses, called in Greek Sesostris, has been found upon many of the Nubian monuments; and that he was the conqueror of Ethiopia is affirmed by Herodotus (ii: 110), and Strabo (p. 1140). Prof. Heeren, in his *Researches* (p. 215), 1825, A. D., referring to this says: "That the Pharaohs should have carried their conquests into Ethiopia could in no period seem less strange than in ours; in which the same scene has been acted. Scarcely was the present ruler of Egypt firmly possessed of that kingdom than his son, Ismael Pasha, undertook the same conquest, and not only penetrated to Meroë, but even at one time as far as Singue 10° N. Lat." The name of Tuthmoses, has also been found in Nubia upon one of the ancient monuments of Armada. But in this sculpture as well as in the procession, representing the victory over Ethiopia, in the offering of the spoil to the gods, there appears a degree of civilization, which shows an acquaintance with the peaceful arts; they must, therefore, be attributed to a nation which long ere this had an organized government. We thus touch upon the Mosaic period in which the Jewish traditions (Josephus Ant. Jud. ii: 10), ascribe the conquest of Meroë to Moses. The traditions of the Egyptian priesthood also agree in this that Meroë in Ethiopia had laid the foundation of the most ancient states of Egypt. But history itself has carried us back to those ages in which the formation of the most ancient states took place and has clearly shown that Meroë was one of them.

In the ancient Ethiopic state, as to its government, we cannot expect a picture which will bear much similitude to the civilized nations of Europe and America. Meroë rather resembled in appearance the larger states of interior Africa, with which we are acquainted somewhat at the present day; a number of small nations, some with and some without settled abodes, form there what is called an empire, although the political bond which holds them generally together appears loose and is often scarcely recognizable. Eratosthenes has handed down to us a picture of the inhabitants of Meroë in his time. According to his account the island embraced a variety of peoples, of whom some followed

agriculture, some a nomadic life and others hunting; all of them choosing that which was thought best adapted to the district in which they lived. He says, however, that in his time the nomad tribes dwelling to the north of Meroë in Nubia were no longer subject to that state. The dominion over roving hordes, it is well known, can seldom be very certain, permanent or have fixed boundaries, and it would be rash to apply what Eratosthenes says of his times to all the preceding centuries, while on the other hand, we learn from the monuments that the rulers of Meroë lived in almost continual warfare with the nomad tribes.

To the west Meroë was bounded by sandy deserts which separated it from Darfour, a place not mentioned by that name in antiquity; and, to the east, it had for neighbors in the mountains the rude Shamgallas, the Troglodytes or the race of Bischaries, at about ten or eleven days journey distant from the city of Meroë. (Erat. in Strab. l. c. p. 1134). According to what has been recorded those tribes had their own kings or chiefs and were not under the dominion of Meroë.

To the south of Meroë lay a province which by an extraordinary condition of affairs had come into possession of a numerous and powerful race of Egyptian colonists. When Psammetichus had obtained, by the aid of Greek mercenaries, the sole government of Egypt, the numerous Egyptian warrior caste, taking great offense thereat rebelled against him. They had, indeed, already in the foregoing troubles, when the priest-caste intrigued for the sovereignty and thereat for a long time played a winning game, felt themselves deeply injured. These Egyptian warriors, 240,000 in number, deriding the attempts of the king to detain them, chose to expatriate themselves than to submit to the new order of things which began with the reign of Psammetichus in Egypt. This took place about anno 650 B. C. Having immigrated into Ethiopia, in the face of the protestations of Psammetichus, that they were deserting their native country, and going over to the enemy, the king of Meroë joyfully received them and appointed them a province, whose inhabitants, as noticed before, having been lately in a state of rebellion, were expelled in order to make place for these newcomers. This district, according to the best informed authorities, was the present Gojam, *i.e.*, the land of the strangers, an island formed by a deep curve of the Nile, which it makes immediately after its rise and then returns, almost in a complete circle, nearly

back to its sources. Their new home, then, was in the neighborhood of the sources of the Nile.

Here this numerous Egyptian colony formed a separate state, dependent upon Meroë, but governed by its own subordinate kings, or rather, at least at a later period, by its queens. Among the Ethiopian tribes dwelling in those regions they introduced, as according to Herodotus, civilization, after the general type of the Egyptian; they built cities, the most considerable of which was called Sembolytis and another named Esar. This state, which endured for many centuries, extended itself on the east as far as the mountains, and clear traces of it are visible in the histories of those countries at later periods.

The state of Meroë, therefore, in the ages of its existence, comprised a number of different races or tribes, united together by one common religion or form of worship which was managed by the priests, the most cultivated class of the people, and, in effect, the dominant caste. The question as to what race of men this caste of priests really belonged to or descended from, some antiquarians have thought to be a very interesting one, but it is a question the solution of which remains as yet only among the probabilities, nothing historically definite having been adduced as to it. This much, however, has been concluded as probably certain, namely, that the priest caste did not consider themselves as of a race that had immigrated to that land, but as primitive to it, in which opinion they coincided with the people generally of that country.

If we examine as to whether the information we have or can attain respecting this race of the Nile's valley will warrant us in concluding such race as having immigrated into this region or whether we can discover in the tribes still existing there the descendants of such immigrant race, what we have to do is to examine the monuments left by the race, as from these the means of our knowledge must be largely drawn and as from their innumerable pictures we are enabled to judge somewhat in regard to the internal as well as the external character of the race.

In these monumental representations we always discover the same formation of countenance, the same shape (except in a few figures in the rock sepulchres, which in general display the infancy of the art); the same color, and although with many variations, yet, upon the whole, the same rich costume. The countenance has in it nothing of what we now understand as the negro variety, it is a handsome profile; the body is tall and slender; the hair straight

or slightly curled; the color a reddish brown. That the color in the painted reliefs was that of the people represented no one will doubt who has seen Belzoni's plates of the royal sepulchre at Abusambal. It is unnecessary to understand that the color in nature was exactly the same; the artists, in this respect, were perhaps limited by their materials; but it appears plain that the race intended to be depicted was neither white nor black, but of a color between these two, namely, dark-brown. The Nubian race is now supposed to most exactly represent them. Though the color, through slight intermixture with female negro slaves, is becoming somewhat darker, yet the same shape, the same profile, and the same moral characteristics are still to be found, as far as this can be expected in their present degenerate state. The Nubian, says an eye-witness, is thin and slender and beautifully formed; and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statue. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian. They are of a dark-brown color, with hair either naturally curly or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly. Neither their external appearance nor their language allow us to give them an Arabian origin. They were once, according to Strabo, a mighty nation spreading out on both sides of the Nile. They are now pressed back into its valley; scarcely more than the ruins of a nation; but it has been impossible altogether to suppress them. Their ancient civilizations was closely connected with their religion and naturally declined with it; intermixture with foreigners, wars and oppressions helped on the degradation; all that now can be expected in their case is but a shadow of what they once were. (Strabo, pp. 1134-5, Leagh and others.)

But, whoever will compare closely the descriptions of them given by modern travelers with the representations upon the reliefs, will not fail to recognize the same general physical appearance, and the same countenance. They even still carry the same weapons, the long, often two edged spear, the great shield of hippopotamus-skin, with which they so often appear upon the monuments, and by which even the prophet characterizes them (Jer. xlv., 9): and if the richness of their dress has been exchanged for lighter habilaments it may be considered that the temperature of the climate renders these ornaments rather than necessary clothing. All these distinguishing marks are, as stated, in the nature of probabilities and not founded upon historical evidence as ordinarily understood; but the views here given of the subject may be considered as just until replaced by others evidently more probable.



The question which will be expected to follow this in consideration is: whether Ethiopia and especially Meroë was the parent of the civilization of the Nile's valley, which descended thence into Egypt; or whether civilization ascended the Nile from Egypt into Ethiopia? I have before indicated partially what my mind was on this. I have stated that we had historical evidence that rulers of Meroë were at certain periods rulers of Egypt; and, on the other hand, that some of the Pharaohs extended their dominion over Ethiopia. What, therefore, could be more natural than that those nations would be mutually effected by being brought into close contact and general intercourse with each other; and as the erection of monuments, temples and their appurtenances formed so essential a part of the rites of the religion of Ammon, that the Pharaohs, when they ruled over Ethiopia, or the Ethiopian kings when they ruled over Egypt should, on both sides, have endeavored to perpetuate their memories in these respective countries by the foundation of temples and the erection and decoration of monuments? That this was so in effect is proved by the structures which exist in those countries as well as in Nubia, which lies between them, and by reliefs which decorate those structures and temples.

Those, therefore, who derive the civilization of Egypt from Ethiopia and especially from Meroë do not generally go farther than to affirm that certain colonies led by the priest-caste spread from Meroë into Egypt. That all this happened at the advice of the oracle of Ammon is proved by Herodotus, who says: "They undertook their expeditions at the time and to the place appointed by the god." The fact is too well known to render it necessary to be proved here that the foundation of colonies in the ancient world generally took place under the dictation of the oracles. This was so in Greece and in other countries as well as in Egypt, Ethiopia and Siwah. These oracles, were under the ministry or management of the priest-caste, doubtless sometimes in connection with the chief ruler of the nation; it is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that those settlements were usually in the first place determined upon deliberately and then carried out for definite purposes. This is confirmed by the ordinary and monumental history.

One of those settlements, the nearest to Meroë on the north, that near Mount Berkal, is called after the present city, namely, Merawé. At this place are found the remains of two temples, dedicated to Osiris and Ammon. The larger with an alley of Sphinxes, and all the sections of the great temples of Egypt, surpasses in extent,

variety and perfection of finish, those in the parent State. The smaller called by Caillaud, a *Typhonium*, exhibits in its sanctuary Ammon with his whole train. But besides the name, another thing proves this place to have been a colony from Meroë; I mean the pyramidal sepulchres, with nearly the very same number of pyramids as at Assur, though larger in size. Opposite also on the western bank of the Nile, near Nuri, is a group of pyramids, which are said to be the only ones found between the island of Meroë and Egypt. The reliefs on the temple relate to the worship of Ammon. On the Pylon a king or hero is offering to him a number of captives; in the interior decoration, gifts of fruit, cattle and other things. In the front building of the pyramids is represented Osiris, as king of the lower world, to whom gifts are likewise presented. This place at a later period, probably in the time of the Ptolemies, became the capital, and was called Napata; and this in the time of Nero, when the Romans captured and destroyed it, was the residence of the successive queens, who dwelt here under the title of Candace. (Pliny, VI. 35, Mannert X. p. 220).

Ammonium in the Libyan Desert, was, according to the testimony of Herodotus another of those colonies, which consisted not merely of a temple and oracle, but rather, as Meroë, formed a small State where the priest-caste was the ruling body, and chose a king from among themselves; and, according to his account, this colony was formed in common from Meroë and Thebes. This remarkable fact, not only proves the foundation of such colonies and the objects for which they were intended, but also places beyond a doubt that a common interest was recognized as mutually existing between those religious institutions at Meroë and Thebes.

The princely Thebes itself was by far the most important settlement of this priest-caste; it formed a sort of second metropolis or central point, whence they spread over the rest of Egypt and the Oases. The priestly tradition of Ethiopia and Egypt, asserted the worship of Ammon and Osiris, with all its institutions, feasts, processions and paraphernalia, to have been first settled at Meroë, the metropolis. Diodorus (I. p. 18), cites the character of the authorities whence he derives this information; at one time as written, namely, the narrative of Agatharchides, in his work on the Red Sea, and the history of Artemidorus; at others as oral, namely the assertions of the priests of the Thebaid; and of the ambassadors from Meroë, whom he himself had there an opportunity of conversing with; all these agree very well together.

From the city of Meroë, therefore, according to the most ancient authorities did Osiris carry the civilization of which he is the symbol into Egypt. The worship of Ammon and his temple associates, the same sacerdotal polity, the same oracles confirmed it in antiquity; and we do not find the temples of Upper and the pyramids of Middle Egypt to be exponents of the same truth, with those designs wrought to the highest perfection of which the monuments of Meroë and Nubia furnished the simpler models.

So far thus: But that Meroë was a colony of Thebes there is not the slightest historical proof. And what would be gained by such an opinion, even though the question should turn upon the rise of civilization in the Nile's valley? On what account would it be less likely to rise in Meroë than in the Thebaid? No doubt in both countries certain external causes promoted it; but that they were to be found as well, rather sooner in Meroë than in the Thebaid much might be adduced.

The researches of investigators upon this subject lead to the general conclusion above set forth which is no small proof of the correctness of our inferences. It is, therefore, here expedient to set forth the opinions to which Gaw and Champollion have led, more especially since we know they have proved themselves to be some of the most painstaking, laborious and accurate investigators in this field.

"The observation of Gaw," it is said, "seems especially interesting, on account of the results to which it will lead; we mean his remark that he hopes by his work to prove that the original models of Egyptian architecture may be found in the Nubian monuments, from the rudest rock excavation to the highest point of perfection; and the specimens are met with in Nubia of the three different epochs of architecture. Of the first attempts, the excavations from the sides of rocks which were not till a later period ornamented with sculpture, the temples of Derar, Abousambal and Ghyshe afford examples. From them Egyptian art proceeded to perfection, as we know from the monuments of Kalabshe, Dekar, etc.; and again retrograded as is shown in the small buildings of Dandour," etc.

"In the letters upon Champollion's latest discoveries it is said that history is extended and authenticated. Champollion reads the names of the mighty Egyptian Pharoahs upon the edifices which they erected, and arrives at certainty respecting the deeds of Tuthmosis, Amenophis II., Rameses Miamun, Rameses the Great or Sesostris and others, which our modern skeptical critics would tear from the

volume of authentic history and place among the fabulous. But a powerful voice is raised in their favor by the irrefragible evidence of the venerable reliefs, the innumerable inscriptions upon the pylons and long walls of Theban palaces. Nearly thirty royal dynasties enumerated of which from seventeen upwards uninterrupted monuments have been discovered.

The most flourishing period of the Egyptian state, and its highest point of civilization Champollion places under the eighteenth dynasty, the first of which dynasty expelled the shepherd race, or hyksos, from lower Egypt, under whose domination most if not all of Egypt had been for centuries. It was also the Pharaohs of this dynasty who so aggrandized Thebes; who built the vast palace of Karnac, Luxor, Medinet Abon, Kornu and Memnonium. What a high pitch of civilization! What an astonishing era of art; two complete thousand years before the Augustan age of Rome! The magnificent palace of Karnac records by its hieroglyphics that it was built during the eleven hundred years which elapsed from the time of Amenophis I. to that of Nekao II. Amenophis I. was the third, Amenophis II. (whom the Greeks call Memnon) the eighth, and Amenophis III., the sixteenth of this glorious dynasty. But the most exalted hero among the Pharaohs was Rameses the Great or Sesostris, as he is called, by Herodotus, the first of the nineteenth dynasty."

"But this advantage of the researches, so interesting in their consequences, is not merely confined to the antiquities of Egypt; it stretches away to the south; it opens up an historical view of countries, whose names have not yet been enrolled in the eternal tablets of history. In Nubia and Ethiopia stupendous, numerous and primeval monuments proclaim so loudly a civilization contemporary, aye, earlier than that of Egypt, that it may be conjectured with the greatest confidence that the arts, sciences and religion descended from Nubia to the Lower country of Mizraim; that civilization descended the Nile, built Memphis, and, finally, something later, wrested by colonization the Delta from the sea. From Meroë and Axum downwards with the Nile to the Mediterranean, there arose, as is testified by Diodorus, cultivated and powerful States, which, though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same writing and the same religion."

"Champollion, by comparing the manners and customs, the political institutions and physical organization of the Egyptians with those of other nations regards it as certain that they are a genuine African-descended race; undoubtedly aboriginals of this quarter of



the world, as they resemble the western Asiatic nations, their neighbors, in but a very few unimportant particulars. Their language contains as few analogies with the Sanscrit and Zend, the Chinese and the Arabic, as their writing with that of the rest of the known world. Everything tends to prove them a great, a self-cultivated and an exclusive family of nations, possessing the north-east of Africa, Nubia, the Oases and Egypt.”\*

That the Ammonian oracles were principal stations of the caravan trade may suggest the close connection which did really exist between religion and commerce, which was, doubtless, as natural to those countries as it is unnatural to our institutions. Though this priesthood was not of itself a trading people yet it seems by its establishments to have served as a guide and fosterer to the southern commercial intercourse. This a general survey of the commerce of those countries in the early ages would fully establish.

That an extensive commercial intercourse existed in early times between Ethiopia and Arabia Felix on the one side and the western coast of the peninsula of India and Ceylon on the other is a matter which is pretty well established historically. Thus it may appear that nature has so preordained the commerce of those nations by bestowing treasures on one portion which the others are destitute of and cannot well do without. India is, in natural productions, one of the richest countries in the world, and, on that account, has always been esteemed a country of great importance in the world's commerce. Besides the textile fabrics peculiar to it and some which it may possess in common with a few other countries it possesses almost exclusively cinnamon and pepper, the two spices most in demand. In colder regions these may be dispensed with or used as articles of luxury; but under the damp and burning climate of those southern latitudes they are indispensably necessary as antidotes to putrefaction; and none of the nations in these regions can ever do without them after having once experienced their effects.

Yeman, otherwise called Arabia Felix, though separated by sea from India, is yet by nature connected with it in an extraordinary

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\* The foregoing extracts are taken from continental European reviews and magazines, written at the end of the first quarter of this nineteenth century. It is said that in later discoveries a whole archive has come to light in papyrus rolls, containing the names of the Pharaohs and annals of their reigns. An immense flood of light has been shed during this nineteenth century upon the history of that very ancient and interesting race more especially by the researches of Mr. Brugsch Bey. Doubtless much that is of interest will yet come to light concerning it.

manner. One-half of the year — from Spring to Autumn — the wind sets in and wafts the vessels from Arabia to India; the other half — from Autumn to Spring — it as regularly carries them back from India to Arabia.\* A sky almost always serene affords them the stars as guides, and spares them the trouble and danger of feeling along the coasts. Though Arabia produces no spices she amply makes up for the deficiency by other very valuable productions. If not exclusively, Arabia is above all others the native country of frankincense, myrrh and other aromatics and perfumes. If the purification of the air by sweet-smelling savors were not as necessary in these warm climates as spices are for the preservation of health, yet the value of these productions was greatly enhanced by religion. In the offerings to the gods in those semi-civilized nations frankincense was largely used.

But eastern Africa not only divided the production of frankincense with Yeman, but produced a different commodity of great value, namely, gold, of which neither Yeman nor India could boast and without which their traffic must have been, even in those early times, much limited. The western coast of the Indian peninsula did not produce this metal, nor Arabia if at all but sparingly; but eastern Africa contained those districts abounding in gold, which are still numbered among the richest of the world.

Indian spices, especially cinnamon, are brought to our view in the book of Exodus (ch. xxx: 23, 24), in which we can enumerate the quantity of spices to be used in compounding the holy oil of the sanctuary. The Phœnicians and Hebrews early carried on an extensive trade with Arabia Felix. The Hebrew poets and prophets cite the names of its various cities and harbors, and enumerate the treasures which were imported from them (Ezek. xxvii: 21-25 and the commentaries). The Greeks were also accustomed to proclaim the boundless riches contained in Yeman. "Its inhabitants, the Sabians," says Agatharchides, as quoted by Diodorus, "not only surpass the neighboring barbarians in wealth and magnificence, but all other nations whatsoever. In bringing and selling their wares they obtain among all nations the highest prices for the smallest quantities. As their distant situation protects them from all foreign plunderers, immense stores of precious metals have accumulated among them, especially in the capital. Curiously-wrought gold and silver drinking vessels in great variety; couches, tripods

\* The former is a southwest, the latter a northeast wind.

with silver feet, and an incredible profusion of costly furniture in general. Porticos with large columns, partly gilt, with capitals ornamented with wrought silver figures. The roofs and doors are ornamented with gold fretwork, set with precious stones; besides which an extraordinary magnificence reigns in the decoration of their houses, in which they use silver and gold, and ivory and the most precious stones and all other things which men deem most valuable. These people from the earliest times have enjoyed their good fortune undisturbed; being sufficiently remote from all those who strove to feed their avarice with the treasures of others."

From the foregoing quotation it is plain that the inhabitants of this country had, by their commerce and country's native products, attained in the early ages to immense wealth; and also, as indicated by their architecture and plastic arts, had made considerable progress in civilization. According to Herodotus much of their wealth was derived from the merchandise of India for which their country was the great mart; and his testimony is fully confirmed by that of Arrian in his "*Periplus of the Red Sea*," who has always had the reputation of having been a well informed writer.

"Before merchants," he says, "sailed from India to Egypt and from Egypt to India, Arabia Felix was the staple both for Egyptian and Indian goods much as Alexandria is now for the commodities of Egypt and foreign merchandise."

The explicit testimony here brought forward shows the commercial intercourse between Arabia and India to have been of high antiquity; and everything connected with the subject indicates the Arabians to have been the navigators, the Indians nowhere appearing in that vocation. When, therefore, we are informed that Arabia Felix at that time was the market for Indian products we may with great probability conclude that those people at this time as well as afterwards possessed the carrying trade of the Indian ocean. Whether this was confined to coasting or whether advantage was taken of the monsoons in sailing across the sea direct must be left to conjecture; but we can scarcely suppose that the benefit of this wind should have remained unknown during a lapse of centuries to people dwelling in the regions whence it blew. If every other passage across this sea in the infancy of time may excite suspicion nothing can be reasonably opposed or supposed to the shortness and facility of this. Moreover, a great part of the way along the Arabian coast might be navigated by the monsoons; and the great number of islands, with which the ocean is here dotted

would serve as landmarks and harbors. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance that the direct transit from Yemen to India leads direct to that very district of all that vast country in which (as at Elephantin and Salsette) some of the most ancient and remarkable monuments that are to be found in India still exist.

The intercourse between Yemen and Ethiopia has been subject to no real difficulties. They are neighboring countries separated only by a narrow strait. Just beyond this lies the Ethiopian land of frankincense, known to Herodotus, and near to that the gold countries of eastern Africa mentioned before. That Egypt and the other countries of northern Africa were well supplied with the home products of Ethiopia, as well as other countries just mentioned, is evident from so many circumstances that no doubt can remain upon the subject.

As we go back into antiquity the closer seems to have been the connection between Egypt and Ethiopia. The Hebrew writers seldom mention the one without the other; the people of both countries are represented as commercial nations. When Isaiah (xlv: 14) prophetically celebrates the victories of Cyrus their submission is spoken of as his most magnificent reward: "Thus saith the Lord, The labor of Egypt and merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee and they shall be thine." When Jeremiah (xlv: 8-11) celebrates the great victory of Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish the Ethiopians are allied to the Egyptians. When Ezek. (xxx: 5) threatens the downfall of Egypt by Babylon the remotest parts of Ethiopia tremble at the denunciation. The records of Egypt exhibits the close intimacy in which they stood to each other. The primitive states of Egypt, as already seen, derived their origin from those remote regions; Thebes and Meroë founded in common a colony in Libya, called Ammonium or Siwah; Ethiopian conquerors more than once invaded Egypt; Egyptian kings in return made conquest of Ethiopia; the same worship, the same customs and manners, the same mode of writing are found in both countries. And under Psammetichus, as shown above, the warrior class (called slaves by some, perhaps because, in effect, reduced to slavery by Psammetichus) retired into Ethiopia and dwelt there. This general intimate connection might seem to indicate an understood permanent kinship, somewhat such as exists, taken in its broadest sense, among the Scottish clans.

Egypt, also, as far back as history reaches was well stocked with the products of the Southern regions. Whence did she obtain the



drugs and spices with which her dead were embalmed? Whence the incense that burned on her altars? Whence the immense quantity of cotton with which her people were clad and of which her own soil produced so little?

Moreover, whence came into Egypt that early rumor of the gold districts of Ethiopia, which Cambyses set out to discover and in the attempt lost half his army? Whence that profusion of ivory and ebony which the ancient artists of Greece and Phoenicia embellished? (Herod. iii., 114.) “Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, brings forth gold in abundance, and ivory and ebony and various other woods, and the tallest, handsomest and most long-lived of men.” Whence that general and early spread of the name of Ethiopia, which glimmers in the traditional history of so many nations, and which is celebrated as well by the Hebrew poets as by the earliest Grecian bards? Whence all this, if the deserts which surrounded that people had formed an impassable barrier between them and the inhabitants of the northern districts?

But why should tradition which has so long slumbered be now invoked? The remains of those majestic monuments, the series of which extend from Elephantin and Philae beyond the desert to Meroë, now speak for themselves. However short and monosyllabic their language, they plainly enough evince that a close connection must have existed between the peoples that erected them.

The reader is, however, now in a position to judge both of the certainty and extent of the international commerce of those southern regions in those remote periods. It was a commercial intercourse between some of the richest and most productive regions of the earth; the gold countries of eastern Africa, the spice countries of India and the native land of frankincense, of precious stones and drugs in Southern Arabia.

But this research presupposes another inquiry, namely, as to the relation in which commerce stood in those regions to religion.

Commerce has always in the East been very closely connected with religion. All commercial intercourse requires peaceable and secure places in which it may be carried on. Commerce in the eastern countries is carried on in a very different way generally from that in which it is carried on in Europe and America. In these latter countries, every State, city and hamlet affords protection to its people so that trade is carried on peaceably and securely. Goods are transported speedily on freight trains and steamboats from point to point; and men travel, in like manner, without ap-

prehension of violence from unruly men. In the immense districts of the Eastern world the case is very different. The rich caravans have often to perform here journeys of hundreds of miles through nations of nomad robbers. The market is not where they might choose, but where the requirements of nature fixes it, in the midst or in the neighborhood of those roving hordes. What can be supposed to protect commerce, but the sanctity of the place?

Moreover, a ready sale of merchandise requires a concourse of people, and where this has place is most usually in the vicinity of the national sanctuaries, where the whole nation is wont to congregate to celebrate their feasts. Here, where men give themselves up to good living the necessities of life, if not the luxuries, will be in plentiful supply and good demand, and here the merchants will net the best profits. Now, however, even the East affords a striking example of the extent to which the maritime commerce has diminished that by land. Mecca has long been, through its holy sanctuary, the chief mart of the commerce of Arabia, and the great caravans of pilgrims, which journey thither from Asia and Africa are largely trading caravans. The fairs which depend upon their arrival are said to be the greatest in Asia.

The rapid growth of a place in the East, when once it has obtained a sanctuary, that becomes the objective point of pilgrimages and by that means becomes a trading place almost surpasses credibility. Tenta, for example, a city of the Delta, is celebrated as containing the sepulchre of a Mohamedan saint, Seyd-Achmed. The veneration in which this is held brings an incredible number of pilgrims, who come at the season of the vernal equinox and summer solstice from Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia and Darfour. The number is estimated as averaging 150,000. These periodical assemblages besides the worship of the saint are devoted to commerce; and each of them is the period of a celebrated fair, which lasts for many days and at which the produce of Upper Egypt, the coast of Barbary, and of the eastern nations is exchanged for the cattle of the Delta and the linen there manufactured. (*Memoires Sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii., p. 357.)

It was the worship of Ammon and his kindred deities whose rites were propagated by the foundation of colonies of the same caste of priests along the course of the Nile from the vicinity of its sources till its divided streams lose themselves in the sea; and the places celebrated for the worship of those deities were also famed as the great marts for the commerce of those regions.

A consideration of this will easily determine the most ancient trading route from Ethiopia to Egypt and northern Africa. The situation and nature of the country will allow of no other, in the main, than a caravan trade; for they cannot navigate on the river above a certain point, and in antiquity, single merchants could travel with as little safety as they can now without a convoy. For the caravan trade from northern Africa and the negro countries to Upper Egypt, Thebes was the places of rendezvous. There are usually three principal caravans which go from inner Africa to Egypt; one from Fezzan or Barbary, and one from Darfour and a third from Sennaar and Atbar, the ancient Meroë. From its situation Nubia is the natural and has, therefore, always been the great point of communication for the caravan trade between Ethiopia and the countries north and n. e. and n. w. of the Nubian desert. In going from Egypt, Atbar is the first fertile spot which relieves the eye of the weary traveler over the dreary desert, the crossing of which is attended with so much toil and often with pain and danger. It is likewise the natural emporium for such productions of inner Africa as are wont to be transported to the north. It is the extreme point of the gold country towards Egypt; and possesses an easy communication with the southern regions by means of the many navigable streams with which it is surrounded. Its moderate distance from Arabia Felix facilitates its intercourse with that wealthy country, which again rendered it, as long as it possessed the trade of Arabia and India, the natural market of Africa for Arabian and Indian goods.

But, though Sennaar or the country of Meroë, appears as a great commercial country, yet the territory about the city of Meroë seems always to have been the principal locality of market.

Bruce, in relating his adventures, says: "Shendy," now the nearest city to ancient Meroë, "was once a town of great resort. The caravans of Sennaar, Egypt, Suakin and Kordofan, were all accustomed to rendezvous here, especially after the Arabs had cut off the road by Dongola." The celebrated Maillet, who wrote at the beginning of the eighteenth century, informs us that at that time, the caravan from Sennaar arrived there every year, bringing gold dust, ebony, ivory, balsam, and black slaves, all wares equally known and valued in antiquity. It assembled at Gherri, a place lying a few miles above Shendy and Meroë. The merchants from Sennaar and Gondar, the two chief cities of Abyssinia, and many other districts congregated here to begin their journey. The cara-

vans leave the Nile to the east and stretch across Libya, where after a seventeen days' journey, they enter a fertile valley, planted with palms; then continuing their route, which leads over mountainous districts, they again reach the Nile at Monfelut, a city of Upper Egypt.

The information brought by the French expedition confirms all this and discloses other important information. Shendy, we are told, is the place where the caravan road to the north of Egypt and to the east of the Arabian Gulf or Suakin, separate. Shendy, therefore, has long been a place of great trade, and it still remains the next city to Sennaar. Burkhardt, who remained a month at Shendy, gives in his work copious details concerning the trade of that town. "Commerce," he says, "is the very life of society in those countries. There is not a single family which is not connected more or less with some branch of traffic, either wholesale or retail and the people of Berber and Shendy appear to be a nation of traders in the strictest sense of the word." At but a few miles distance from Shendy, are the great salt works which supply all Abyssinia with this useful commodity. Strabo also mention this.

Although the intercourse between Egypt, Arabia and Sennaar is thus brisk that to the west with Soudan is represented by Burkhardt as insignificant and unimportant. The commerce of interior Africa is carried on in two directions principally; one follows the valley of the Nile from Egypt to Sennaar, the other is that of the Soudan, from the Joliba to the Mediterranean. Between these the empire of Bornou intervenes. These trading routes are found to have been the same in antiquity as now, a matter as to which all explorers are agreed.

To the communication between northern and southern Africa the principal obstruction is the desert; the countries beyond, in all directions, maintain, as we learn both from the ancient writers and the more modern reports of the British society, a constant intercourse.

The usual route of the caravan, in the present, runs to the east of the Nile, where that river makes its great bend towards the west, *through the midst of the Nubian desert*; the same that Bruce followed from Sennaar to Egypt and Burkhardt from Egypt to Sennaar. From the beginning of the desert, on the northern boundary of Sennaar to Essouan on the Egyptian frontier the distance amounts to twenty days journey. Another route which almost constantly follows the course of the Nile, is, in consequence of



its great westerly bend, much farther around, whether the first, that is, the shorter or more difficult route, was frequented in antiquity cannot be determined from direct historical evidence, but as Eratosthenes and Artemidorus state the distance from Syene to the city of Meroë, the former at 625 and the latter at 600 miles, and this distance is undoubtedly reckoned according to this shortest route, we may safely conclude that it was known. According to Burckhardt it is the only route from Shendy to Egypt and the one generally pursued by the caravans of Sennaar. Though not without its perils it did not appear so dangerous to him as the great Syrian desert. Springs are met with and these to some extent, naturally govern the direction of the road. A description of the longer way on the banks of the Nile, and as far as the nature of the stream will allow, upon that river, has already been given from Herodotus, whose forty days journey is explained by the context, that the course of the river was almost invariably followed. The succession of inhabited places along the river renders it probable that in those times it was the common way, especially for those who dreaded the dangers of the desert. These places continue to Merawé, where the last cataracts begin and a very natural cause is found in this situation for the establishment of those settlements. Pliny was not only acquainted with them but describes the manner of the voyage up the Nile. "Syene," says he, "is the rendezvous of the Ethiopian vessels. The sailors fold them together and carry them on their shoulders as often as they come to the cataracts." These boats were probably made of hides: but the same custom of carriage is still continued with the boats that are. "Notwithstanding the number of falls and cataracts," says Maillet, "which render the navigation difficult they do not altogether impede it. The boats are brought as near as possible to the cataracts; the movable wares are then all taken out and a number of men take the boat, which is built very light for the purpose, upon their shoulders and carry it past the cataracts, while others transport the merchandise to the same place. The boat is then relaunched on the Nile, and so they go on from cataract to cataract, until they have passed them all." But, independently of Herodotus' direct statement that in order to avoid the cataracts people would rather go a journey of about forty days, the nature of the journey itself shows that the usual caravan route then could not have been that through the middle of the desert. The number of settlements show that this route lay through the inhabited district near to the river, which

doubtless rendered it possible for single voyageurs to go it without danger.

In no historian do we find indicated the route which led in ancient times from Meroë to the Arabian Gulf and Yemen; nevertheless traces are still extant, of the intercourse of these nations, which time has not been able to obliterate. Just in the midst of the way are found the ruins of Axum, and, at its end, on the coast opposite Arabia Felix, the remains of Adule and Azab.

If nothing else, the antiquity of Axum entitles it to a particular notice. So far as I have discovered its name is not mentioned by any historian previous to the first century of our era. It is first mentioned by Arian, in his *Periplus of the Red Sea*, who probably flourished under Nero, and afterwards by Ptolemy. Arian calls it a metropolis at about seven or eight days journey from the Red Sea, and at that time the chief emporium for the ivory trade. In the sixth century when Justinian formed an alliance with Ethiopia Axum was highly celebrated. At this time, at least, it was the residence of the Ethiopian monarchs, hence the capital of Ethiopia: Cosmas, Nonnosus, Procopius and others have much to say about it.

But, notwithstanding the silence of the early writers, the ruins of Axum are still there to attest its great antiquity. The first account we have of these remarkable monuments was given by the Portuguese, Alvarez and Tellez, the first in his voyage in and the second in his history of Ethiopia. To this succeeded the narrative of Bruce which is indeed quite an extended history of that country under the name of Abyssinia. But Bruce's account has been, to some extent, sharply criticised by Salt, a later traveler.

The remains at Axum belong to different ages; partly to a very high antiquity; partly to the first centuries of the Christian era; and partly to a still later period; while Alvarez and Tellez had not sufficient knowledge to distinguish these critically, still their information is very remarkable, showing as it does, that in their time many monuments existed which do not now appear. Besides the obelisks, sometimes standing, and sometimes fallen down, which were in part covered with inscriptions, Alvarez mentions many pedestals and statues of lions jetting out water. Tellez not only speaks of obelisks and pyramids, whose resemblance to the Egyptian cannot be mistaken, but also saw, as he relates, an inscription in Greek and Latin letters, most likely the same that Salt has published. Bruce's words are as follows:—

“On the 18th of January (1770), we came into the plain

wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia, at least as it is supposed. For my part I believe it to have been the magnificent metropolis of the trading people or Troglodytæ Ethiopians, for the reason I have already given, as the Abyssinians never built any city, nor do the ruins of any exist at this day in the whole country. But the black or Troglodyte part of it have in many places buildings of great strength, especially at Azab, worthy the magnificence and riches of a state which was from the earliest ages the emporium of the Indian and African trade."

The ruins of Axum are very extensive, but entirely consist of public buildings. In one square which is supposed to have been the center of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them. They are all of one piece of granite and on the top of that which is standing, there is a patera, exceedingly well carved in the Greek taste."

We proceeded southwards by a road cut in a mountain of red marble, having on the left a parapet-wall about five feet high, solid and of the same materials. At equal distances there are hewn in this wall solid pedestals, upon the tops of which we see the marks where stood the colossal statues of Sirius, the Latrator Anubis or Dog-star. One hundred and thirty-three of those pedestals, with the marks of the statues I just mentioned, are still in their places; but only two figures of the dog remained when I was there, much mutilated, but a taste easily distinguished to be Egyptian."

There are likewise pedestals wherever the figure of the Sphinx have been placed. Two magnificent flights of steps, several hundred feet long, all of granite, exceedingly well fashioned and still in their places, are the only remains of a magnificent temple." Thus far Bruce.

The remains of ancient art found by Salt are two groups of obelisks, a considerable distance apart, each composed of fourteen or fifteen pieces; only one of each group being now standing. The largest formed of one piece of granite is eighteen feet high and some of those thrown down are still more. The smaller one is twenty feet. Many of them are ornamented with sculptures, which seem, however, rather embellishments than hieroglyphics, and some are plain. The proportions and workmanship are admirable. The sculptures represent architectural ornaments somewhat similar to those in the Indian rock-pagodas, a door below and apertures or windows above. The priests stated the original number of the obelisks to have been forty-five. Several altars and pedestals lay

scattered around, fallen from their former places; the two magnificent flights of steps are included in the plan of Mr. Salt as well as two others hewn in the rock. The Greek inscription he has transcribed is said to belong to the fourth century, A. D.

The ancient monuments of Axum were laid waste by the violence of fanaticism, according to the ecclesiastics of the place by a queen of Amhara, named Gadit, about *anno* 1070 A. D.; or, according to an inscription found there by a conqueror named Abun David, perhaps by both. As Axum was for more than eleven centuries the seat of a Christian Church (the present one was built in 1657) many of the old materials were probably used in the new buildings, and only such remains as could not readily be removed or put to use. This, however, is sufficient to remove any doubt that might exist as to the high antiquity of Axum. Though the plan of the principal building can no longer be accurately laid down, yet Mr. Salt expressly remarks that all the antiquities in the vicinity of the new church now form one group and formerly belonged to one great fabric. But there is perceived in the separate members as well as in the aggregate a most striking resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. The rows of obelisks which here form an avenue; the pedestals which at one time bore statues, perhaps of a gigantic size; and the vast magnitude of the whole are perceived to exhibit the same architecture, the same art in the arrangement of the great masses of stone, and the same taste as the ruins of Thebes, of Elephantes and Meroë, with which Bruce, in one place compares them. Remarkable differences, it is seen occur; for it has been generally observed no traces of obelisks appear in Nubia and Meroë, while here we find them in groups; and while, on the contrary, the Egyptian obelisks are covered with hieroglyphics none such appear on those at Axum, which are merely ornamented.

These circumstances have left Mannert (*Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, part X., 166), to conjecture that Axum was originally one of the cities founded by the immigrant warrior Caste from Egypt. One of the cities founded by them he considers to be identical with Esar, and there is, on the whole, much which seems to favor his opinion. It lay within the territory possessed by them, which extended eastwardly towards the Arabian Gulf; and if this opinion should be correct it might be thought to reasonably account for the absence of hieroglyphics, as there was among them no priestly caste. This would show Axum to mount up at least to the early part of the seventh century B. C.; and it is known from the



Periplus of Arrian to have been, some centuries later, a principal mart for the interior trade; that it was so even earlier is a probable conjecture.

The end of this trade route was, according to Bruce, Azab, at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf, whence the passage to Arabia Felix requires under sail but a few hours. Ruins, similar to those described in the passage above cited by Bruce, are still said to point out the site of this remarkable place, which was at one time the great emporium of Indian and Arabian products for the vast regions of Africa. It is, however, recognized as very desirable that the African coast of the Arabian Gulf, about the straits of Babelmandel should be more accurately explored. If even what Bruce has said with respect to Azab (Saba) be set aside, it might still be considered very astonishing, if the long intercourse between Arabia and Africa had not produced some large settlement, either where Azab is placed upon our charts or without the straits, perhaps, as from that part a connection with Aden would be so much easier.

Adule, another ancient fort on the Arabian Gulf, lay at a short distance from the present Arkeeko, 15° N. Lat. "Adule," says Pliny, "according to an ancient writer, is the greatest emporium of the Troglodytae and Ethiopians. They bring here ivory, rhinoceros-horn, hippopotamus hides, tortoise shells, and slaves. Egyptian bondsmen, who ran away from their masters, founded it." Adule is decided to have been an Egyptian colony, and must not this be a version of the immigration of the warrior class in the time of Psammetichus, whom the then ruling power and its supporters would be most likely, through contempt or policy, to have designated slaves? I have not noticed that any modern explorer has reached Adule; Stuart, whom Salt sent there, having been intercepted, was obliged to return. The Arabians are, however, uniform in their assertion that the ruins of a city, which they call Zulla, exist there, and a column brought thence to Arkeeko, gives evidence of the Egyptian style. The successful adventurer, who reaches this place, will perhaps, find there, still in position, the celebrated monument of Adule, for the preservation of whose inscription we are indebted to Cosmas, and which records the victories of Ptolemy III., over the Ethiopians and Sasu. It is barely possible that this has been accomplished by some modern explorer without having come to my knowledge.

It has been frequently mentioned by Bruce, as an important cir-

cumstance, that in all Abyssinia, there are only three places, namely, Azab, Axum, and Meroë (to which we may now add Adule), where ruins of those great establishments are found, whose form as well as high antiquity shows them to have sprung from a common origin. All these are ruins of large public edifices; every thing about them is colossal; while of private habitations there is not the slightest trace. These, doubtless, from their being less durable, have long ago disintegrated into dust, though it must always remain doubtful, whether and how far we ought to extend our notion of cities to any of those places. The greater part of the the peoples of Ethiopia were nomads, as they are in the present day, and, as from the nature of their country, they must always remain. Is it not more likely that those places adorned with temples and obelisks, were merely extensive market places, where caravans from remote regions of the world, gathered together, and to which distant nations, under the protection of the deities who inhabited those temples, conveyed the products of their countries in order to barter them for others. This view seems, at least, most agreeable to the physical geography of Ethiopia, and most in accord with the august magnificence of those monuments, which we do not find were surrounded by such assemblage of private houses as would create in our mind the idea of city. In those distant countries everything sprung from different causes, and, therefore, must have been different in the general idea from what they are in the regions of Europe and America.

Following I give a resume of the observations of G. A. Hoskins in his work, "Travels into Ethiopia." This is the most extensive work which up to his time (1833) was published upon ancient Ethiopia and especially upon Meroë, which was the great objective point of the author's journey and for which he prepared himself not only by a long abode in Greece and Italy in studying the monuments of those countries, but also in Egypt.

He set out from Thebes in Upper Egypt, Feb. 1st, 1833, penetrated as far as the ancient city of Meroë and arrived, on his return, at Wady Halfa, the second cataract of the Nile, on the 16th June of the same year, when his account closes, so that his journey into Ethiopia lasted four months and a half. His retinue consisted of twelve persons whom he hired to accompany him, among whom was an expert Italian painter, named Baldoni, who furnished the drawings by which the descriptions are illustrated. The work is cast in the form of a journal, to which are added four chapters on

the history and affairs of ancient Meroë. It will be sufficient for our purpose to select such part of this author's work as may serve to extend our knowledge concerning those remote regions, without necessarily following him step by step.

Having started south from Philæ, with his convoy of eleven camels, which he had obtained from the Ababdes, he at first followed the course of the river, but left it to cross the Nubian desert to Korosko. The party only in one place met with water, which was salt; the skeletons of famished travelers and camels were lying in heaps along the way. Near Macharif, the present capital of Nubia, they again reached the Nile and thence-forward continued their journey along this river; and thus after passing the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile they arrived on the 4th of March at Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. Of this city he found only the Necropolis with its pyramids remaining. Of these the descriptions and drawings given in his work are deemed much more complete and accurate than those given by Caillaud.

"Never," says this explorer, "were my feelings more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Ghizeh are magnificent, but for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroë. I expected to find few such remains here and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as those sepulchres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for a while lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, while the dilapidated state of many did not render them the less beautiful as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to distant ages."

The author first gives the positions of the single pyramids in a general plan, in which we notice twenty-one in greater or less preservation as well as the traces of several others. These, however, are only the pyramids of the principal group, which the author first reached on the west side of the river. But he mentions three groups in which eighty pyramids may be counted. The principal group is situated on a hill two miles and a half from the river, and of some of these he gives drawings in his work with their dimensions. The largest is sixty feet high and the same in diameter at

the base. Most of them may be ascended by steps. One has a window but it is thought to have been only for ornament and not for the purpose of admitting light. All have a portico with an entrance, which always faces westward. The principal group contains thirty-one pyramids and the plan of twenty-three of them may be distinctly traced. Another group contains thirteen; two out of three other groups consist each of two; a third of six. At the distance of 6500 feet from the chief group towards the west may be discerned the remains of twenty-six pyramids, all of them in ruins. The porticos generally contain a room, six to twelve feet in length and as many in breadth, the façades of which are much ornamented. "We may," says the author, "clearly recognize in them the origin of the Egyptian propylons." At the end of most of those porticos, opposite to the entrance, there is the representation of a monolithic temple, with sculptures, which are, however, much defaced. It is evident that attempts have been made either from curiosity or rapacity, to break open several of those temples. No where is there the slightest vestige of their having contained corridors. The entrance of one of those porticos was arched, whence the author infers that the Egyptians were acquainted with the arch, which he considers to have originated in Ethiopia. But, says one, the example of a single one which may possibly have been built at a later period, is not deemed conclusive, however the case may have been as to it. In relation to this we may fairly consider that even had the arch been known in Egypt, it could not have been introduced into the temples, where everything was done in conformity to the strict rules laid down by the priests from which no deviation was permitted.

The walls of the porticos are adorned with sculptures of which fac-similes are given in the work. They consist of processions with libations and sacrifices in honor of a goddess. The principal figure, which is in a sitting posture, is covered with a long, close robe, which is not usual with Egyptian figures. The whole figure is unlike the Egyptians. It is also distinguished by marked corpulency, which is considered one of the principal beauties in the East. Two other sheets contain a representation of another procession of the same kind, in which, however, it is impossible to determine the sex of the principal figure or to distinguish whether it was a king or a queen. From the work of Caillaud we know there were also representations of military subjects, such as the execution of prisoners, but none of these are here repeated. Whenever dis-



crepancies are found between the drawings given here and those of Caillaud the author vouches for the correctness of M. Baldoni's and of his own, the latter of which were executed partly with the assistance of the camera lucida. These pyramids are of sandstone; the quarries from which this stone was derived being still pointed out in the mountains. Time and a tropical sun have given them a dark-brown tinge. But the climate is, on the whole, favorable to the preservation of those monuments; and hence the dilapidated condition of most of them is the most convincing proof of their great age.

The author found no remains of the ancient city of Meroë, excepting some masonry and some of the bricks of which, according to Strabo, the city was built. As at Memphis there is scarcely a vestige of a temple or palace; the city of the dead alone remains. Gazelles now fearlessly pasture upon the plain which surrounds it; in wolves and hyenas the neighboring hills abound. But the name Meroë still lives in that of a village not far distant.

From thence the author went to Shendy, a town which now contains only 3,000 to 3,500 inhabitants, and from six to seven hundred houses. The colored portraits of the inhabitants of both sexes show that their complexion was brown and not black. Before their subjection to the pasha of Egypt, Shendy, Dongolah and other towns had their own chiefs (meleks contr, meks), who were more or less subject to the great melek of Sennaar. These were so many petty tyrants who with their families constituted the aristocracy of the country.

From Shendy the author went on the 9th of March through the desert to the ruins of Mezura or Wady Owataib, which are also known from Caillaud, and of which drawings are given in his work; these he reached on the next day.

"I was," says he, "surprised to find such extensive remains of antiquity in such a situation, as it were in the interior of the desert. They consist of a building containing temples, courts, corridors, etc., which were not only destined for religious but also for civil and domestic purposes, and, upon the whole, measured 28,554 feet in circumference. In the center there is a small temple, forty seven feet long and forty wide, which is evidently the principal temple. It is surrounded by a colonnade which on the north side is double. The interior contains four columns. The temple is approached by a long corridor. At each side of the gate to which the corridor leads there is a colossal image hewn in the wall; but it is mutilated,

the head and arms being wanting. The style of the one is tolerably good, that of the other far inferior. An accurate notion of the buildings which surround the temple cannot be conveyed by description; they must be referred to in the plan."

This is the building in which a certain able reviewer in his researches concerning Meroë etc., thought he recognized the old temple of the oracle of Ammon. He considered himself borne out in this assumption, partly by its situation in the desert, as according to the statement of Diodorus, and partly by the enigmatic plan of the building itself; while the four columns in the interior immediately suggests to him the idea that they were destined to support the sacred ship, by means of which, as is well known, the oracles of Ammon were delivered, and a representation whereof may be seen on many of his temples in Thebes. This, however, was limited to the central temple, as it was clear that the surrounding buildings were not erected all at once but gradually as occasion required, and especially as residences for the priests. But the author who elsewhere generally coincides with the opinions of the reviewer mentioned here objects that the temple would have had hieroglyphics upon it. He cannot form any more definite conjecture as to its purpose than that the whole was perhaps a pleasure-castle of the kings, or that it may have served as an hospital; but in the opinion of the reviewer there is no doubt whatever that its destination was of a religious nature, as the principal building was a temple, the smallness of which will not create surprise when it is considered that it was intended for the reception of the ship of the oracle; and as to the absence of hieroglyphics, that the six columns of the portico, according to Caillaud certainly appear to have been furnished with them.

The above remark that the whole building only arose gradually may serve to explain the traces of Grecian architecture, as we know from Diodorus that the temple was still standing in the Ptolomaic age in which King Ergamenes overthrew the priestly aristocracy.

From this place the author went to the ruins of the temple of Abou Naga of which nothing more than the area is given and a drawing representing two pillars, which are also without hieroglyphs. From their style the author considers these to be the oldest monuments of ancient Meroë; "for," he observes, "the absence of hieroglyphics is either a proof of the highest or of a later antiquity." Hence he had intended to go to the ruins of Mezauret eleven miles distant, the first accounts of which we have in Cail-

laud; but this design he was obliged to relinquish. Even at the ruins of Naga they had been disturbed by lions, whose vicinity was announced by their traces and their roar; it was only by kindling fires at night that they effected to scare them away. The danger to be apprehended by those unbidden guests, in case they penetrated farther into the desert, so wrought upon the imaginations of his companions, that they refused to accompany him and thus he found himself obliged to return.

On the 14th of March the author set out from Shendy on his return trip, in which he followed another route, namely, to the west of the Nile, through the desert Bajoudah; his description of this route is a valuable addition to our geographical knowledge. This desert is not destitute of trees and springs; the sand is not very deep; and in many places there was a pleasing prospect. The immediate objective point of his journey was Gibel el Birkel with its monuments, and then the place called Meraweh, in which, from its name and history, we recognize a colony from ancient Meroë. They reached Gibel el Birkel on March 22d. The plan and drawings he gives of this place differ in many respects from those of Caillaud; but he assures us that he took great pains to insure the greatest possible exactness, in which, doubtless, this author's work is entitled to preference as he had taken with him for the work a well skilled artist.

The monuments here consist of two classes, temples and pyramids. The temples stand at the foot of the isolated hill, 350 feet in height. Two of them are entirely in ruins consequent upon the sliding of a mountain; two are excavated in the rock; the others, eight in number, the remains of which still appear, are above ground. They are built in the Egyptian style, and upon them are inscribed the names of the Pharaohs of the Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty-whose reigns fell between 800 and 700 B. C., to which it is supposed the erection of these monuments may be referred. The author has not only given an exact architectural description of them, with ground plans and drawings, but also of the decoration on the walls, representing processions and military scenes, which are known also from Caillaud, but are here drawn more minutely.

The Necropolis, consisting of pyramids, is divided into two parts; the one on the west side of the river by Gibel el Birkel, the other on the east side near Nuri. They are in better preservation than are those of ancient Meroë and also have porticos; the highest near Nuri being of eighty-eight feet. They are also of sandstone and

reliefs around and in the porticos represent religious processions and military subjects. The spectacle of all these ruins produced on the author a grand impression. "I felt," says he, "that I was indubitably in the vicinity of a once rich and flourishing country." The pyramids may be ascended with some difficulty, their height in most cases being between thirty and sixty feet. There are about fourteen pyramids at Gibel el Birkel: about thirty-five at Nuri on the opposite side of the river, and, the latter being the most dilapidated, the author reckons them among the most ancient monuments. The subjects described on the entablatures leaves no doubt that they were mausolea of kings and queens.

On the 3rd of April the author embarked at Meroë for his return, descended the Nile and on the 10th arrived at Dongolah, of which place he gives much information concerning the inhabitants, their manners, customs, etc. He then continued his journey down the river to the Island of Argo, which he visited in order to see and describe its antiquities. These consist of two prostrate colossal statues of grey granite: the faces are Egyptian, but the sculpture Ethiopian. They appear never to have been entirely finished. The author having been here informed that a revolt had broken out in the province of Mahas, which he must needs pass through, as he thus found it impossible to continue his journey in this direction he was compelled to return to Dongola; and it was not till after the suppression of the insurrection that he thought safe to undertake his journey, which he finally accomplished, partly upon the Nile itself, chiefly along its left bank. As already mentioned his diary ends with his arrival at the second cataract or Wady Halfa.

Four more chapters follow: the first two on the history of Meroë, the next on its trade and the last two on its art. The history of Meroë is gathered from those passages of ancient history, sacred and profane which mention that city; with the assistance, however, in this case of the inscriptions in the temples (as the names and titles of the Pharaohs in the hieroglyphic writings which the author saw and copied are uniformly added), at the same time especial use being made of the accounts of Rossellini of whose work the author has a very high opinion. Here, also, the author opens up a wide field for investigation and discussion upon various points, as for example, when *he identifies the Sethos of Herodotus with Tirhako* and finds the names of the three Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasts namely, Sabacus, Seuechus and Tirhako inscribed upon a temple at Gibel el Birkel. It appears more than probable that he, sus



pecting those inscriptions meant these three names, arbitrarily gave them a meaning which their originals did not bear. The author is of the opinion that Meroë was the parent country of the worship of Ammon as well as of the general civilization of the valley of the Nile and largely of the surrounding countries of Africa in which opinion he concurs with the reviewer.

Particularly worthy of notice are the plates with which this work is embellished and which are in various ways interesting and instructive. This is especially so of the colored portraits of the races of those regions, whose complexions may be here distinctly recognized. The vignettes generally represent landscapes, and are largely executed with the camera lucida. The larger sheets which exhibit drawings of the monuments give partly the general plans, partly the ruins in their present and some of them in their former



THE NUBIAN. THE NEGRO. THE ASSYRIAN. THE PELASGIAN. THE ARAB.

The five races of men known to the Ancient Egyptians.

state, as far as this can still be recognized. At the end of the work there is a drawing upon four large sheets, representing a grand procession in one of the royal sepulchres of Thebes (acc. to the author, Tuthmosis III, 1500 B. C.) on which are delineated the three races, namely, the red or brown, the black and the white; besides which it exhibits various species of animals, even the giraffe and the elephant, and many varieties of monkeys; other objects

pertaining to trade are also represented, concerning which the author has given a commentary. The large map annexed comprehends the whole region of the Nile with its tributaries, from 15° 30' N. Lat. to its debouchure.

### *As to Egyptian History.*

The history of Egypt, arranged according to the thirty-one dynasties of Manetho, is divided, as regards its sources, into two periods, one of these comprising the first seventeen dynasties, the other the eighteenth to the thirty-first. It is only of this latter period that any monuments remain. The history of the Egyptian Empire of Menes begins with the 18th dynasty. This, with the two dynasties following, embraces the real history of all that apparently preceded. The 18th dynasty is that which is connected with the question of the Shepherd kings\* who were called by the Egyptian name of Hyksos, Hykshasu or Shasu. This is the Greek name Xoites, which is Chat or Chit (in Chitim) with the plural ending u. These, as the authorities say, dominated, for a longer or a shorter time, all Egypt. If they were a people descended from Menes, as has occurred to me might have been the case, then it would indicate Menes, whoever he was, to have been of a race of Shepherds, whether African or Asiatic. It has been supposed that those people with beards and long garments appearing on the monuments with their flocks are referable to the Shepherds; but this is likely a mistake; for, doubtless, these latter refer to people in altogether different circumstances than the Egyptian Shepherds. The Arabs are largely Shepherds and an expression of Josephus in speaking of them

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\* "They have been variously pronounced to be Assyrians, Scythians, Cushites or Ethiopians of Asia, Phœnicians or Arabians. Manetho calls them Phœnicians and shows them not to have been from Assyria, when he says they took precautions against 'the increasing power of the Assyrians;' and the character of shepherds accords far better with that of the people of Arabia. Indeed, the name Hykshos may be translated shepherd or Arab kings, Hyk being the common title king or ruler, given even to the Pharaohs on the monuments, and Shos signifying shepherd or answering to Shasu, Arabs. How any of the Arabians had sufficient power to invade and obtain a footing in Egypt it is difficult to explain; but it is well known that a people from Arabia called Phœnicians or the *red* race, who were originally settled on the Persian Gulf, invaded Syria and took possession of the coast; and similar successes may have afterwards attended their invasion of Egypt, especially if aided by the alliance of some of its princes. The statement of Amos (ix:7) that the Philistines of Syria came from Caphtor, which was a name applied to Egypt, may relate to the subsequent passage of another body of Phœnicians into Syria after their expulsion from Egypt." Rawlinson's Hist. Herod. App. Vol. II, p. 351.

That the Hykshasu were, definitively, Phœnicians has been the opinion of investigators who have had the greatest opportunities of going thoroughly into the subject and of knowing how it was in reality.

is as follows: "Some say that they are Arabs." Manetho and Syncellus call them Phœnicians, a denomination which was to some extent applied to the neighboring tribes of Syria and Arabia. M. Rossellini, however, one of the most distinguished investigators into the Egyptian and Ethiopian antiquities, takes them for Scythians. He founds his assertion etymologically upon their generic name according to him, Scios, which he concludes to be the same as Scythes. In this he may have followed a correct thought, for Gaelic history evidently indicates the Phœnicians or Edomites to have descended from the Scythians; and their Nial, the son of Phœnius (*i.e.*, the Phœnician race), might represent the race of those Scythians called, in the valley of the Nile, Scios or Hyksos. These appear to have held the government of Egypt for a good number of centuries; long enough, indeed, for them to have become fairly Africanized, and for their race in the valley to have received the name of Nile (Nial). On the eastern borders of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf these people had received the name of Phœnicians, which is the same as Edomites, redish men (Phoenix, purple; the Red Sea). But would the invasion and occupation of Egypt during that long course of ages by these Hyksos, or shepherd kings, have been merely a variety of the real historic Biblical representation of the Israelites going down into Egypt and living there for, according to the Bible, an indefinite period, the life of shepherds? Manetho, the Egyptian priest-historian, in the time of the Ptolemies, says that the shepherd race when expelled by Tuthmosis in 1542 B. C., went up and built the city, Jerusalem. Although from that time to the era of Solomon, say 1000 B. C., the history of the Israelites be obscure, you, nevertheless, see how the going down of the Israelites into Egypt, and their coming up thence, in due time, and founding Jerusalem and occupying Palestine (*i.e.*, the land of the Palai or shepherds), may be understood of the nation of the Israelites and so as real and *bona fide* history.\*

If we take a review of what we have thus far advanced, we find we can deduce from it the following conclusions:—

1st. It appears that in the early ages a commercial intercourse existed between the countries of southern Asia and Africa, between

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\* But in regard to the whole question of the Israelites in Egypt Mr. Brugseh Bey says: "The inscriptions do not mention one syllable about the Israelites. We must suppose that the captives were included in the general name of foreigners of whom the documents make such frequent mention. The hope, however, is not completely excluded that some hidden papyrus may still give us information about them as unexpected as it would be welcome." *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. II., p. 59. And at page 210 of the same volume, he says: "As to the mention of the Fenekhe (Phœnicians), I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover the evidence of their most intimate relationship with the Jews."

India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya and Egypt, which was founded upon their mutual necessities and was instrumental in the civilization of those peoples.

2nd. The principal seat for Africa of this international intercourse was Meroë, and the principal route is still pointed out by a chain of ruins, extending from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Adule, Azab, or Saba, and Axum are links in this chain between Arabia Felix and Meroë; Thebes and Ammonium between Meroë, Egypt and Carthage.

3rd. The chief places of this trade were likewise establishments of the priest-caste, who, as a dominant race, had their principal seat at Meroë, whence they sent out colonies, which in their turn founded other colonies, became the founders of States and likewise the builders of cities and temples.

No doubt then can exist concerning the close connection here between commerce and religion, nor regarding the manner in which many States became formed in the interior of Africa, in very ancient times. But though this caste by sending out colonies guided the course of trade, it did not itself in general directly participate in it. It would, indeed, have been altogether contrary to the manners of the East, for a cast of priests to have become a tribe of merchants; nevertheless, without directly following trade, they contrived to obtain a share of its benefits, and the consideration which this cast obtained through it was very great; partly from the oracles; partly from the number and variety of the merchants; and partly from the peaceful security which their religious institutions afforded them.

In illustration of this I give a passage from Burkhardt's Travels in Nubia, p. 326, etc. Here we read of a priestly establishment at Damer, a town of five hundred houses, seated on the south shore of the Tacazze or Mogrew, just before its junction with the Nile, therefore in the isle of Meroë. In this small but independent State the authority is in the hands of a high priest, called *El Faky El Kebir*, who is their real chief and oracle giver. The office is hereditary in one family. The Faky El Kebir, or great Faky, lives the life of a hermit, shut up in his chamber all the morning till about three o'clock in the afternoon, after which he transacts business till after sunset. He occupies a small building, one part of which is a chapel and the other, a room about twelve feet square, in which he constantly resides day and night. He is a venerable looking figure, clothed in a long white robe. There are many Fakys under him of



various ranks, who enjoy more or less a reputation for sanctity. At Damer, are several schools to which young men repair from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan and other parts of Soudan, in order to acquire a proficiency in the law and in the reading and interpretation of the Koran. The schools are in an open space, adjoining the great mosque. Imagine, instead of this, a temple dedicated to Ammon and instead of the Koran and Law the priests' ritual and the books of Thoth or Hermes and you will easily represent to yourself one of the ancient priestly establishments of Meroë, and of which Meroë was the parent. "The affairs of this little hierarchical state," continues Burkhardt, "appear to be conducted with great prudence. All its neighbors testify much respect for the Fakys; the treacherous Bischarein are even so completely kept in awe by them that they have never been known to hurt any of the people of Damar, when traveling from thence across the mountains to Souakin. They particularly fear the power of the Fakeys to deprive them of rain and thus to cause the death of their flocks. It is also a trading state; caravans pass occasionally from Damar to Dongolah, Shendy, Souakin and the Arabian gulf; for many of the fakys are traders. Caravans generally make a short stay at this place, as the land is well cultivated and common necessities easily obtained. Two fakys accompanied the caravan as guards as far as the limits of the country of Shendy. The road is dangerous and the inhabitants upon it robbers; but such is the fear entertained of the fakys of Damar that the mere sight of them marching unarmed at the head of the caravan was sufficient to inspire the country people with great respect. It would require an armed force to pass here without the aid of some of these religious men." This passage will make it more easily understood how settlements of priests influenced the course of trade.

Men who are accustomed to a settled abode in cities are not fit for a caravan life, constantly on the move. In Arabia, then, as well as in Africa, these caravan communities are formed of the nomadic tribes. The nature of the trade necessitates the employment of a great number of hands; to care for the camels and other beasts of burden; to load and unload the goods; to protect the caravan generally from robbery and violence. The assistants not unfrequently become merchants themselves. The nomadic tribes of which Africa and Yemen are full are not only the best adapted to the caravan trade but possess in their camels, their dromedaries and their herds the only means for carrying it on. It was thus that the

merchandise of the Sabeans was conveyed to Yemen by the Nabatu and the Midianites ; it was thus that the Carthaginian caravans were formed by the Nassamones and Lotophagi ; and thus, in the present day, those from Tripoli to Cairo are formed by the inhabitants of Fezzan.

The regions of Ethiopia, we know, were also occupied by vast numbers of pastoral tribes. The nations who dwelt to the west of Meroë, along the banks of the Astaspus, tribes of Agows and Bedjahs, were not unknown in Egypt, which they frequented with caravans. They, occasionally speaking there of the river on which they dwelt, maintained it to be the proper Nile. Diodorus obtained this information from themselves in Egypt. The Troglodytae and their neighbors, the Ichthyophagi were engaged in the caravan business ; they were so well acquainted with the routes to the most distant parts of Africa that Cambyses chose them for the spies which he sent under the form of an embassy to the Macrobian. They were already able to speak the language of the nation, which showed that they had been accustomed to intercourse with them.

The peoples of these countries were so well known in Egypt that even Herodotus could describe them as far as the Straits of Babel-mandel ; for he not only defined its location accurately but showed that where it ended on the south the land of frankincense begun. The caravans which trade between Egypt and Abyssinia are now and have been from time immemorial composed of the Bedjahs and Ababdes who at this time occupy the mountains and part of Nubia.

These nomades appear as the carriers of merchandise in the pageants which Ptolemy Philadelphus gave at his accession to the throne, when among other exhibits the procession of an Arabic-Ethiopian caravan was shown. "There came a train of camels, carrying three-hundred pounds of frankincense, crocus, cassia and cinnamon, together with two hundred pounds of other costly spices and drugs. These were followed by a host of Ethiopians, armed with lances ; one band of these bore six hundred elephants teeth, another two thousand pieces of ebony and another sixty vessels of gold, silver, and gold dust." (Athein. p. 201).

Notwithstanding the part which these nomades took in conducting it, the trade still remained in effect with the people of Meroë and Axum, who carried it on through their foreign settlements ; and these places still remain what they are by nature and position adapted for, the great marts for the southern commerce.

Thus from all that has been said the conclusion is plain *that the*

*first seats of commerce were the first seats of civilization.* Exchange of merchandise necessitates exchange of ideas and adaptation and fitness for their intercommunication; and by this mutual friction there is kindled the sacred flame of moral and intellectual culture.

That the civilization of the Ethiopians was connected with their religion appears throughout. Some scientific knowledge — perhaps a good deal more than is now generally supposed — was undoubtedly connected with it, else the erection of those monuments would have been impossible. It is strange that none of the ancient historians have made them philosophers or astronomers, for undoubtedly they were to a considerable degree both of these. Astronomy certainly could not have been unknown to a nation which, to notice nothing else as exponential of their intelligence, were wont to spend much of their lives in journeyings across the deserts, where the stars of the firmament could be their only guide and whose climate brought a more regular change of seasons than we are accustomed to. Diodorus derives the civilization of the Egyptians in general from Ethiopia; this, however, is allowed to be true only in a limited sense; it is supposed that the *first germ shot forth in Ethiopia, but that the fruit did not attain its full growth till transplanted into Egypt.*

The express testimony of Diodorus informs us that the Ethiopians possessed the art of writing, not in alphabetic characters, but picture writing, a proof of which is still preserved upon the ruins of Meroë. Hieroglyphical inscriptions are found as well in the vestibule of pyramids of Assur, especially in the sanctuary, as in the principal temple at Naga; and from this passage of Diodorus the first invention of writing has been attributed to them. Criticism has disputed this point, the truth or falsehood of which it has been found impossible to prove. The invention of this kind of writing would, however, be nowhere more easy than among a people with so decided a bias for the pictorial arts; nor the perfection and use of it more natural than among a people whose government, next to religion, was founded upon trade.

Diodorus further informs us that the knowledge of picture writing in Ethiopia was not a privilege confined solely to the caste of priests, as in Egypt, but that every one might attain it as freely as they might, in Egypt, the writing in common use. This general use, then, may be regarded as a proof of its having been applied to the purposes of trade. A great commercial nation altogether without writing could hardly be supposed to exist, and however

deficient hieroglyphics might be found to be for the multifarious wants of our trade, yet it seems to have been quite adequate for all the purposes of the caravan trade, whose regular course and simple merchandise required but few accounts to be kept.

To those who give sufficient attention and study the subject in the proper and manner and spirit, the piety and justice of the Ethiopians, the fame of which spread to the distant regions, will not be difficult to understand. In a nation whose policy was to establish upon the basis of the connection of religion and commerce and not by means of violence and oppression they are the first virtues that would be cultivated.

One of the greatest problems remaining, although one of the greatest certainties, is the progress that nation has made in architecture and to a certain extent in the pictorial arts. The ruins of those colossal monuments, more or less preserved, are still there to be seen and will remain the proofs of the awful magnificence of their architecture.

“It is,” says Prof. Heeren in his *Researches*, “one of the worst errors into which we but too frequently fall to consider ourselves as the standard of what is or can be done by other nations under the circumstances. Is it necessary that the band between science and architecture and the plastic arts should everywhere be as closely knitted together as with us? Might not mechanical dexterity and handicraft be carried to a high degree of perfection on their own account alone? Is it not possible then that the powerful vigor of a nation might be drawn by circumstances to concentrate itself upon one point and in that way might here have produced works which to us seem supernatural? Is not, indeed, the connection between scientific and artificial improvement in our own country very different from what it was in the middle ages, when our forefathers erected those lofty domes which we still gaze at but cannot imitate?”

The hand of time has, in the regions of Africa, altered the nature of the tie between commerce and religion, but has never been able to dissolve it. How little, taken as a whole, do we find the people of Africa to differ from what they were. Temples and sanctuaries seem always to have been the objective points of their trading journeys, as they are in the present day. About those obelisks lodged at one time the caravans journeying to the temple of Ammon, which now perform their pilgrimage of the Caaba of the prophet at Mecca.



*As to the Monuments in the Nile's Valley.*

The valley of the Nile, in its whole course, was once covered with a succession of cities and monuments, which must have formed, with but little interruptions, one continuous chain. Egypt, the upper part of which, from its southern boundary down to Chemmis, contains among its divisions the ancient Thebaid, is called Upper Egypt; and the lower or northern part, from Chemmis to Cercasorus, where the Nile divides into two branches, is called Middle Egypt, is found to present considerable differences as to the remains of antiquity found in those different sections at present. As we ascend the river those relics increase both in number and importance, those of Upper Egypt being by far the most numerous and interesting. In the whole of Middle Egypt, except a few quite decayed ruins and the antiquities of Arsinoe or Fayoum, not yet sufficiently examined, the pyramids are the only architectural monuments which now remain. While Upper Egypt, on the other hand, contains all those temples, which, however unintelligible the inscriptions and representations on their walls, are far better calculated by their awful magnitude and their altogether peculiar style to give us some idea of what this nation formerly was. This series of monuments commences at Dendera or Tentyris, 26° N. Lat., on the western side of the river, where the temple so celebrated for its zodiac at once inspires the beholder with the idea of a gigantic and massive architecture, differing from what any other country on the globe has produced. A glance at this, however, wherein some of the painted sculptures appear as if about to speak, only prepares the astonished explorer for the more magnificent wonders, which await him about twenty miles further up the river, in the monuments of Thebes. The whole width of the valley, on both banks of the stream, forming an area of about nine miles from west to east, is covered with the ruins of this magnificent ancient city, and where the habitations of the living end there begin the dwellings of the dead, which extend to a considerable distance into the mountains on the west. Temples, whose huge masses tower up like mountains, surrounded by colossi, sphinxes and obelisks, whose magnitude insures their continuance, are scattered over the plain. Thousands of years have already passed over them, yet neither the course of time nor the destroying ravages of barbarians have wholly effected their overthrow. At Karnac of Thebes the great temple

of Jupiter Ammon still exists; at Medinet Abou and Luxor, of the same place, the stately palaces of the Pharaohs are still standing; the Colossus of Memnon, one of the wonders of the ancient world; the other temples and colossi, whose number can scarcely yet be told; and the royal sepulchres, with their paintings as fresh and uninjured as though they had received the last stroke of the pencil but yesterday still remains. From this place to the southern boundary of Egypt, link after link of the chain of monuments follow in rapid succession. Thebes is scarcely left behind before the remains of the ancient Hermonthis, now Erment, present themselves to view. Here is a temple of Typhonius, the exterior much defaced, but the interior in good preservation; in one of its ceilings are the signs of the zodiac. About eighteen miles further is the temple of Esneh, the ancient Latopolis; and on the eastern or opposite bank of the Nile is what is left of the former Chnubis. At nearly the same distance still further to the south follows Edfu, the great city of Apollo of former ages, with the most magnificent and perfect of all the temples, that of Thebes excepted. Adjoining the great temple is a smaller one, whose ornaments leave no doubt of its having been dedicated to Typhon. Near to the temples of the benevolent deities it was customary among the Egyptians to build that of the evil principle. And to this immediately follow the monuments of Eleithya, a place highly interesting from the two sepulchral grottos it contains, with paintings representing the domestic life of the Egyptians. Then Silsilis and Ombos, all on the eastern bank of the river. Scarce twenty miles further south we come to the ancient southern boundary of Egypt. It is here especially that the nation seems to have outdone itself in the erection of monuments, as though it would impress strangers from the south, on their first entrance into its territory, with an idea of its magnificence and grandeur. A short distance, farther, on the north side of the cataracts, immediately following Syene or Assouan, the ancient frontier town of Egypt, lies in the midst of the stream the island of Elephantis; and just beyond the rapids, about six miles to the south of Syene, is that of Phylae. Both these islands, especially the latter, are full of the grandest monuments of architecture. Phylae is said to contain the remains of five magnificent temples, not, indeed, among the largest, but of the highest finish in regard to workmanship. This was one of the holy places, where, in a retired spot, is shown the tomb of Osiris. Here Greeks, Romans and Arabs have erected buildings, which have disappeared or lie scat-

tered in the dust; while the monuments of ancient Egypt, which preceded the oldest of them for indefinitely long periods, stand prominent among the plain groves which surround them, seemingly imperishable.

Even from the foregoing sketch of the marvels of architecture and sculpture, contained within the narrow strip of the Nile's valley, a conviction will, at least to some extent, be produced, that there did exist a time when this classic ground was the central point of the civilization of the world, and when its inhabitants must have possessed much that constitutes an opulent and mighty, an intelligent and cultivated nation.

Middle Egypt, as well as Upper Egypt, had its fertility confined to the banks of the Nile; the valley, therefore, was exclusively the seat of wealth and culture. But here, the valley, which in Upper Egypt is always so contracted, begins gradually to expand; though its whole breadth as far as Fayoum scarcely any where exceeds twelve or fifteen miles. A large canal drawn from and running parallel with the Nile, on its western side for nearly 150 miles, well known by the name of Joseph's Canal, serves, as far as it goes, to extend the overflowing of the river. Near Fayoum, however, the valley widens as the Libyan chain of mountains retires towards the west, and forms a very fruitful province, which is watered by a branch of Joseph's Canal. This part of Egypt, anciently called Arsinoë, in distant ages was celebrated for its stupendous works of art, the most considerable of which was lake Moeris, said, as a reservoir of the Nile, to have secured the fruitfulness of the province. A part of this remarkable lake still exists under the name of Lake Kerun. Modern research has here shown, contrary to the opinion, which appears to have been entertained by Herodotus, that this lake-basin cannot be entirely regarded as of man's handiwork, but that art here only assisted and brought into use the work of nature. A greater part of the province of Arsinoë formed a valley, which by the annual overflowing of the Nile was placed under water, that, on the fall of the river, again formed a natural passage out through a gorge on the southwest part of the valley. In this state of things it required only the construction of a few dams and canals in order to regulate these changes of the water.

Not far from this lake stands one of the greatest constructions of ancient Egypt, the celebrated Labyrinth, of which Herodotus says: "Whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the work-

manship and expense." Or, as another sees fit to translate it: "All the buildings of the Greeks put together could not have cost so much." We learn from more recent accounts that many remains of ancient Egyptian buildings and art are here still to be found; even the pyramid of brick mentioned by Herodotus may still be discovered; but the whole of the buildings are now in ruins, and more or less buried in sand which has been driven from the desert by the wind.

To the north of Arsinoë, the Lybian mountains again return to their former distance from the Nile and along the river's course through the remainder of Middle Egypt, leaves the breadth of the valley, in most places, somewhere about nine miles. No buildings are found here, as in Upper Egypt, although the city of Memphis, the more modern capital of the Kingdom, which would appear to have emulated Thebes, formerly stood here. The name still exists in the village of Menf, about twelve or fourteen miles to the south of Cairo, but it stands on the west bank of the river, while Cairo, a city built by the Arabs, stands on the eastern side. But if the abodes of the living have disappeared from ancient Memphis, those of the dead still remain. The whole mountain chain, as well as the sandy desert, which runs within the valley at its base, is full of tombs, similar to those that are found in Upper Egypt. This district, however, is particularly distinguished by another species of monuments, the pyramids, which by their prodigious massiveness, if nothing else, must forever excite the astonishment of mankind. These are situated sometimes single, sometimes in groups, on a strip of land thirty-five miles long, extending from Ghizeh or Djizeh, opposite in a slanting direction, the present capital, Cairo, to beyond Meidun. Many of them are so gone to decay that only slight traces of them can now be discovered, while others continue to tower o'er the wrecks of time and to withstand the shock of ages. That it would have been difficult at any time to tell their exact number is evident. They all stand upon that sterile plain covered with sand and filled sepulchres, at the foot of the Libyan mountain chain. Those of Djizeh, opposite Cairo, which are generally understood when the pyramids are spoken of, are followed at about nine miles to the south by those of Sakkara, near the ancient Memphis, in the neighborhood of which are numerous sepulchres. Farther on are those of Dashoor and others, all more injured than those just mentioned as far as Meidun. Although it be uncertain whether or not they reached beyond this it is pretty evident that pyramids were



never built in Upper Egypt, as there is no reason why they should have gone to ruin there sooner than the large temples. Some think the cause of this phenomenon to be found in the difference of the stone which Upper and Middle Egypt produce ; but this cannot be fairly given as the reason, for the limestone of which the pyramids are mainly constructed is found in Upper Egypt, where the sandstone and farther on granite also prevails.

Lower Egypt begins at the point where the Nile divides into two branches. The division of its waters extends fertility, which, confined in Upper and Middle Egypt to the narrow valley, here takes a wider range and stretches over the plains enclosed by the branches of the river. The western mountain-chain, which has hitherto straightened it here makes a bend into Libya; the eastern chain terminates just below Cairo with the mountain Mokattam. There is an ancient Egyptian tradition mention by Herodotus, that the Nile had at one time a different course and turned toward the Libyan desert. Even if this tradition should not be received in its fullest extent yet modern research has placed it beyond a doubt that at least a part of the stream formerly flowed toward Libya. The valley near the Natron lakes, from which it is only divided by a ridge, which in the western side of Lower Egypt is known by the name of the Waterless sea (Bahr Belama), gives very evident traces that it once formed, though long before the period to which proper history reaches back, the bed of the river. (Vide *Memoires Sur l' Egypte* i, 223, etc., by Gen. Andreossi). The stupendous dam, which turns the waters in a different direction, was ascribed by tradition to Menes, the first historical King of Egypt and founder of Memphis. According to the account in Herodotus the damming was made one hundred stadia, eleven or twelve miles, above Memphis. It is, in fact, easily seen that it was by this dam that the waters of the Nile were first driven into their present channels and the Delta rendered fertile and habitable.

A striking example is given in Lower Egypt of the great changes which may take place in the features and shape of a country, by great physical convulsions and changes on the one hand, and on the other by the decay of its culture. But, with respect to the submergence and upheaval of the land itself within what may be called the historic ages, in this particular country, it must be remembered that the neglect of the canals and dams alone for a considerable space of time would be sufficient to cause much change. Gen. Andreossi, an investigator, who, by his knowledge of physics and hydrostatics,

was competent to go thoroughly into the subject and judge thereof places it beyond dispute that, as to its origin, the Delta was formed from the sediment of the river, with, in comparatively late ages, some assistance from art, thus supporting the assertion of Herodotus that the Delta was a gift of the Nile.

The constitution and character of the land of Egypt, in its different geographical divisions, lead us to suppose that the condition and character of its inhabitants must not only have been subject to great changes, but also that great dissimilarity must have existed among them. From the physical conditions of the country, therefore, let us, for a brief space, turn our attention to the inhabitants and patiently make a few preliminary inquiries concerning them.

In regard to this the first object of inquiry is the color, the figure, in short the whole external appearance of the inhabitants or what may be called the national cast, in so far as this inquiry may enable us to unravel the intricate question regarding the particular race of men to which the ancient Egyptians may be considered as belonging.

There are two sources whence we may draw in our effort to determine this problem ; these are, first, the ancient writers ; and second, the monuments.

Herodotus, speaking as an eye witness, mentions incidently that the Egyptians were a dark-brown race, with woolly or rather curly hair. This he does in his endeavor to prove that the Colebians, who had this color and hair were originally Egyptian colonists. Ammianus Marcellinus confirms Herodotus in calling the Egyptians brown. But to the sober-minded modern travelers the ancient Egyptians were in appearance much the same as the Copts, their descendants, are to their eye to day. "I believe," says Denon, "the ancient race of the Egyptians to exist in the present Copts ; a kind of dark colored Nubians (basamés), much as they are seen on the ancient monuments ; flat foreheads, half woolly hair, the eyes rather staring, high hips, the nose rather short than flat, a large mouth with thick lips, placed rather distant from the nose, a thin and poor beard, few graces of body," etc. "The color of the skin," says Belzoni, "is nearly the natural color, if we assume that the (ancient) Egyptians were of the same color as their descendants, the present Copts, of whom some are as fair as Europeans." Few countries, however, are from their situation more exposed to the invasions of foreigners than is Egypt, surrounded as it is on three sides by nomad hordes ; and as it has always been a principal

place for trade it has been much visited by strangers, who, however, we need not suppose were likely to have intermingled largely with the body of the people. We must also remember that Egypt had been civilized in its own way for thousands of years before the visit of Herodotus, during which time many changes might have taken place.

The truth of this remark will be best confirmed by the monuments which still exist of ancient Egypt. A number of various sized idols have often been referred to, from which we should judge of the physiognomy of the people, and, although the negro features appear in some of these, it must be considered that we can neither fix the time when nor the district where these were made. In the judgment of some distinguished critics the Sphinx's head comes the nearest to the ancient Egyptian profile. One of them, namely, the colossal Sphinx's head \* near to the great pyramid of Djizeh, was thought by one critic to have presented a slight cast of the negro; but at first glance I thought it might fairly be taken as representing a different race, namely, the Phœnicians, that is, if we are to understand, as is reasonable, that those people are represented in their descendants of the present day. As, however, the Phœnicians are supposed to have been a bearded race and the Sphinx is beardless it may have been designed to represent the Egyptian variety of that race, for, according to Gen. x:6, the Egyptians and Canaanites or Phœnicians were descended respectively from Mizraim and Canaan, two sons of Ham, or Cham, a son of Noah.

But, in relation to this subject, if we study the monuments, the temples, obelisks, etc., of which we can certainly pronounce that they belong to the flourishing periods of the Pharaohs, we shall find this course most agreeable to sound criticism. These are largely covered with works of art, which contain a great number of human figures, either representing deities or men. They clearly indicate all through a desire in the artist to copy nature, from their faithfully representing the peculiarities of the different peoples, their features, color and nature of their hair, etc. The same proofs that this was the case are found upon the temples of the Thebaid as upon the ruins of Persepolis in Asia. If the historical meanings

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\* "Thothmes IV (18th dynasty) has left few monuments worthy of note, except the great Sphinx at the pyramids, which bears his name and appears to have been cut out of the rock by his order, and here again a similarity of name led Pliny to consider it the sepulchre of Amasis." His time acc. to Brugsch Bey 1533, B. C. Rawl. Herod. App. Bk. ii, p. 359.

were designed to be readily understood necessity must have led to this, and from this it probably became a rule of ancient art, and as a consequence those countries are vast libraries of lithic books. Says a distinguished critic in this line: "It is impossible to compare these monuments, as they are now delineated, and to consider the people who erected them to have been negroes. I refer here to the great historical bas-reliefs upon the temples at Thebes, with which Denon has first made us acquainted. The figure of the king comes before us at different times and upon different occasions. It is always the same head; so that, according to the writer himself, it seems to be a portrait, or rather an idealized portrait. But it is so far from having the least appearance of African lineaments that it seems rather to approach the Grecian model. Just as little resemblance is there to be seen of the ideal African in more than a hundred heads of his attendants, as well warriors as priests. I refer as well to the other reliefs upon all the temples above Thebes, so far as they are made known to us in the great work upon Egypt. I refer, finally, to the very accurately finished plate of the representations upon the obelisks, for which we are indebted to Zoëga. Compare also the heads of the sphinxes and deities upon the top of the obelisk on Mount Citatrio, and the similar fragment of another in the museum of Cardinal Borgia, and see if there be anything to be found of the ideal African character." (Heeren's Researches, etc.)

Although, perhaps, this author, from whom I have quoted, should not justly be understood in that way, yet his general tenor might be thought to convey the notion that his opinion of what we understand as the negro race was not a very elevated one, as we would say; and yet he appears to coincide with the opinion of Champollion that the Egyptians were a genuine African descended race and nearly black. Now, the Latin word *niger*, from which, what we understand as the typical African has his appellation of negro, means black, and, we know there are some we call negroes that are, first, much blacker than others; that is, there are varieties of this color represented in the race; and, secondly, we know further that there are some negroes who have as good facial features and as good figures or physical shapes as any white man on earth; not to mention, finally, that some negroes have as good and sweet a disposition, have as pure a heart and mind, and, we have reason to believe, are as pure and good in the sight of God as any white person. But, you say, this is a slight digression from the main subject; and for what pur-



pose? My friend, consider thou, that because an individual of your species is of a black or brown or red or any other color you please, this should not prevent but that he should, in your judgment, both public and private, have equal rights as if of any other color than that he hath, or of a combination of all colors, say white. Much injustice has been done to individuals and races by the entertainment in the mind of nations or corporations, or individuals, of ideas of their inferiority in some way or other, although if everything in the respective cases were known, the persons entertaining these ideas and those of whom they were entertained would be in no good thing or character inferior to one another. My friend, consider thou, that thou shouldst practically allow and give equal rights to all human beings, and that thou shouldst not judge so much from appearance as to judge righteous judgment. But, is our author correct in agreeing with Champollion that the Egyptians were a genuine African descended race? You may agree with him in that; but, whether correct or not, you will find that Mizraim, or Egypt, descended from the same ancestor as did Nimrod, the founder of Nineveh, and as that great and powerful and dominating race of Central Asia called the Assyrian, yea, and Babylonian. (See Gen., chap. x.). Of course, the Egyptian race must have approached more or less in general appearance, color and character to the nations on all sides of them; on the one side to the nations of Africa to the south and west and to the south-east and south-west of them; and, on the other side, to the Syrians, Assyrians, Persians and Indians of Asia, as well as in later times very slightly to the Greeks and the peoples of Asia Minor. Their position on the map among those nations would imply in general what I now say as to the Egyptians; that is, I mean without their necessarily having had much intercourse with foreigners; for we learn that as to foreigners they were, as far as they were able, generally disposed to be exclusive, to maintain their own laws and customs, and so their own type of race, but the monarchs, to some extent, married foreign wives.

Of this type the ancient Egyptians have left us abundant illustration in the pictures of themselves on the walls of the chambers of the dead. The colors in these appear still so fresh and perfect as to excite the wonder of every one who examines them. The subjects mostly relate to the domestic life of the Egyptians; the human figure is consequently very frequent in all its positions. Everything else being faithfully copied from nature it is reasonable

to conclude that these are also. Although Bruce had already called the attention of the world to those pictures in the royal sepulchres of Thebes yet it was the literati attached to the French expedition, who were thoroughly competent to examine them and took the pains to do so, who first imparted to us a clear conception of them. The first remarkable specimen of them is given in the sepulchres of Eleithyias, in the Thebaid, which is found to be the true school for Egyptian antiquities, because they represent their whole manner of living and almost every part of their domestic economy. Women as well as men are here portrayed; the "men are red; the women yellow; the clothes white; the hair of the men is very dark, curled but not short, as among the negroes." (Costaz l. p. 156.) Still clearer proofs are found in that magnificent sepulchre opened at Thebes by Belzoni. In these the light and dark men are expressly distinguished and in such a manner that the former are represented as the victors or rulers and the latter as the conquered or prisoners. "I remarked," says Denon, "many decapitated figures; these were all dark, while those who had struck off their heads and still stood sword in hand were red." But in that of Belzoni not only the light and dark, but, in the case of the ambassadors, the three principal colors, white, brown and black are distinguished from each other with the nicest exactness. There appears no question in the mind of explorers as to whether or not the Egyptians wished to represent the proper color of the skin in their paintings, so far as their colors, or rather their knowledge of combining the colors to produce certain varieties of color, would allow. They appear not only to have endeavored to represent the color, but also the physiognomy of the different nations in the exactest manner possible. It has been asked: "Who can mistake the Jewish physiognomy among the captives in plate VII of Belzoni?" But these may have represented Arabs, Phoenicians, Syrians, Assyrians, or, etc., all of whom bore such a close similarity of features, dress, &c., to each other. Look at the human figures on the slabs from Nineveh in Layard, and Rawlinson and see if they do not bear a close resemblance to our typical Israelite. When Denon descended one of the openings which lead to the sepulchral chambers, he found his previous suspicions to be in a still more certain manner confirmed by nature. A number of mummies which were not banded up, showed that the hair was long and lank and the shape of the head itself approximating to the beautiful. In relation to this I may say we have reason to believe that the kings of Egypt occasionally ex-

exercised their prerogative of selecting their wives from nations outside of the bounds of Africa. In my mind, therefore, it would not be a necessary conclusion that all those buried in the Egyptian royal tombs were of Egyptian or African race.

By way of illustration of the subject of the Egyptians proper we may refer to a matter of two documents, in the form of commercial contracts, of which the original of the one was at Paris, the fac-simile of the other at Berlin. These have been translated by Prof. Bockh and Mr. H. S. Martin. They are found to belong to the period of the Ptolemies, the names occurring in them being Egyptian. The men in both are described, according to their external appearance and, of course, their color. In the Berlin document the seller, Pamenthes, is said to be of a dark color, (*μελαγχρως*) which is the word used by Herodotus in describing the color of the Egyptians; and the buyer, Osarreres, is said to be honey colored or yellowish. The shape of the nose and face is also stated but give no idea of our ideal African physiognomy.

From all we have seen thus far, therefore two things are reasonably inferable; one that among the ancient Egyptians themselves there was a difference of color, as individuals are expressly distinguished from each other as being of a darker or lighter complexion; the other is that the castes of warriors and priests, according to the representations on all the monuments executed in colors, belonged to the fairer class. Their color is dark-brown or in some cases swarthy. It cannot be maintained that the color was exactly the same as that applied to them upon the monuments; but it has become a fixed and settled type, in the same manner as the yellow or yellowish complexion became the standing type for women. The deities, on the contrary, both male and female, had in general distinctive color, but the individuals amongst them differ.

It has by some investigators been concluded that although there was a standard dark colored race in Egypt this was not the only race there, but that there was also a tribe fairer though not completely white which had for a period spread themselves over not only Lower and Middle but also over Upper Egypt. "We may moreover conclude," says Heeren (*Researches*, etc.), "that this was the ruling tribe, to which the king, the priests and warriors belonged; and that the magnificent monuments of art in this district were erected by them. The case is very different, notwithstanding its connection with the foregoing subject, when we come to exam-

ine into the descent of the fairer race and to inquire whether it was of African origin or not. I have observed upon another occasion that this question cannot be determined from history. Can we, indeed, trace the origin of other nations, the Greeks, for example, or even our own from public records? Recourse, therefore, can only be had to such arguments as may be drawn from the nature of the people themselves, both as regards their external appearance and their civilization."

Since the obscurity which overhung the subject of Egyptian civilization has been so well cleared up by the investigations of the monuments this question has either assumed a different aspect or has been answered with greater satisfaction. The southern frontier of proper Egypt forms merely a political boundary; the whole strip of land from Meroë to the Mediterranean, along the course of the Nile's valley, appears somewhat like a world in itself. The same deities which were worshiped in Meroë were worshiped along the whole course of the valley. We recognize the same art in their building, their sculptures and their paintings. We recognize just the same writing, the same hieroglyphics, upon the monuments of Meroë as upon those of Thebes; and, if we knew that this writing was from the language spoken by the people, we might thence conclude that this language was spoken along the course of the whole valley. It is true we have no conclusive evidence respecting the ancient language of the Ethiopians in Meroë and its relation to the Egyptian; but it is considered that their close affinity is proved by a passage in Herodotus. In endeavoring to show that the Ammonians were a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, he says: (*Φώνην μεταξύ αμφοτέρων νομιζόντες,*) that is literally enough "they used varieties of the same language;" for it is evident the passage would have no sense at all if the languages had been altogether different. To this may be added that the best informed and most accurate explorers recognize the same color, the same features, and, for the most part, the same fashions and weapons in the inhabitants of the upper part of the valley as they find portrayed on the Egyptian monuments. In reference to this says Heeren: "It was on this ground I was induced to express my opinion that it was the race of which we now discover the remains in the Nubian, though by loss of liberty and religion much degenerated, which once was the ruling race in Egypt." And still Prof. Heeren considers this race to have had a fairer complexion than the great body of the Egyptian people and were the founders of the



monuments and the originators of all works of art and of the civilization of the Nile's valley. There were indeed different races in Egypt from a very early period; and it is allowed the Hyksos dominated there for a long period of time. They, doubtless, had a perceptibly fairer complexion than the typical Nubian; although, after a few generations there, if dressed up like the Egyptian or Nubian, they might be taken by an ethnologist for the same or a variety of the very same race. G. A. Hoskins says, in reference to the Hyksos, "and these shepherd kings or nomad hordes, with the vitality of a hardy and uncorrupted race, reigned over the degenerated Egyptians at Memphis (the more remote districts probably tributary to them) from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty (a period as according to Lepsius of 500 years, according to Rouget of 1,900 years, and according to Bunsen of 922 years; while by Wilkinson's interpretation of the monuments it is only 340 years), leaving no records of their civilization or of deference for the religion of the conquered race." ("A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt, 1863, p. 75.")

It is said that this race left no monuments there after them of their own erection, nothing to indicate their long residence or dominancy (but, according to the shortest period given above, that by Wilkinson, they were in Egypt for about eleven or twelve successive generations, long enough, it would reasonably appear, having the power in their own hands, for them to have at least partially stocked with their own race all the districts of Egypt); and that instead of introducing civilization and encouraging culture, they went in a fair way of obliterating all that was there before they entered. They must, indeed, according to this, have been savages, men who not only lacked all genius, but the elements of common sense and humanity. But, can we suppose that they did not make such an impression upon the country, during their long occupation of it, as not to leave a noticeable element of their own fairer-skinned race after them (if perchance by this time they had a fairer skin than the Nubian who is taken fairly to represent the typical ancient Egyptian) when a certain portion of them returned from the country, saber in hand, having been worsted by one opponent who proved to have a stronger force than they, and went up and built Jerusalem. In one place Prof. Heeren makes the dominant race, who introduced civilization, culture, erected the monuments, encouraged trade and religion, etc., to have been a fairer race distinctively than the general race of the Nile's valley, but still truly

African and of the priest-caste of Ethiopia. In another place he makes them to have been fairly represented by the Nubian on the monuments, which might, of course, be taken as indicating them to have been truly African, but would hardly account for the extra fairness of the skin which he attributes to them in another place.

It is alleged that there is no proof of any monuments having been erected prior to the 18th dynasty. If it be said the Great Pyramid was built by the fourth dynasty recent investigation makes this to mean that it was built by the 20th, which embraced the real fourth; and that the 18th dynasty, so called, embraced the first and was really Shepherd. If the implication in the allegation above referred to be true not only before the Shepherds appeared in that country, but until after they were expelled therefrom, there was no civilization nor ability to represent it in monuments or records in Egypt or in the Nile's valley. The shepherds then must have stirred up those old Africans to produce the most remarkable and astonishing works of art that have ever been produced upon the face of the earth! They must have set those people to thinking and acting, although, from the accounts of them, they would not appear to have thought or acted much themselves. Or, was it not possible for some of those shepherd races, along the course of the ages of their residence in the Nile's valley, to have become priests? It would seem that being kings for so long a period, some of them would have developed a genius for the priesthood and would have founded primitive monasteries and encouraged trade and civilization as was the wont of the priests. But, you will say that in such course they must have acted independently or have founded a caste themselves, they not being of the original priest-caste. If we rightly understand who those shepherds were, we have a type of their ancestors in the patriarch Abraham, who, as all the patriarchs of the Shepherd tribes, was both chief and priest of his clan. Melchizedek, of Salem, was both priest and king (Gen. xiv : 18). In the primitive institutions of the pastoral or shepherd races of Asia, the father of the family was priest as well as chief. "The system of patriarchal government," says Layard (Nineveh, etc., ii, 9), "faithfully described by Burkhardt, still exists as it has done for 4,000 years in the desert."

Now, with respect to the shepherd tribes, who, we are informed, were expelled from Egypt in 1542 B. C., and those who worsted and succeeded them, called of the eighteenth dynasty, it may be altogether unnecessary for me to remark here that it is no uncommon

thing in history to find brothers of the different shepherd or Scythic families to disagree. Without adducing any particular examples, which might, perhaps, be thought insipid, I may remark that the Irish and Scottish monarchical histories are but too full of such. If the monuments of the Nile's valley be thought too much for the ability and genius of the Scythic race, why not those of Persepolis, of Nineveh, Babylon, etc., be thought too much for the same race originally? This, however, is intended rather to be suggestive than affirmative of this subject; for, even if it were true that the Hyksos were a thoughtless, shiftless and unproductive race themselves, still we have a right to think concerning them in connection with the whole subject of the history of Egypt and of the Nile's valley and, while we make some suggestions not in their nature unreasonable, still leave the question an open one.

For, with respect to the originators of the civilization and culture of the Nile's valley, many investigators have for themselves concluded that, if they proceed to derive that civilization from outside of that valley, itself, then the Indians or some tribe of the Indians of Asia are the only nation whence the ancient Egyptians and their civilization could have originally descended. It would be unreasonable to assert that no political or religious shoot could have been transplanted in the very early ages from India to Ethiopia; and although only shoots in which every foreign trace would be lost in a greater or less number of successive generations by their being ingrafted into a foreign soil and climate — their mixture by blood with foreigners, so to speak — still, if they came there they should be not unlikely to have had descendants, whether or not these became civilizers or culture producers in the country.

That some people from India found their way thither in early times historical proofs are not wanting. Syncellus (p. 120, Venetian edition) informs us *Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνασάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτου ᾤκησαν*. “Aethiopians, who had emigrated from the river Indus, dwelt near Egypt.” Historians, however, say that the immigration here referred to did not take place before the reign of Amenophis or Memnon, belonging to the 18th dynasty; consequently in the flourishing period of the Kingdom of Thebes; and, if this be so, neither the origin of the nation nor its civilization can be derived from this source.

Moreover, Herodotus, VII., 70, in distinguishing the Ethiopians from the character of their hair, says: “The Eastern Aethiopians in Asia have straight hair, while the African Aethiopians have the

most curly hair of all men." But in regard to this statement many investigators have found reason to take issue with the father of history, as they claim to have found many African Aethiopians who, notwithstanding the color of their skin, have as straight and lank hair as the Aethiopians of Asia.

The typical African was and is called Aethiopian, as Africa was called Aethiopia. Now, the first root of the name Asia is Aes, as that of Aethiopia is Aeth; that is, the *th* in the one is turned into its equivalent, *s*, in the other. The letter *d*, or *dh*, is doubtless the root consonant, which would be dialectically turned into *s*, as in Sesosis for Sethosis and Sesostris for Sethostris. I think, moreover, the root, *Aedh*, makes it sufficiently plain that the Saethites, or Sethites, the "Sons of God" of Genesis vi: 1, 2, were considered by the ancient writers the aboriginal peoples of both Asia and Africa (Aes-fhir-ica), which would mean in either case the country of the children of God.

"Thus much I know" (says Herodotus, IV, 197), "four nations occupy Africa, and no more; two of these nations are aboriginal and two not. The Libyans and Aethiopians are aboriginal; the former lying northward and the latter southward in Libya; the foreign settlers are Phoenicians and Greeks." Herodotus, though he may not have been altogether correct, nor yet as full as to information on this subject as would now be thought to be requisite, gives us, as he says, so far as he knew and how the matter was understood among the literati of Greece in his time. He describes in a general way and does not distinguish the inhabitants of Africa geographically and tribally as do modern explorers. In his time the eastern districts of northern Africa, above Aegypt, from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, which we now comprise under the names of Nubia and Sennaar were occupied by two races; one aboriginal, which he included under the general name of Aethiopians, and the other an immigratory Arabian race, leading, for the most part a wandering life. In the army of Xerxes we find the Aethiopians and Arabians, above Aegypt, associated under the same commander. According, however, to Pliny (vi, 34), the banks of the Nile, from Philae to Meroë, were occupied by Arabians, differing from the Ethiopians. But this was speaking without sufficient distinctiveness, for the Nubian tribes, who actually occupy that space, speak a language different from the Arabic, and it does not appear likely that Arabians, who pride themselves upon their language, should have relinquished it in order to adopt that of a barbarous or con-



quered people. As, in Africa, the Arabian descent and language are considered the most honorable, investigators and explorers into the races and affairs of that country consider themselves justified in classing all those nations as aboriginal who do not speak Arabic, or give evidence, in some way, of their being of foreign descent.

The Nubians are first mentioned by this name in the time of the Ptolemies by Eratosthenes in Strabo (p. 1135); but the name soon came into use, sometimes as a general name for the tribes dwelling on both sides of the Nile, from Egypt to Meroë, and sometimes in a more limited sense for the present Dongola. Their chief mark of distinction is that their dwellings are in the valley of the Nile. Burkhardt, in his explorations, appears to have made a specialty of this nation, and the accuracy of his accounts are shown by their having been honorably confirmed by the later explorers, Waddington and Hambury. The position of this nation in the Nile's valley, as lying intermediate between Egypt and Meroë, being geographically, at least, a connecting link, shows of what interest and importance it is for us, by all the knowledge we can become possessed of, to know whether the Nubians be really a connecting link, physiologically, ethnologically and linguistically, between the inhabitants of ancient Meroë and Egypt. The same result is, in effect, arrived at if we have become satisfied that they are of a common stock of those nations, whether or not they might be considered as a connecting link between these two.

The Nubians, then, live in a land of monuments, which are reasonably supposed to have been erected by their forefathers. Entirely different from the Arabic is their language, of which Burkhardt has given us specimens; and neither that nor their external appearance justifies that an Arabian origin be attributed to them. They are of a dark brown color, with hair either naturally curly or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly; it often forms an elevated ornament, like those on the monuments. Their visage has nothing of the typical negro features; the men are well formed, strong and muscular with delicate features. They are something shorter than the Egyptians. They have only a little beard growing under the chin, as upon the Egyptian statues. They are very thinly clad, almost naked; but are all armed with a spear five feet long, a dagger and a large shield, formed of the skin of the hippopotamus. The women are well made, with pleasing features. The men buy them of their parents, but frequently, also, intermarry with the Arabs. (Burkhardt, p. 194.) According

to Hennicke (p. 164), the Nubian is thin and slender, but beautifully formed, and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statue. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian, etc. The Nubian language is now spoken in Dongola, where the Arabic is spoken, but imperfectly. "In passing along the Wadys of Nubia," continued Burkhardt, "it often occurred to me to remark that the size and figure of the inhabitants were generally proportionate to the breadth of their cultivable soil; wherever the plain is broad, and the peasants, from being able to carry on agriculture to a tolerable extent, are in comparatively easy circumstances, they are taller and more muscular and healthy; but in the rocky districts, where the plain is not more than twenty to thirty yards in breadth, they are poor, meagre figures, in some places appearing almost like walking skeletons." Speaking further of the women, he says: "I have even seen beauties among them. Denon has certainly not done justice to them, but they are worn down from their earliest youth by continual labor, the whole business of the house being left to them, while the men are occupied exclusively in the culture of the soil. Of all the women of the East, those of Nubia are the most virtuous; and this is the more praiseworthy as their vicinity to Upper Egypt, where licentiousness knows no bounds, might be expected to have some influence upon them."

From the foregoing it appears evident that the manners and character and to some extent the physical condition of the peoples of the Nile's valley could not have everywhere been the same. Local circumstances rendered this impossible; for some districts only allowing this particular sort of life and no other, while others differed in these respects in allowing only a certain other sort of life; and the intercommunication between the peoples of the different sections of the valley being in general only very limited, these causes in the course of generations must needs have produced very different developments of character in the peoples. The inhabitants of the eastern mountainous regions necessarily followed a pastoral life, as did also the tribes in the fenny districts of the Delta; their soil being unfit for agriculture. Other tribes close to the Nile were fishermen and mariners, as the nature of their habitation made it more profitable than handicraft. But it is quite apparent that the civilized part of those peoples dwelling in the valley,\* carried on all the principal branches of domestic business,

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\* Out of about 60,000 square miles Egypt is said to have only about eleven or twelve thousand of cultivable land, its valley to the southern frontier being about 550 miles in length.

in all of which they attained to great perfection, as is ascertained from the representations found in the caves so often met with, where they are seen portrayed. Agricultural occupations, — plowing, sowing, digging, harrowing, reaping, binding, treading out the corn by oxen and storing it; fishing with the hook as well as nets and salting the fish; hunting; the vintage and its various labors; cattle breeding and herds of kine, horses, asses, sheep; the navigation of the Nile as well with sails as oars; the weighing of live stock for sale, all this is here represented.

But the difference of manners of life, if not of descent, which would appear generally indicated in the representations given us upon the monuments, is thought by some investigators to shed a light upon that celebrated institution, which the Egyptians had in common with the Hindoos, namely, the division into castes or hereditary ranks, of which according to the most accurate authorities, there were seven in Egypt. The two most honorable were the priests and warriors; the next, merchants and shopkeepers and mariners; then two castes of herdsmen; to which may be added, but not till the later period of the Pharaohs, the interpreters or brokers. Although the origin of castes among those nations transcends the period of written records and strict historical evidence cannot therefore be adduced, yet it is thought very probable that the difference of descent, connected with the different modes of life first laid the foundation of it in the Nile's valley and that the various castes at first were different tribes. It appears, however, that policy in the infancy of civil society expected to find this rigid separation of professions a security for their preservation and a means for their perpetuation as in the idea a desideratum; nor is there any doubt that accidental causes might and, in effect, did give rise to new castes, as, for example, that of the interpreters in Egypt in the time of Psammetichus; but the principal question here was, or is, from what cause did this institution originally arise? a question about which ere this the reader may or not be satisfied in his own mind from all the preceding. But it is a great and astonishing fact, as Bunsen observes (vol. 1, p. 358), that the empire of Meroë, on its first appearance in history possessed an established mythology, that is, a series of gods. And there is, according to some, reason to suppose that the Egyptian mythology, if not its institution of castes, is derived originally from Asia. Bunsen's comparison (Id. p. 355) of some of the names of the Egyptian gods and goddesses with those of the Syrian, Phœnician

and Baqylonian divinities is very striking and the names of the Asiatic deities do not appear to have been derived from the Egyptian.

"Although," says Baron Eckstein, "the Coptic is the antipodes of the Sanscrit, a thousand reasons seem to conspire to make us look in the basin of the Indus for the seat of primitive civilization, transported to the valley of the Nile, at an epoch preceding the time when Southern Asia was wrested from the Cushites by the Arian and Semitic races. If we find in the popular forms of worship of India, the contrast between which and the religious notions of the Vedas is so marked, a strong resemblance to the creeds of Egypt, is there any reason to feel surprised, when we discover some words in Coptic that have an equivalent in the Sanscrit? There is one thing which must never be lost sight of in any inquiry relative to those distant times. It is absurd to say: this is of Indian and that of Egyptian origin, for the influences that shaped them have followed the tide of immigration.

Thus, even while admitting the influence of the Arian and Semitic creeds upon the forms of Egyptian worship, we cannot avoid recognizing in certain portions of the Vedas a character common to the religion of Egypt. The cause of these coincidences must be sought in the primitive extension of the race of Cush and of Shem in the regions lying in the immediate vicinity of the Arian tribes." (Researches Concerning Primitive Humanity.)

### *Thebes.*

It is said that Egyptian sculpture can never be thoroughly understood and appreciated without seeing it with the rich and harmonious coloring which always accompanies it. It is only by a visit to the excavations, especially to those recently made and which have not been defaced by the accidents of time or the hand of man that we can understand what must have been the effect of the temples when gorgeously decorated. "A first visit to Thebes," says Mr. Hoskins, in describing his second visit there in 1863, "must ever be one of the most impressive events in every man's life. The gigantic and imposing ruins surpass everything of the kind to be seen elsewhere; and the sculptures which adorn the walls of the temples and tombs are the only pages in which, as far as the knowledge of hieroglyphics extends, we can now with certainty read the principal events of the greatest Egyptian Kings, their wars, their triumphs and their gratitude to the gods, the cer-



emonies and mysteries of the most mysterious of religions, and the arts, occupations, trades and primitive life of the people."

It is extraordinary that Herodotus, who, according to his own account, was in Thebes, should have scarcely said a word about its monuments and but little more of its history. It is supposed by some that this conduct of his arose from Hecateus of Miletus having visited Thebes before him and that he may have thought it unnecessary to repeat. Let this have been as it may, all we have from Herodotus, as to its history, is a few particulars which he gathered in conversation with the priests there; for what he says elsewhere upon Egypt, from the accounts given to him by the priests, he seems to have obtained from the priests of Memphis and Heliopolis, cities which he had visited before he went to Thebes.

Diodorus of Sicily, who visited Thebes in about *anno* 60 B. C., is our principal early authority upon that city. He, in his descriptions, therefore, speaks as an eye-witness, and there is as yet found no good reason of accusing him of falsehood or exaggeration; he refers, also, to the agreements of his statements with those of other writers.

As to the accounts, oral and written, open to him and which he derived from the Egyptian priests, he thus expresses himself: "What is found in the writings of the Egyptian priests I shall note down after having carefully examined it." Herodotus he mentions only with disapprobation, on account, as he says, of the fables with which he had diversified his narratives. The authors he most used were the elder Hecateus, whose affair with the Theban priests is mentioned by Herodotus; the younger Hecateus, Cadmus and Hellanicus.

Two centuries prior to the time of Diodorus, Manetho, the Egyptian high priest of Heliopolis or On, drew up in the Greek language, from the archives of the Egyptian priests, a continuous history of Egypt. This history, upon which some slight doubt has been thrown by some expressions in the writings of Eusebius, who lived nearly six centuries after Manetho, has in modern times been corroborated by the deciphering of the royal names and titles on the monuments through the discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics; for a series of the names of the Pharaohs are here traced out, as they are found in the catalogue of Manetho, particularly in his eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

By comparing together these three great writers upon the Egyptian antiquities we arrive at the following conclusions: As Hero-

dotus made use of the priestly traditions at Memphis, Diodorus of those at Thebes, and Manetho of those at Heliopolis, together with all the others, it follows that we have in those three writers the priestly traditions (under which are comprised their written as well as oral accounts) as preserved by that body at the three principal seats of learning in Egypt.

Thebes was built upon both banks of the river Nile, without, as far as we know, being connected by a bridge. The greater part and more considerable of the monuments are now denominated from the villages, which are situated in the plain on both sides of the stream. Thus, on the western side, are the villages of Medinet Abou and Gornou; on the eastern, Luxor and Karnac; and, quite at the northeastern end of the valley, Med Armuth, which is the extreme point of the ruins that now remain. They are, however, so similar in extent and grandeur that it is difficult to decide whether those on the eastern or western side should have the precedence.

#### *Monuments on the Western Side at Thebes.*

These are, indeed, of various descriptions, forming an almost uninterrupted series, from south to north, all in the vicinity of the Libyan mountain ridge, so that a large plain extends between it and the river, which, doubtless, was once filled with private dwellings. In proceeding from south to north the first object that arrests the attention is the remains of an extensive race-course, at whose southern extremity stands a small temple; there is, however, fast by a gate of such large dimensions as to show that a much larger building must once have stood there. The area of this race-course, according to the estimate of the French, is seven times that of the Champ de Mars, near Paris, and consequently it afforded ample space for the review and exercise of such large armies as sometimes conquered on the Euphrates and subdued Asia Minor and Scythia. The whole was surrounded by an enclosure, which forms at present nothing more than a series of hills, among which the gates or inlets may yet be distinguished, of which there are reckoned thirty-nine, though their number are supposed to have amounted to fifty altogether. The principal entrance, where a large opening is left, looks eastward, and the general appearance of the enclosure shows that at one time it was embellished with stately edifices, composed of triumphal monuments. Probably this

spacious plain was located just without the city; a similar one of smaller dimensions is found on the eastern side, nearly opposite to this; and, if both were situated without the city, we may, with great probability, determine its southern boundary. These enclosures were, doubtless, used for exercising the troops, for chariot races, for prize contests, and, perhaps, when not in use, for the foregoing purposes, they may have been used for public pleasure parks.

Directly at the northern end of the race-course is a palace and temple. Connected with the palace is a pavilion of two stories, containing many saloons and apartments and numerous windows. The situation is so chosen as to command a view not only of all the monuments of Medinet Abou, but also of those on the other side of the Nile, and of the whole plain in which Thebes was built. Everything, even the decorations which cover the walls, seems to indicate that this was the usual residence of the king. The subjects represented differ from those in the temple, being intermingled with scenes of domestic life. This edifice is in general much injured, the upper part of it being the best preserved.

About 250 feet northwest of this pavilion is situated the great palace of Medinet Abou. Its entrance is formed by one of those mighty superstructures, which are comprised by the French under the name of pylons; the Greeks call them *προπυλαία*. They consist of two obtuse pyramids, in this instance sixty-six feet high, which enclose between them the principal gate, forming the grand entrance. This leads into a large court, which is surrounded by galleries, formed on one side by eight great pillars and on the other by pilasters, to which colossal statues of Osiris are fixed as caryatides, but not so as to give any support. The sight of those colossal pilaster-caryatides excites in the beholder, so we are assured by eye-witnesses, an indescribable feeling of awe and veneration.

Opposite to the principal entrance stands a second pylon, though on a somewhat smaller scale. It leads into a second court of pillars or a peristyle, whose galleries are likewise formed by pilasters with caryatides and columns. An eye-witness says of this: "Of all the parts of the building this peristyle is the most imposing by its tremendous massiveness and solemn grandeur. We are convinced that its founders wished to make it imperishable and that the Egyptian architects who were intrusted with its structure did their utmost to make it endure to the latest posterity. The pillars are colossal though not remarkably elegant; their diameter near the base is

nearly seven feet and a half and they are nearly twenty feet high, yet they do not seem too large to support the immense stone blocks which form the architraves and roof. Nothing is more wonderful than the beauty of those tall columns. The effect, however, of this peristyle is greatly increased by the pilaster-caryatides which add so greatly to its magnificence. When the Egyptian artists affixed the images of the gods to these pilasters, which support the splendid roof, covered with golden stars on blue ground, do they not seem to have intended to represent the deity himself under the arch of heaven, expanding in his ethereal space? For the people not to have been impressed with religious awe at the sight of this assemblage of their deities, who seemed to dictate the laws of wisdom and justice which were everywhere written on the walls, we conceive to have been impossible. And if we, unacquainted with the religion and manners of the Egyptians, could not enter these walls, in which every pillar is a deity, without emotion, what a powerful impression must the sight of them have produced upon those who saw a religious mystery in every part?" This account from a present witness will be likely to inspire the reader with a juster appreciation of those once magnificent objects than a simple story about lifeless masses. The back part of the palace is chiefly in ruins; but many apartments are still to be seen, which seem to have served as habitations, the description of which here could not be rendered sufficiently intelligible without a plan.

The sculpture of this palace, both within and without, makes a still more interesting contemplation. On the outside are represented scenes of war, battles by land and sea. In several representations of land engagements the Egyptians are conspicuously victorious. The king always appears on his colossal war chariot, armed with a lance, bow and arrows, his missiles, of course, carrying consternation and destruction into the ranks of his enemies. The Egyptians are partly engaged in fighting and partly in marshaling their forces, two and four men deep. The same figure of the king again appears, now driving slowly along, now stopping and now forcing his way into the ranks of the enemy. Another piece represents a lion hunt. Standing in his chariot the king pursues two lions through the thicket; one of them is already killed; the other is fleeing, pierced by four arrows. The most remarkable of these pictures is the naval engagement. It represents the enemy repulsed in endeavoring to effect a landing and the victory seems decided for the Egyptians. The king is standing on the shore,



discharging missiles at the enemy, many of whom lie slain at his feet and others in front of him. Two squadrons are contending near the coast. The construction of the Egyptian war vessels is quite different from that of the Nile's boats, and they have always a lion's head at the prow; they are properly called long ships. Those of the enemy are nearly of the same general construction. Although apparently decided the battle still continues. The ships of the enemy appear in confusion; partly taken or sunk, and partly ready to strike colors. Even the traces of the naval tactics are observable. The hostile fleet is surrounded by the Egyptians and there appears no chance of a single craft escaping. In all these warlike subjects the several nations are most sharply distinguished by their costume, head-gear and accoutrements. In the land battles the soldiers of the hostile army are invariably portrayed with beards and long garments. In the naval engagements, on the contrary, their clothing is short and light; the head covering of one portion consists of a sort of round turban, ornamented at the top with a wreath of feathers; the others wear a helmet seemingly made of the skin of a wild beast. They are a people from a southern climate; the French artists at once recognized them as Indians. This difference of costume is also very accurately represented in the succeeding representations, so far as this can be observed in the present state of the structures.

Of a somewhat similar nature, though different, is the sculpture in the interior of the palace. The subjects represented are triumphs, but closely connected with religion, for the procession is not only directed to the gods, but the deities themselves take part in it. The most considerable of those reliefs are found in the peristyle above described. On one wall the victorious king, recognizable as such by the serpent on his head-dress, sits in his chariot. The horses adorned with splendid trappings are held and managed by his attendants. He himself is standing in a commanding attitude while the prisoners of war are brought before him. They advance four rows deep, every third or fourth being led by an Egyptian. They are dressed in blue and green cloaks, under which they wear a short covering round the middle. The Egyptians wear white garments with red stripes; all the colors are in good preservation. The prisoners are unarmed, their weapons tied above their heads. In the front of the conqueror's chariot are lying a heap of amputated hands, seemingly of the men killed in battle. As to the prisoners they do not appear mutilated.

On the northern wall of this same peristyle is portrayed a triumphal procession. The king; seated on his throne, is borne on a rich palanquin by eight soldiers. They are adorned with feathers, the emblem of victory. The throne is covered with splendid carpets; the feet of the conqueror rests on a cushion. He carries in his hand the cross and keys, the emblems of consecration; two genii stand behind and shade him with their wings. The lion, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent and the sphinx, emblems of greatness, are on his side. The procession consists partly of warriors, ornamented with palms and feathers, partly of priests who offer incense. Another seems to recite from a roll the deeds of the victor. The procession moves towards the temple of Osiris, whose statue is visible. Four priests come to meet and receive the hero, and to lead him into the temple, where he presents his offerings.

The train then proceeds and the god himself, leaving his holy habitation, accompanies the king, surrounded by every species of festive pomp; twenty-four priests bear him on a kind of carriage. They are enrobed in long stately cloaks. At the head is the conqueror in different habit and head-dress. The sparrow-hawk hovers over him; the sacred red bull follows in the train. Seventeen priests bearing the attributes of the deity march first in the procession, the whole of which is now evidently changed into a religious pageant. It is not here the warriors, but the priests who act the principal parts. The scene again changes; the king appears presenting an offering to the gods. It is noticeable that this scene appears to relate to agriculture. A priest presents a handful of corn to the king which he cuts through with a sickle; and afterwards he offers his gift to the god. This scene appears to represent the king as favoring the arts of peace and his gratitude to the overruling Providence for the products of agriculture; the former portrays him in the splendor of his martial achievements. The scenes are related to each other, though not closely; but if the pictures were in a perfect state of preservation all the designs would be more easily understood.

In one of the side rooms are sculptures which are equally deserving of attention. The complete piece represents in three divisions the initiation of the king into the priestly mysteries. He is first purified by one of the priests; others then take him by the hand and lead him into the sanctuary. All here is mysterious, the priests nearly all appearing in masks of beasts. The French literati were under the impression that this whole representation set forth,

in some way, the deeds of Sesostris; and some who think that they substantiated their belief by the result of their researches appear to me as wise as they were in this matter.

At some distance to the north of this place stands the temple of Medinet Abou. It faces the Nile and has propylæa in an unfinished state, which are also of later date than the chief temple. It now lies for the most part in ruins, its construction having been similar to that of the other temples.

North-west of this temple follows a plain, partly covered with a mimosa-wood, which may be called the field of colossi. Seventeen of these are counted upon this spot, some of which are still standing, while others are in part or altogether thrown down. Among them is the far-famed Colossus of Memnon, celebrated for the sounds which were wont to issue therefrom at the sun's rising.

The first objects that strike the attention here are two colossi, close together, and both facing the Nile; the northern one is called Damy, the southern Shamy. They are of sandstone, about fifty-two feet high or sixty with the pedestal. The weight of each when entire is estimated at something over 130 tons. The one to the south is formed of one piece; the upper half of the other is now composed of five pieces. As colossi were originally monoliths among the Egyptians, it can hardly be doubted but that this was originally the case here. This statue, as we learn from the many inscriptions with which it is covered, chiefly of the first two centuries, was regarded as that of Memnon, as these inscriptions testify that their authors had heard the voice of the statue. But against this doubts have been raised, originating partly from the quality and color of the stone, and partly from the circumstances mentioned by Strabo, that the colossus was broken through in the middle, as it is also described by Pausanias; and because the time of its restoration is unknown. But the French have shown these objections of no great weight, having proved the material to be sandstone, though now become black through the effect of the atmosphere; and though the restorer of the statue is unknown to us, nothing can be argued from that, because the fact itself shows that it has been restored. This restoration is supposed to have been effected by Septimius Severus, who restored and repaired various objects in Egypt and elsewhere.

At a moderate distance to the northwest of this colossus are found two immense stone blocks, covered with the most beautiful hieroglyphics, which probably were nothing more than the pedestals

of two other colossi. A little north of these close to a triple row of pillars, is a large fragment of a colossal statue, in a walking attitude above thirty feet high; and a little farther the trunk of another of black granite. Still farther and we come to the remnant of a colossus of yellow marble, represented as if walking, and a little in advance the remains of two sitting colossi of red granite; and still beyond two others forty feet high, in a walking position. And since it has been proved that the level of the earth has been raised, at least fifteen or twenty feet, since the beginning of our era, how many others may still lie thrown down or broken beneath the surface of the earth?

But what was the cause of this great number of colossi being thrown together in such seeming disorder. The nature of the spot, the various fragments of pillars, etc, lead some antiquarians to conclude that at some time an immense building stood here, which with its pylons and courts, its colonnades and saloons, must have been about eighteen hundred feet in length. The colossal statues may have stood before the pylons, in front of the entrances to the courts and portico, as is still the case in the palace of Osymandyas and others. It appears to have been contrary to the general custom of the Egyptians to place them anywhere except before or in the interior of their edifices. With regard to the colossal sphynxes, which formed avenues the case was different. This opinion, too, is supported by the fact that both Strabo and Pliny place the colossus of Memnon in a building, called by the former Memnonium, and by Pliny the Serapeum. Philostratus, also, in his life of Apollonius, compares the sanctuary of Memnon with a forum, decorated with pillars, walls, seats and statues, which remind us of the great colonnades and halls of columns of the temples. If, however, on the one hand, the enormous dimensions of an edifice that would contain such colossi impress us with wonder, it seems, on the other, not less surprising that so few remains of it are now left. This difficulty, however, disappears, if the building be supposed to have been erected of limestone; for the old materials of such have always been used for lime. The immense excavation in the limestone rocks very plainly show that the number of these buildings in Egypt must have been very great.

A discovery of Belzoni has confirmed this assertion. "I found," he says, "a great many fragments of colossal statues of granite, breccia and calcareous stones; and from the great number of fragments of smaller dimensions, and of standing and sitting lion-



headed statues, I can boldly state that these ruins appear to me to have belonged to the most magnificent temple of any on the western side of Thebes."

Still farther north of the field of Colossi is the palace and tomb of Osymandyas. The ruins of this building, facing the Nile, are the most picturesque of ancient Thebes. The building is composed of sand-stone. Many pylons, columns and pillars with caryatides are yet standing, whilst ruins of others as well as Colossi forms large heaps around. Having passed through a majestic quadrangle you meet with a quadrangle above one hundred and forty feet in length and one hundred and sixty-one in breadth. This is all in ruins except two pillars, but the area is so filled up with blocks of granite that a person might fancy himself in a stone quarry, nevertheless, on a closer inspection, these are found to be merely the ruins of one immense colossus. It has been destroyed by violence, but the head, foot and hand still remain. The forefinger is nearly four feet in length; the breadth from shoulder to shoulder, in a straight line, is twenty-one feet. The height of the whole could not have been less than fifty-four feet. The pedestal eighteen feet high is still standing close to the pylon opposite. Both pedestal and colossus were of the most beautiful rose colored granite of Syene. The pit whence it was dug out is shown near that city and thence it is supposed to have been transported one hundred and thirty-five miles, notwithstanding *it weighed nearly nine hundred tons* (887 tons). Inquiries made on the spot have proved that this building contained four such colossi, of which one of granite seems to have stood near the one described.

A second pylon not quite so lofty forms the entrance to a peristyle, which is also one hundred and forty feet in length and one hundred and sixty in breadth. It was surrounded by galleries, formed in the north and south by a double row of pillars, in the east by a single row of pilaster-caryatides, and in the west by one row of pillars and another of pilaster-caryatides. The southern part is decayed but the northern is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a correct idea of the whole. This peristyle contained two colossal statues, each about twenty-three feet. One is entirely of black granite, the body of the other is also black, but the head of rose-colored granite. This head is well preserved. "It possesses that graceful calmness, that happy physiognomy which pleases more than beauty. It would be impossible to represent the deity with features which could make him more beloved and revered.

The execution is admirable and it might be taken for the production of the best age of Grecian art did it not bear so evidently the Egyptian character." (Description, 1, p. 129.)

Out of the peristyle three gates of black granite open into a spacious saloon, whose roof was supported by sixty pillars in ten rows, each six pillars deep; four of these rows are still standing. The saloon was divided into three compartments and we may form some idea of the awful extent of the whole by knowing, that the pillars of the middle division (the others are a little smaller), are thirty-five feet high and above six feet in diameter. Out of this large saloon there is an entrance into a second and afterwards into a third. In each are eight pillars of the same size still standing.

From the traces still remaining this huge building must have been even larger than as above indicated. But, however, it may excite our wonder, as a monument of architecture, it is not less admirable on account of the sculpture with which its walls are covered. These consist partly of sacred pictures with hieroglyphics, partly of historical reliefs. The former, as usual, represent deities, with sacrifices and offerings made to them; but the latter demand a more accurate description. It will be seen what reason we had to regret that such a small part of them as well as of the whole building should have been preserved.

The first of these reliefs is found on the inner side of the first of the two great pylons. It represents war and battles. The infantry, in close columns, advance with their leader, a man of large size, in his chariot at their head. The heat of the battle is next portrayed; the leaders in their chariots driving into the midst of the enemy; the slain, the wounded and the flying with their steeds. In the center of the battlefield is a river, into which those fleeing leap, whilst their party stand on the opposite bank ready to receive them.

On the left side of the pylon the chief hero sits on a beautifully decorated chair, his foot resting on a stool, on which prisoners are represented. The cushions of the seat and stool are covered with the finest material and dotted with stars. A column of twenty-one figures in long garments approach him supplicatingly and reverentially. These are closely followed by chariots and warriors with large shields. The army to which they belong is in the rear, consisting of infantry and chariots with one soldier in each. Next follows the baggage, which, though attacked by the enemy, is bravely defended.

On the walls of the peristyle scenes equally remarkable are displayed. Here is another battle scene. It seems like a hostile invasion which is repelled. A river with its many windings traverses the field; remains of the blue color with which it was painted are still seen in many places. It flows round a castle, the object of contention on both its banks. The possessors of the castle are crossing the river. They have long beards and garments and war chariots with three men in each. The Egyptians on the opposite side, partly on foot and partly in chariots, are led by their king; they are divided into different bodies, each with a separate commander, distinguishable by being taller, at their head. They beat down all before them and trample on the dead and wounded. Many of the enemy in their retreat are drowned in attempting to recross the river; they are pursued by the victors.

The storming and capture of a fortress is represented on the walls of that large hall. This is probably the continuation of the foregoing subject. At the foot of the wall is a kind of testudo, formed of large shields. Behind or under it are the warriors, of whom only the feet are visible. A scaling ladder is fixed up which soldiers are climbing. Of the four stories of the fort the first is already scaled. The struggle goes on hotly; the besieged hurl down stones and burning substances. The issue, now, is no longer doubtful; and the banner hoisted up, pierced through with arrows, is probably the sign of surrender. The action of one of the warriors here is very expressive, he himself breaking his arrow across his knees. If the remaining part of the palace were still standing it is most likely there would still be found the triumphal procession of the victor; and if this palace be really that of Osymandyas, described by Diodorus, the yet more interesting scene, the high court of justice of Egypt, with the chief judge presiding, having the symbol of truth upon his breast.

The French think they have recovered the monument in those buildings, which have by others, misled by a false reading of the text of Diodorus, been frequently taken for that of the Memnonium. This their view has the support of the statement of Diodorus that at ten stadia distant were the tombs of the virgins devoted to Ammon. Tombs are, indeed, found at this distance, which will agree with this statement, and have not the appearance of private buildings. Respecting those virgins or hierodules of Ammon, who in after ages were allowed to marry, the principal passage is found in Strabo.

No King Osymandyas is mentioned either by Herodotus or Manetho; nor has the name been yet discovered in any inscription; but the royal legend of Sesostris, or Rameses the great, is everywhere displayed on the monuments ascribed to him. The subjects, likewise, of all the reliefs, the battles, triumphs, etc., constantly refer to him. Even the lion, which is said to have attended him, is seen on his war chariot as an ornament, in this respect much as it appears in connection with the chariot of the Assyrian kings, on the slabs from Koyunjik and Nineveh. And to whom will the inscription, quoted by Diodorus, "I am Osymandyas, the King of Kings. He who wishes to know how great I was and where I rest, let him surpass my works," apply so well as to this very remarkable Egyptian character? It has been suggested that Osymandyas may have been a name of the great Rameses, as the name of Sesostris was or that it might have been his name as a hero. It is considered as highly probable that his deeds are represented here, although a portion of the building may have belonged to a period prior to his. The proofs, however, which might arise from going into a minute comparison of the sculptures with the descriptions of Diodorus it is impossible to give here, as in the great work upon Egypt very few sculptures are engraved and there is nothing we have to avail us in the matter, excepting the accounts of the French and some more recent.

In the space between these immense edifices and the Libyan mountain chain stands the temple of Isis, which although smaller, is still highly deserving of attention from its fine preservation. In this may be seen in its fullest splendor the effects of the colors with which the reliefs are painted. Moreover, the narrower dimensions of the building enables the beholder to take in the whole at a glance by which he is better able to judge of the impressions made by these embellishments. All the reliefs here refer to religious subjects. The most remarkable among them is *a judgment upon the dead*, exactly as it is found painted upon the mummies. It seems probable that this temple served also as a sepulchre.

Going north from this monument the traveler finds himself in the midst of an alley of pedestals, occasionally interrupted, but immediately after resumed. A more accurate examination has shown that this was formerly an avenue of sphinxes two hundred in number and of a colossal size, the pedestals being six feet wide and twelve feet long. The breadth of the alley runs to forty feet; the distance of the statues from each other being seven feet.



What must the building have been to which such an alley led! Immense ruins of pylons, of walls and of steps are met with, but nothing entire. There is a remarkable stone vault in the form of an arch, without as has been shown by a closer examination being one. If the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the proper arch, as I have no doubt they were, they did not use it in these kind of buildings.

The palace of Gornou or Kornou still remains upon this western side of the Nile pertaining to Thebes. It is not one of the largest or most splendid edifices of the royal city, but it is far too large to allow that an idea should be entertained that it was a private dwelling. It was no temple, but seems to have been of a middle or general character between those imperial palaces and private dwellings. Neither sphinxes nor obelisks nor stupendous pylons nor colonnades are here met with. The whole seems calculated for habitation. A portico, one hundred and fifty feet long, supported by ten columns, forms the principal entrance, and is still almost entire. From the portico three doors lead into the interior of the building. The principal and most central door opens into a vestibule, supported by six pillars, and from this passages run off into many chambers and offices. The door to the left in the portico leads likewise into a saloon, and this again into many chambers with courts and cabinets on the side. The same seems to have been the case in passing through the door to the right, but everything here is much dilapidated; so that the whole building appears to have consisted of three independent divisions, which were, nevertheless, connected by their opening into the great portico in front. The conclusion of explorers generally, who have been unable to detect any religious or historical scenes or hieroglyphical pictures on the walls is that if it were not a royal residence it must have been the private residence of some great official of the kingdom; but it is evident that those who hold this view differ from Dr. Richardson (*Modern Traveler*, vol. vi. p. 86) who, as far as I know, stands alone in saying that, "this building has by some travelers been called a palace, but it is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics in the same manner as the other temples; and from the frequent occurrence of the ram's head upon the walls, both among the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, it would appear that Jupiter Ammon was the principal object of worship in this as well as in the great temples." So far as to the Theban monuments on the western side.

*The Theban Monuments on the Eastern Side of the Nile.*

If from the western side of the river we now pass over to the eastern side we shall find it equally rich in those stupendous monuments which we find to be so characteristic of Thebes. On this side, however, they are situated partly close to the river and partly at some distance from it, though less than that on the western side. Between the river and the eastern mountain-chain, a wide almost wholly uncultivated plain extends, nearly five miles square, which is supposed to have been once covered with private habitations and formed a part of the ancient city. The monuments still left are named after their villages, Luxor to the south, and Karnac to the north.

Beginning with those on the south we find the ruins of Luxor are situated upon an artificial elevation, fenced with brick-work, from nine to ten feet high, immediately upon the Nile; it is upwards of two thousand feet in length and above a thousand in breadth. The more northern portico is partly covered with the village of Luxor; the southern part is more open, but it is on the northern side that the great entrance to the principal building is found. Two of the most beautiful obelisks in the world adorned the front of this; they are of red granite and above eighty feet high. Their upper surface is not completely flat, but a little convex, doubtless so formed designedly and probably on account of the effect of light; for it is a principle in optics that a completely flat surface does not appear such. Other obelisks do not present this peculiarity and so it is thought that from this might be deduced their relative ages.

Behind the obelisks two sitting colossal statues present themselves, each upon a block of black and red granite of Syene. They are half buried and have been broken by violence. They are each forty feet high. Their head dress has many peculiarities, they have, also, collars. Hamilton conjectures them to represent male and female. There is reason to believe that two similar colossi stood in the interior, as the head of one has been discovered.

Close behind these two statues is one of those immense pylons with its two pyramidal masses, fifty-two feet in height, enclosing the principal gate. Both on account of its size and its ornamentation this pylon is highly deserving of attention. Representations of war scenes are sculptured on both wings; on the eastern is seen a number of warriors in their chariots, each drawn by two horses.

They rush over a river or canal in pursuit of a fleeing enemy. The king, mounted on his chariot, is at their head with a bow in his hand. Higher up is seen a camp and tents. Upon the left wing the king is seen in his car mustering the bound captives. Near to this is portrayed a triumphal procession with offerings and gifts presented to the gods.

Among all the great historical reliefs this is considered the most worthy of attention on account of the perfection of the execution and expression: "The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon the fortress and the Egyptians in the full career of victory will soon be masters of the citadel."

"The conqueror, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than any of the other warriors, standing up in a car drawn by two horses. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop, feathers waving over their heads and the reins lashed round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car and under the horses hoofs and bellies are crowds of dying and slain; some stretched on the ground, others falling. On the enemy's side horses in full speed with empty cars; others heedless of the rein and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice into a broad and deep river, which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good, and nowhere has the artist shown more skill than in two groups; in one of which the horses arrived at the brink of the precipice instantly fall down; and the driver clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, his body trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of the horses. In the other, the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill and are hurrying forward their drivers to inevitable destruction. Behind this scene of strife the two lines of the enemy join their forces and attack in a body the army of the Egyptians, which advances to meet them in a regular line. Besides, the peculiarities of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture we evidently trace a distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their oriental enemies; the uncovered and covered heads; the different forms of the cars, of which the Egyptian carried two the others three warriors; and, above all, the difference of the arms, the Egyptian shield being square at one end and round at the

other, their arms a bow and arrows. The enemy's shield, on the contrary, is round; their infantry are armed with spears, their charioteers with short javelins."

"At one extremity of the west wing of the gateway the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand and enjoying the cruel spectacle of eleven of the principal chieftains among his captives, lashed together in a row with a rope about their necks; the foremost stretches out his arms for pity; close to him is the twelfth on his knees, just going to be put to death by the hand of two executioners. Among them is the captive sovereign tied, with his hands behind him, to a car, to which two horses are harnessed; these are checked by an attendant from rushing onward, until the monarch shall mount and drag behind him the unfortunate victims of his triumphs. There is then the conqueror's camp, round which is placed his treasures and where the servants are preparing a banquet to celebrate his victory." (Hamilton, p. 115, sqq.)

Through the grand entrance the explorer enters an immense colonnade surrounded with galleries. This is now occupied with the village of Luxor, and the earth is so risen that the columns and colossal statues do but jut out above it. A second pylon leads into a second colonnade and this into many saloons and apartments, which cannot be understood without a plan. Some idea of the magnitude of this edifice may be formed from the fact that each of the forty columns in the second colonnade is forty-five feet high. The great palace of Luxor is not built after a single plan. The whole of this immense pile is divided into three parts, which have different sites. The hinder part of the fabric (the great hall of granite and its surrounding buildings) was perhaps built first. At a later period the second colonnade was erected. A still more magnanimous or magnificent monarch added the first great colonnade, with the pylons, obelisks and colossal statues, that is, if these latter were not the work of a fourth. It is only remarkable that the site of these parts of the buildings should have been changed without necessity. It seems, however, to be explained by the situation of the buildings of Luxor opposite those of Karnac, with which they were placed in connection.

About 6,100 feet south of those ruins are discovered the traces of



the smaller race-course or that on the eastern side ; but it is likely that both these race-courses were without the city limits, if perchance, as in modern cities, there were then a corporate limit.

At about a mile and a half or two miles north of Luxor and about a mile from the Nile lies the monuments of Karnac. These are considered by connoisseurs, the French literati among others, as the most remarkable monuments of ancient Thebes. They are built upon an artificial elevation, fenced by a wall of brick-work, being in those respects like the others. The walls of Karnac are in extent around somewhat over three miles. The monuments consist of numerous massive piles of various kinds ; among which, on arriving from Luxor, the immense palace of Karnac first presents itself. The façade of this prodigious fabric faces the river, from which there is an avenue of the colossal Crio-Sphinxes, that is, Sphinxes with a lion's body and ram's head, leading to it. Some of these colossi still remain ; they lie together, their fore legs stretched out before them. This magnificent avenue leads to the great pylon, with the principal entrance, which seems never to have been completed. The principal entrance was above sixty-five feet high, and had formerly bronze doors on each wing. This pylon forms one side of the great open colonnade into which the traveler enters through it. The columns which border this on the north and south sides are forty-two feet high ; the series of the north consisting of eighteen of those columns, still remains. The southern series is broken by a temple, which leans as a subordinate building against the palace, whose principal entrance is out of this colonnade. This open colonnade is, however, only a kind of vestibule to the grand hall of columns or covered saloon, which of all that now remains of Egyptian construction is represented as the most stupendous and sublime. A flight of twenty-seven steps leads into it through an ante-chamber and another pylon. Everything here is colossal. So spacious is this saloon that the largest church in Paris might stand whole within it, its area being fully forty-seven thousand square feet. The ceiling, consisting of unhewn blocks of stone, is supported by 134 columns. Each column of the two central rows, which are a little higher than the others, measures 65 feet in height, 10 feet in diameter and 30 feet in circumference. The whole, from top to bottom is ornamented with sculpture relating to religious subjects. The procession of the holy ark is many times repeated, particularly on the walls. So great, however, is the number of those sculptures that no one as yet has succeeded in reckoning them up, much less

in copying them. "No description," says an eye-witness, "can adequately express the sensations inspired by this astonishing sight, in which the magnificence and might of ancient rulers of Egypt are made perceptible to the eye. Of what deeds, of what events now lost to the history of the world, of what scenes have these columns formerly been the witnesses! Can it be doubted that this was the spot where these rulers of the nations of the east and of the west exhibited themselves in their glory and power; that this was the spot to which those nations brought their presents and their tribute?"

From this stupendous saloon a new pylon leads into a second open colonnade, with two magnificent obelisks; and behind this come the buildings which seem intended for the proper dwelling saloons and numerous apartments are here formed entirely of granite. Domestic scenes are sometimes displayed on the wall, as in the chambers of the dead, and certain religious representations, among which the initiations of the kings by the priests is not to be mistaken. In many of these reliefs the colors are still as fresh as ever.

This place is besides adorned with great historical reliefs, which it would be unjust to pass over in silence. They are found on the exterior of the palace walls and represent skirmishes, battles and military expeditions. They are divided into four compartments: in the first is the Egyptian hero when he kills the hostile leader; in the second is the retreat of the enemy toward the stronghold; in the third the triumph of the king with the prisoners before him; and in the fourth, the king when he again delivers up his weapons to Osiris and presents to him the captives. The interpretation of this there stated, namely, that it represents the deliverance of Egypt from the Hykshas, is likewise adopted by the French literati. As a great part of the building now lies in ruins some of the representations are, of course, disappeared, but sufficient are left to prove that they formed one series. The king is seen in his chariot in pursuit of the enemy, who, with their herds, flee to the woods and marshes. The river is depicted, as well as the fortress, which is captured. The conquered come out of the woods and surrender to the king. The latter is portrayed in many engagements, so that the whole history of the war was probably pictured and afterwards the triumph, the captives and the offering made to the gods. As, however, many of these are now decayed and many of them

which still exist are not copied it would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt to arrange them. The particular figures are full of expression, yet the whole has a strange appearance and seems to indicate the infancy of the art. The drapery of the two armies is everywhere accurately distinguished. The opponents of the Egyptians are here uniformly represented with beards and long garments and with shields of different forms than that of the Egyptians. The costume of the enemy is here very different from that of the enemy at Medinet Abou; they must, therefore, have been of different nations.

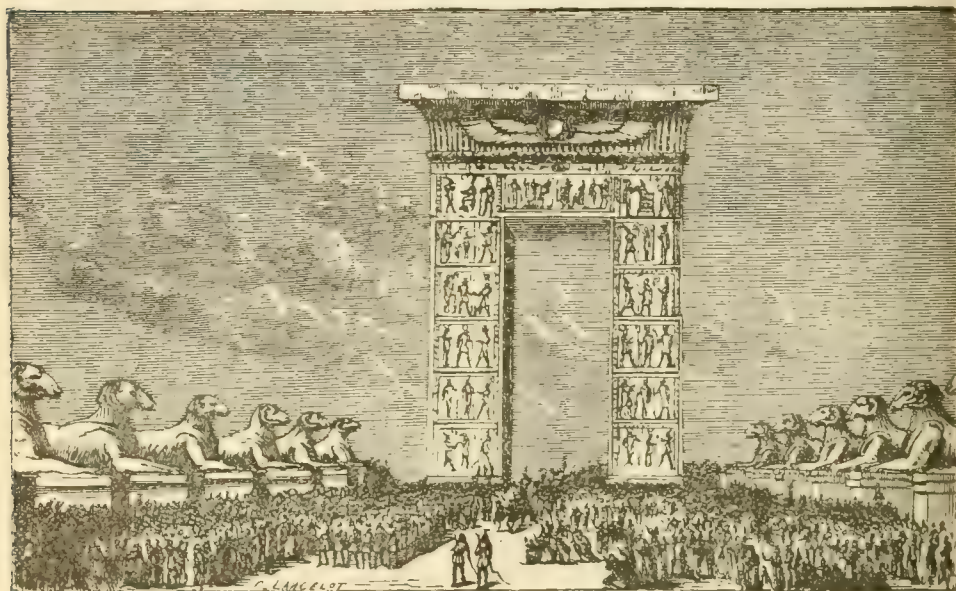
Immediately connected with this palace is a temple, which though ranking among the smaller ones is yet remarkable from the place it occupies; for it is so built in the great colonnade of the palace that the forepart of it stands therein and its principal entrance is out of it. It is arranged in the same order and has much the same ornaments as the other temples, but all in a smaller proportion. It is, with some probability, thought to have been the household chapel of the monarch, who resided in the palace, in which he might perform his devotions and practice the ceremonies of his religion without leaving his dwelling.

Very different from this, as well as from the palace, is the great temple, lying in a direction southwardly from the latter. Egyptian constructive genius here did marvels in order to appear in its most sublime magnitude near the palace. Four of those often described pylons here form the entrance, which contains the same number of spacious colonnades. In these are still standing twelve colossal statues, each formed of one piece; and the number of these must have been far greater, as the remains of nineteen can still be traced. The great temple itself is one of the best preserved monuments at Karnac. Its principal entrance looks south, so that it almost exactly faces the entrance of the palace at Luxor. The southern gateway of this temple is one of the most lofty and magnificent; it is not, however, as is usually the case, attended by a propylon, but stands alone. The height of this gateway is somewhat over sixty-two feet. It is built of sandstone and adorned in the richest manner with sculpture. This gateway leads into a gallery of colossal rams, twenty-two in number, which indicated to the pilgrim that he was drawing nigh to the temple of Ammon, yet 130 feet distant. The gateway, completely isolated, was probably a later building, because the entrance



to the temple again forms one of those pylons, so often described, before which are seen the remains of colossal statues, and which again leads into an open colonnade and this again into a saloon of columns. The *Adytum* is immediately behind this and then other saloons and departments.

This temple is supposed to be one of the most ancient now existing in Egypt, and yet it affords a farther confirmation of the opinion, to which the examination of the palace gives rise, namely, that both were partly built of the materials of more ancient edifices, which were ornamented with the same hieroglyphics, the same col-



Avenue of the Rams at Karnac (restored)

ors and just as well finished sculptures as the present temples. To what interesting and varied contemplations on the antiquity of the arts and the civilization connected therewith in the Nile's valley do those observations lead!

Exactly opposite to this large temple of Karnac is another one still remaining, one of smaller dimensions, but whose sculptures are to be classed with the most highly finished. It seems to have been of later erection than the larger one.

The group of antiquities of Karnac are situated at somewhat over a mile and a quarter from those of Luxor, for this is about the distance measured from the northern entrance of the palace of



Luxor and the great gate of the large temple at Karnac. Egyptian art has, however, connected those groups with each other, by *an avenue of colossal sphinxes*, which leads from one to the other, and, as it approaches Karnac, again divides into numerous alleys. All these sphinxes are from twelve to eighteen feet long; they are partly lions couchant, with rams' heads, these being the largest; partly with women's heads, and partly with rams couchant. No alley, however, consists of more than one kind of sphinx. Many of them still remain entire; of others half and of many only the pedestals are left; but the nearer they are to Karnac the more perfect they become, while the fragments scattered about still prove sufficiently their whole magnitude. The largest and principal avenue must alone have contained more than six hundred of those colossal sphinxes; and the whole, it is thought, amounted to far more than double this number. Those which still remain are of superior workmanship. The stately repose expressed by their posture was well calculated to excite feelings of awe and veneration in the pilgrims, who proceeded through this vast avenue from one sanctuary to the other or took part in the grand processions of the priests as they are represented on the walls. They must also have tended to inspire such calm and holy meditation as every one must still feel who beholds the remains of those wonderful monuments.

Beyond these many more remains are traceable. The chain of them extends to Medamond, north of the ancient city, at the foot of the eastern mountain ridge, where are likewise found the remains of an ancient smaller temple or palace. "One is fatigued," says an eye-witness, "with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is frightened at the idea of so vast a conception; and even after having seen it is difficult to believe in the existence of so many buildings united to one point."

#### *Catacombs—Grottos—Tombs—or Sepulchres.*

The burial places at Thebes, which I find called by all these different names, are like the monuments very remarkable besides, like them, being interesting and instructive. These are all on the western side of the river, and, consequently, in the Libyan chain and none of them being natural caverns they were all the work of human agency. Their position on the western side seems to be accounted for by the quality of the stone, that is, limestone, the stone on the eastern side being of a much harder consistence.

This mountain range is near 300 feet high and rises here so steep that there seems to be difficulty in ascending it. A grotto is generally understood as somewhat in the nature of a cave, and which may serve as a subterranean home for the living instead of being the resting place of the dead. The only place called a grotto of which ancient Thebes affords an example is situated at about 975 feet northeast of the palace of Osymandyas, not quite in the mountain range, but rather in a hill before it. Its front faces the Nile and before it is an open area hewn out of the rock, from which the explorer passes into a court likewise uncovered. All the rest of this is subterraneous. Within are found saloons and chambers of various dimensions upon three stories. A staircase of fifty-six steps leads from the top to the bottom. The walls are everywhere covered with sculpture, which must be ranked with the best and most highly finished, notwithstanding the light of day could never have penetrated to them. In the pits of this grotto, as well as in those of the catacombs, some remains of mummies are certainly to be found; but the arrangement of the whole building renders it extremely improbable that it should have been intended merely as a place of burial. Some Egyptian nobles seem to have had within their own dwellings an apartment intended for their own burial places, as is supposed to have been the case in the palace of Osymandyas. This grotto might also have served for the initiation of the kings into the mysteries. Situated in the way to the catacombs and royal sepulchres it would be difficult to find a place better adapted to conduce to a solemn and contemplative frame of mind, and so it is thought that it might have been used as a cool retreat from the summer heat.

The so-called catacombs are not peculiar to Thebes, every Egyptian city having had its own; those of Memphis are found at Sacara. But as the royal capital of Egypt did not exhibit a greater excellence in her temples and palaces above ground than she did in those subterranean caverns and tombs for her people and kings, in no other part of Egypt are they found so numerous nor executed with an equal degree of skill and attention. They bear witness as well as the architectural wonders to the fact that the ancient Thebaid was the country where civilization, such as they had in Egypt, was carried to the highest perfection.

Beginning in the Libyan mountain chain where it approaches the nearest to Medinet Abou and Gornou the catacombs extend about four or five miles in length. The steep ridge, near three hundred

feet high, affords ample room for those burial places, which rise in tiers one above the other. The lowest, in which the rich sought to find their long resting places, are the most spacious and beautiful; the higher we ascend the poorer they become. The more roomy and splendid have an open vestibule before the entrance, but the greater number have merely doors. The lower passages to which they lead run sometimes in a horizontal direction, at other times downwards, sometimes straight, at other times winding. They lead at one time into saloons and apartments of various characters, and at others into pits of which the explorer must be on his guard. Many are connected together and form a labyrinth from which it is often difficult for one to find one's way out. In the large caverns are found saloons twelve or fifteen feet high, supported by rows of pillars; and behind them is a smaller apartment, with a sort of platform up four steps. In the background is a human figure in a sitting posture, hewn in high relief and frequently accompanied by two females. Upon the side of the wall are galleries, in which are the mummy pits from nine to twelve feet wide and from forty to fifty deep. There has nowhere been discovered any trace of steps descending into them. Some of the catacombs are more regularly formed than others. The earth is strewn over with mummies and fragments of mummies, which have fallen or been turned out of their cases; so that the explorer has, as it were, to wade through them; and among them are found amulets, idols and other relics of antiquity. These catacombs are now the habitation of the bats and the Arabs, equally to be feared by the explorer; the former, because their wings may extinguish the light; the latter because of their thievish propensities. Another danger equally great menaces the industrious explorers, arising from the inflammability of the mummies. It is only with an artificial light of some kind that these gloomy abodes can be visited, and a spark might in a moment ignite a brand which would doom the explorer to a cruel death.

The Egyptians who are said to have been certainly ignorant of the principles of the arch are found to have often adopted this form in their vaults. The ceilings at the entrances and in the front corridors are usually arched; this is, as we shall presently see, particularly striking in the case of the royal sepulchres.

The catacombs are without pillars and generally bear but slight resemblance to the buildings above ground. The walls, however, are not less richly ornamented. These decorations are composed

partly of painted reliefs and partly of mere paintings in fresco. The representations on the walls are always pictures, bounded by straight lines, in which the reliefs are finished with great perfection. In many of them complete figures are only two inches high and the hieroglyphics which accompany them only four lines. The subjects consist of various affairs of common life; sometimes what we would call shop business, such as the weighing of goods; a feast at which appears the owner of the house, his wife and guests, with a richly furnished table; a dance; a hunting scene; the labors of the husbandman, the vintage; the navigation of the Nile; musical instruments, the harp, the lute, flutes; wild and domestic animals, etc. The ceilings have no ornaments in sculpture, but are merely painted in fresco; they are considered the more worthy of attention as the Egyptian artist here abandoned himself entirely to his fancy, as the moderns do in arabesque work. All this splendid workmanship must have been executed with an artificial light and could only have been seen again by the same means.

Those sepulchral chambers, besides the various pictorial representations referred to, contain, also, some remains of ancient literature. In the mummies have been found many rolls of papyrus, and especially one great roll, which measured twenty-eight feet in length. This relic contains upwards of 30,000 characters, in 515 columns, and is written partly in hieroglyphic and partly in alphabetic characters. This interesting relic has, therefore, offered an interesting field for the study of such enterprising geniuses, as were interested in Egyptian antiquities. Here as well as in Babylon have bricks with impressed inscriptions been found; the characters on them, however, are not letters but hieroglyphics, which seem to have been stamped with a wooden block.

The situation and disposition of the royal sepulchres are markedly different from those of the tombs of the people. Those are located in the interior of the Libyan Mountains, and in visiting them from Gornou the explorer has to go a distance of about three miles through a narrow mountain pass to the entrance of the valley containing them. The defile which leads to them had originally no outlet, and it is found to have been opened from the background by manual labor. A way hewn in the rocks conducts to a narrow pass, which forms the entrance to the valley containing these royal sepulchres. The valley here expands into two branches, one towards southeast and the other southwest. It must have been before the erection of these sepulchres altogether inaccessible.



There appears here no sign of vegetation; steep and rugged rocks enclose it on every side; all around is the image of death. The heat softened by no cooling breeze and intensified by the sun's scorching rays from the rocks and sand becomes so intense that no human being could endure it, were it not for the shelter offered by the catacombs. Two of the companions of Gen. Desaix were here suffocated.

In Strabo's time there were about forty of those tombs; but the entrances to many of them are now blocked up by fragments of rock, which have fallen down; and thus their contents may be preserved uninjured to future ages. Of those that have been opened the general appearance is similar, although they are not exactly alike; in their size and embellishments they differ. The depth varies from fifty to 360 feet. Some are entirely covered with ornaments and excellently finished; upon others the work had been scarcely begun.

Each of these sepulchral caverns forms a suit of corridors, chambers and apartments, in which there is generally one principal saloon. A kind of mound or elevation is usually found in this, upon which stands the sarcophagus, containing the remains of the king, or intended for that. Out of twelve tombs that had been opened six still possessed their sarcophagi or some portion of them; from others they had wholly disappeared. That found in the largest sepulchre, called by the French the *harp-tomb*, from two harpers having been represented therein, is twelve feet long and formed of red granite; upon being struck with a hammer it sounds like a bell. The principal apartment in this room is vaulted and supported by eight pillars. The explorer has to push through ten doors before he reaches the sarcophagus; but however securely the monarch who here rests may have imagined he had provided for the quiet repose of his remains, they have not escaped the human lust for plunder.

Several mummies are found in the chamber next the principal door, which has caused investigators to conclude that besides the king those who had been about his person while living again became so associated with him after death.

The sculpture and painting, which everywhere here covers the walls, owing to the nature of the stone, could not have been wrought, as in the palaces, upon the rock itself; but the walls are plastered over with a kind of mortar, upon which the sculpture and paintings are executed. Of the subjects of the embellishments in

this tomb many are religious offerings and sacrifices ; and among the latter human beings are thought to appear. Those who appear to be sacrificed are all negroes ; but it is not certain that their deaths were not merely in the way of the execution of criminals or prisoners, which in the case of the latter was but too common ! But, besides religious rites there are found here, just where such would have been least expected to occur, representations of battles both on land and on water ; the slaying of captives, etc. These scenes of blood and turmoil being portrayed in the stillness and sanctity of the tomb, prove to the antiquarian explorer that these sepulchres were intended for none but kings. There is, moreover, so much represented here pertaining to every-day life as cannot fail to give us some idea of the luxury of the nation and of the high degree of perfection to which the art had attained among them. Belzoni with much labor opened one of the tombs, which had remained closed till his time and discovered what far surpassed his expectations. What had been executed perhaps three thousand years ago appeared as fresh and uninjured as though it were just turned out of the hands of the artist. Corridor after corridor, chamber after chamber were found ; and when, at last, the principal apartment was opened to the explorer he discovered that wonderful piece of art, nothing like which had been before found, namely, a sarcophagus of the purest oriental alabaster, nine feet nine inches in length and five feet seven inches broad. It is semi-transparent and covered both within and without with figures, which seem to relate to funeral rites. It is now in the British Museum. But even the few historical reliefs which have been copied from the walls contain much information both of a physiological and a historical nature. On these we see three different races of men represented, the black, the tawny and the white, who are distinguished by their color and their features. The scene represented is rather of a peaceful character than warlike. The King appears in regal grandeur ; the ambassadors of different nations approach him to render him homage and tribute. In their national dress and in a dignified manner they appear as performing a stately ceremony, not as captives. The plates here are Belzoni's and in them is shown what the aid of the artist can avail in rendering these pictures understandable, a proper notion of them not being able to be conveyed by verbal description alone.

In the first we see the king on his throne with the regalia about him, the sceptre in his hand, a golden chain about his neck and a

votive tablet. In the two following plates and especially the third are given in two ovals his name and title, surrounded by guardian gods. Each of the embassies is made up of four men. First the tawny or brown-red appears, led by a priest with the sparrowhawk's head. They are by some called Egyptians, because they have the color of that people, but their dress and hair indicate them to be Nubians. They are naked, except round the middle, where they have a fine white garment; the Nubians still frequently wear a similar one. They have the thick Nubian hair and the head-dress of that nation. We need not be surprised to see them introduced by an Egyptian priest, as the Egyptian religion prevailed in Nubia. Four white men next appear and at a glance the Jewish physiognomy is recognized in them. "Their national features," says Mintonli (*Travels*, p. 271), "are thrown together with so much comic humor that it would be difficult for a modern artist to do anything more perfectly." "They may," says Heeren (*Researches*, etc.), "be considered as representing the Syrians and Phoenicians in general; whose physiognomy probably differed but slightly from that of the Jews." He might have said distinctively the Arabians, Phoenicians, Assyrians and Syrians as like the Hebrews, with other peoples more or less approximating in physiognomy. Next come the black plenipotentiaries, who are likewise four in number. They also appear lightly clad but evidently for a stately occasion. A curiously-wrought ornament hangs over the right shoulder, which serves to keep up the fine white garment that surrounds the waist. Their thick woolly hair seems to be sprinkled with gold or silver dust. The magnificence of their dress and ornamentation makes the fourth embassy from a white nation most remarkable of all. They are distinguished by a head-dress of feathers, with a lock of hair hanging down; and by their long, white, embroidered garments of a very fine texture. If we here consider what Herodotus (1, 195) says of the dresses of the Babylonians, we may be induced to conclude those ambassadors as such; the more so as their physiognomy and beards are evidently Asiatic. The Pharaoh whose remains were deposited here had undoubtedly dominion over foreign nations and some give their reason for concluding him to have been Amenophis II.

"It is in the sepulchres," says G. A. Hoskins (in speaking of his visit to the tombs of Beni Hassan, in 1863) "that we see an epitome of ancient Egyptian life; there are displayed their knowledge, their tastes, their pursuits, their habits, their pleasures.

Elsewhere the tombs are often from their closeness and ruined state unpleasant to visit ; but these tombs of Beni Hassan are open to the Nile's breezes and no drawback of any kind diminishes the pleasure of the excursion.

“ Then it must not be forgotten that these tombs are far more ancient than any antiquities farther up the river ; that some of them bear the name of Osirtasen I., who is supposed to have reigned 2,000 years B. C., and, as Wilkinson very correctly states, many of them are obviously in the architectural imitation of the then existing buildings. From the perfection of the architecture and the excellent execution, throughout the best, of some of the tombs and paintings, art was obviously then very far from being in its infancy ; and we cannot, without wonder as well as pleasure, study those very early pages of the history of the civilization of the world. They do not, as in other tombs and temples, give us representations of the theocracy and mysterious rites which the learned can scarcely yet understand. All that time has spared here is interesting in the extreme, for it is a picture of the Egyptian people and their governors.”

I will here give a passing review of the author's general description of the tombs of Beni Hassan, which will be found to be exceedingly interesting.

These tombs are situated at about a mile's distance from the boat landing on the Nile, at certain stages of the water's height. These tombs are very conspicuous from the river and the plain, are all excavated in the rock, and all nearly on the same level. Beginning his description from the southern end the author finds a group of tombs without sculpture ; the second tomb, being connected by a doorway with the first, has an arch-shaped portico, decorated with two polygonal columns ; it appeared also to have been decorated with two columns with circular bases.

Passing two or three others he came to what he called the third of the principal group, which contained an injured figure and a pit for mummies. In the fourth tomb he found representations of figures wrestling, an ox, gazelles, a sportsman, and a long tablet of hieroglyphics before the great man of the place. In the fifth tomb he found no paintings, but the architecture in good condition. Here two injured but elegant columns, formed, as it were, of four light stems of trees bound together, with lotus-bud shaped capitals, support a graceful pediment. The sixth contained a pit for mummies but the paintings were not distinguishable. The eighth



and ninth tombs are not worth investigating, but in the tenth a pretty ornament of the blue and crimson lotus and some offerings still appear. The eleventh not worth entering; but in the twelfth are a few figures, drawing along a shrine, and others presenting offerings of geese, etc. Among the figures the great man of the place is usually traceable. How this tomb had formerly been decorated is shown by the fragments of columns still adhering to the roof.

Passing two very small tombs, he came to the fifteenth, which he found to possess very remarkable architecture; three rows of three columns each, with lotus-bud capitals supporting pediments and one extra column, on the right side, constituted its decorations. The sixteenth, called the wrestler's tomb, from the principal subject in it, was decorated with six columns, of which two only remained. On one of the shafts two of the green bands are seen, and on the right-hand corner agricultural scenes and boats. The arched roofed granaries with windows are curious; and there were white cattle with black spots, droves of other cattle now much injured and offerings of fish, fruits and flowers to the great man of the place. Wrestlers in every possible position appear upon the east side and a long inscription in hieroglyphics. The north side is conspicuous for its representations of trades — glass blowers, goldsmiths, blowing the fire for the process of gold-melting, washing, weighing and preparing the gold for the jewelers, who are manufacturing ornaments near the man blowing the furnace; but owing to the partial defacement, it was difficult to make out the whole meaning. There appeared also hunting scenes of various kinds of animals. There are white deer with brown spots; a man with two dogs in a leash; sportsmen killing wild oxen with bows and arrows; birds in a tree over a group of gazelles; men catching the wild ox with the lasso and gazelles with the noose. The great man of the place is seated with his wife under a canopy. Another sportsman is killing deer; and there is a long thin net with gazelles caught in it. A group of women jumping, tumbling, dancing and exhibiting their agility in throwing their bodies into the most extraordinary attitudes is quite spirited and interesting. Others playing at ball, throwing up sometimes three in succession, and one group playing the game mounted on the backs of others; all appear full of life. Then there are men dancing on one leg, making Egyptian pirouettes and other feats of gymnastics.

The general subject of this representation and the names of animals, birds, etc., are inscribed in hieroglyphics.

Then there are carpenters sawing, upholsterers veneering and making furniture; potters and other trades, very much defaced. Agricultural scenes and pictures of the papyrus plant occur on the west side. Over a little door on the southern side is a man receiving the bastinado. The punishment of males by means of the bastinado was not very different from what may now be seen in that country when the Katschef or Turkish revenue officer collects his payments; and it is said that the village Sheakhs are often willing to escape payment of a part of their dues by undergoing a punishment, which, under the present regime, they consider rather more of an honor than a disgrace to them. The old Egyptian sufferer is here represented lying on his belly, one man holding his two feet and another each arm, whilst the executioner, holding with his two hands a stick from two to three feet long, is on the point of striking his seat. A woman is represented seated on her heels, a fashion, it is said, still common in the East and Spain, with one hand to her breast, whilst a similar executioner is giving her blows on her back.

Nothing was found in the seventeenth tomb, but the eighteenth had been decorated with two columns of which fragments only remain. Here also are men receiving the bastinado, various trades appearing on the east side and lively wrestling. On the north side are women playing at ball and various trades and hunting scenes. In the nineteenth tomb nothing appears, but in the twentieth, or small tomb, there are hieroglyphics round the door. On the way to the northern group (some of which were found to have porticos, decorated with columns, the shafts and capitals of which appeared obviously the original of the Doric column and the friezes also in the Doric style) we passed several little tombs of no interest.

In this primitive Doric style is the portico to the twenty-first tomb, which has its door ornamented with well executed hieroglyphics. This leads into a tomb, which had once been possessed of four columns, and having a slightly arched roof. The great man of the place with his associates is amusing himself with the chase. In his boat, on the east side, he is netting wild fowl, chiefly geese. The Nile is represented by waving lines with fish and hippopotami in it. All round this sepulchre there is a long hieroglyphic inscription. On the north side, under two rows of animals, is the presentation of thirty-seven strangers of a race called Mes-Stem to Nefotph, the great man of the place. This was once believed to signify the presentation of Joseph's brethren to Pharaoh,

but is now so defaced as to be scarcely recognizable ; but with close attention their Asiatic costume, light-yellow complexion, peculiar features and beards are believed to be distinguishable. The scribe presents the people to the great man. Two of the strangers present their offerings of a wild goat and a gazelle. These are followed by four men armed either with bows, clubs or spears ; then follow two men, one with a spear, the other with a club, their two children apparently very comfortably packed in a gayly-decorated pannier, their heads only visible ; then a boy with a spear. Following are four women in long dresses, and after them a donkey, with its head stooping, as though weary with its load, which, however, seems very light. A man follows having the seven-stringed lyre with the plectrum, which indicates that the ancient Egyptians were fond of music ; and after him a sportsman with his bow, arrow, quiver and a club. The men have sandals and the women's boots present quite a modern appearance. In the lowest row the cattle are beautifully drawn.

“ Under the group,” says the author, “ the nomen and praenomen of King Osirtasen, who reigned about 2,000 years B. C., may be seen in the inscription of hieroglyphics, which surrounds the sepulchre.”

In the twenty-second tomb are portrayed hunting scenes, sportsmen with their bows, a long line of gazelles, some as if having only one horn ; a lion is putting his paw on one. Below these subjects appear droves of cattle and men catching the wild ox with the lasso, agricultural scenes and trades much defaced. A better and clearer representation than that before mentioned is seen here of goldsmiths at work, blowing the fire, making a variety of vases and weighing them. Wrestlers appear on the east side and a boat carrying the mummy of the deceased. On this side, too, in the little sanctuary, traces of three sculptured figures appear. On the west side are agricultural subjects, potters, ropemakers, women playing on harps, and fishing scenes. On the south side are representations of rich gifts to the great man of the place and his wife. The portico of this sepulchre is somewhat of a counterpart of the last described ; and the tomb was also decorated with that peculiar kind of column which has been called the origin of the Doric order, resting on a circular basis. A beautifully arched roof also is here which still retains its decorations. The admiration of the art lovers is always excited and interested by the contem-

plation of the simplicity of the architecture and the rich effect of the pictorial decorations here.

After these tombs the author next visited the *Speos Artemidos*, or Cave of Diana, situated at a short distance from the tombs. In this cave the first chamber is an open portico, which was divided by two rows of pillars, the front row only remaining. On the south side of this portico, which was originally left unfinished, there is some beautiful sculpture in the best style of Egyptian art, and still retaining, especially the hieroglyphics, much of their coloring, representing on the west side King Osiri making offerings of incense and ointments to Diana (*Pasht*) seated on her throne. *Pasht*, her head defaced, is standing in the next picture, and the god *Thoth* is addressing the king. On the eastern side of the doorway, leading into the interior, the sculpture is most injured; but King Osiri, whose praenomen can just be made out, is represented on his knees before Amun Ra, and behind him is *Pasht* and a tablet of hieroglyphics, in which the name *Thothmes* just appears. In the corner of this tablet are twelve divinities, each representing the cross of life, very much defaced now, but some of the names are readable: *Mandoo*, *Atmoo*, *Tafne*, in the first row; *Isis*, *Neith* and *Seb*, in the second; and *Athor*, *Horus* and *Nephthys*, in the third. The perfect execution originally of the hieroglyphics and the maintenance of their colors make these pictures very interesting.

By a deep doorway, ornamented with a long tablet of hieroglyphics and sculpture representing on both sides the king sacrificing to *Pasht*, the portico leads into the naos, which was never finished; but close under the roof is a circle, ornamented with the Egyptian cornice and some hieroglyphics, bearing the name of *Osiri*; and on one side of the doorway is a representation of *Pasht* standing with the *crux ansata*. "Few excursions on the Nile," says the author, "are more agreeable than the visit to this interesting little temple of the Diana of the Egyptians."

But now, in regard to the general subject of the monuments which we have been pursuing, it is confessed on all sides that no one as a skillful architect could so intelligently discuss their merits. Moreover, astronomical, mathematical, political and musical knowledge would be equally requisite. But as to the question: To what extent are we acquainted with the monuments of ancient Thebes after all the light that has been thrown upon them from various sources we will allow the French artists to answer somewhat



definitely on this head. "We have been," say they (*Description de l'Egypt*, p. 207), "thrice at Thebes and remained at our second and third visits full two months among its ruins. During that time no monument was left unexamined. When our plans and sketches were quite finished they were again compared with those of the architect Le Pere and his assistants, and what are contained in our publication are the result of these mutual communications. Future travelers may rest assured that, so far as architectural remains are concerned and drawings and copies of them, nothing is left to be done. A wide field, however, is still open to them if they will explore in detail the numerous sculptures with which the buildings are covered, particularly the historical bas-reliefs relative to the conquests of the ancient rulers of Egypt; or, if they chose, to examine the catacombs and copy the remarkable bas-reliefs descriptive of the manners and domestic habits of the ancient Egyptians." With the buildings, therefore, which remain of ancient Thebes we are tolerably well acquainted, but with the sculptures and paintings which decorate them only very partially. The testimony of a late explorer, who is reputed to have been an accurate observer, has rescued the French artists from a suspicion of having heightened the beauty of the originals. In his account of the temple of Denderah Minutoli says: "They may be charged with incorrectness and omissions, but we should be unjust in thinking their copies beautified. Justice, on the contrary, has not been done to the correctness of outline, to the elegance of the decorations, to the soft delicacy of the features, to the mildness of expression, nor to the lofty repose which seems to reign in every part, and in which Egyptian art seems to vie with the Grecian."

But, at the best, what a faint picture can we now have of living Thebes; that is, Thebes in the days of its splendor and glory! what a splendid scene we may conceive to have burst upon the eyes of the wanderer, who, emerging from the desert, after having toiled up the slopes of the Libyan mountain-chain, suddenly beholds the valley of the Nile teeming with fertility, with its numerous towns, and, in its center, Thebes, the seat of government and royal splendor with its temples, colossi, obelisks and palaces!

At a distance, as we are, both as to time and space, the first idea that presents itself from a view of those monuments, is that Thebes must once have been the capital of a mighty empire, whose boundaries extended far beyond Egypt and comprised a good part of Africa and Asia. Her kings are represented as conquerors and the

scene of their victories is not confined to Egypt, but often carried into remote regions.

By this idea a conviction is produced that a much closer connection with and a more accurate knowledge of some nations of the southern as well as of the north-eastern world must have existed in Egypt than is generally supposed. This must have been so as a natural consequence of the wars and conquests, especially as by these an extensive empire and a lasting dominion were soon formed.

“There is,” says A. H. Layard, “no reason why we should not assign to Assyria the same remote antiquity we claim for Egypt. The monuments of Egypt prove that she did not stand alone in civilization and power. At the earliest period we find her contending with enemies nearly, if not fully, as powerful as herself; and amongst the spoils from Asia and the articles of tribute, brought by subdued nations from the north-east, are vases as elegant in shape, stuffs as rich in texture, and chariots as well adapted to war as her own. It is not improbable that she herself was indebted to the nations of western Asia for the introduction of arts in which they excelled and that many things in common use were brought from the banks of the Tigris. In fact to reject the notion of the existence of an independent kingdom in Assyria, at the very earliest period would be almost to question whether the country were inhabited; which would be in direct opposition to the united testimony of Scripture and tradition. A doubt may be entertained as to the dynasties and extent of the empire, but not as to its existence. That it was not peopled by mere wandering tribes appears to be proved by the frequent mention of expeditions against Naharaina (Mesopotamia) on the earliest monuments of Egypt and the nature of the spoil brought from that country. Fourteen hundred years before Christ Chushan-Rishathaim, a king of Mesopotamia, subdued the Israelites (Judges iii: 8). Other kings were established in the surrounding countries; all, perhaps, tributary to the Assyrians. But Naharaina appears to have been the extent of the Egyptian conquests, the Egyptian kings being frequently declared to have put up the tablets of the boundaries of their empire in that country. That the Assyrian kingdom may not have been known much beyond its limits until the time of its greatest prosperity, when it had extended its rule over the greater part of Asia, is highly probable; and this would account for the silence of the Jewish writers, and for the absence of its name in most ancient Egyptian inscription.” (Layard’s *Nineveh*, etc., vol. II. 179–80 p.)

The foregoing idea is further proved also by the many examples which illustrate the refinement of domestic life and the degree of luxury to which the people had arrived. It is, at least, certain that the narrow valley of the Nile did not supply all the articles, which we find variously represented. If not an extensive foreign dominion yet at least an extensive commerce was necessary not only to obtain all this but also to produce that opulence and that interchange of ideas which constitutes its foundation. When we compare together the information derived from the monuments with what history says we find these two sources of our knowledge of Egypt, especially in its relation and intercourse with other countries to agree with each other remarkably well. In his *Cyropaedia* Xenophon speaks of the existence of such an intercourse between the nations and states from the Nile to the Axus, the Indus and the Ganges, information which could hardly be devoid of historical foundation. In the history of the Middle Ages and of modern times we find repeated proofs that conquering nations extended their dominion not only beyond those territories but even as far as China on the east and the Atlantic seaboard on the west. Why might not this have happened two or three thousand years before? It may be safely concluded that ancient history, in speaking of the great conquering expeditions of the Egyptian rulers, Sesostris and others, contains in general no internal improbability; although we leave to criticism full liberty to examine the testimonies upon which those historical statements are founded; and do not intend to imply that our Sesostrises were either Tamerlanes or Genghis Khans.

A careful inspection of the monuments shows that all the public buildings of Egypt might in some sense be called temples, since they all, in their sculpture and ornamentations, bear traces of the close connection, which existed between politics and religion. But there is perceptible this difference that some were only temples, in the proper sense of that term, while others, although perhaps dedicated to divinities, as houses and streets are in some Christian countries called after the names of Saints, were originally and especially intended for other purposes. This difference is perceived partly in the disposition of the interior and partly in the style of the architecture.

In their interior arrangements the temples and palaces do, at first sight, bear a great resemblance to each other. Both have, as entrances the splendid pylons, open colonnades and saloons of columns; pillar courts and pillar halls; even rooms intended for

habitations, those in the temples probably for the priests. But in the temples the situation of these is usually round the inner sactuary; in the palaces, where there was no such adytum, they occupy its place and usually consist of saloons and chambers, built of granite and not, like the rest, of sandstone.

In regard to the palaces it must not be forgotten that they were not merely the habitations of the Kings, but were also adapted to public use. In their splendid halls of columns, it is probable, that justice was administered, ambassadors received, tributes paid, etc.

These buildings are therefore distinguished by the name of imperial palaces as in contra-distinction to the smaller palatial buildings, the pavilion, for example, which seems to have served merely as a private dwelling for the King. As there are no monuments left at Memphis, Thebes alone contains buildings of this kind and is thereby distinguished as the residence of the monarchs.

In the decorations, moreover, is found another characteristic difference. The palaces and temples, it is true, resemble each other in one respect, namely, that the walls and pillars of both are covered with sculptures; but they differ in respect to the subjects represented, those on the walls of the temples relating always to religious subjects; but not so those on the palaces. It is true the latter are not entirely destitute of religious subjects; but those which are almost exclusively peculiar to them, are, first, the historical reliefs; those found in the palaces of Medinet Abou, Luxor and Karnac; and, secondly, the martial expeditions and triumphs above described. This explains why they are only, so far as we know, found in Thebes, out of whose vicinity there are temples but no palaces known.\*

It is, moreover, remarkable that those warlike scenes are mostly found on the exterior walls, pylons, etc., on the side walls of the great open colonnades and halls of columns, which were intended for public use; assemblies of the people, triumphs, etc. And no where could representations of this kind have been more appropriately placed. Others, on the contrary, appear in the saloons and apartments, which must have served as habitations of the monarchs. The most part of the scenes here represented are of a peaceful and domestic nature, though among them there be interspersed occasionally religious rites, such as sacrifices, initiation into the mysteries, etc. This was consonant to the real state of the case, con-

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\* Historical reliefs are found upon the temples in Nubia, but only upon the exterior walls.



sidering how much the private life of the kings, according to the account of Diodorus, was regulated by a ritual, and that his attendants were youths of the priest-caste. As at Persepolis the subjects represented on the walls bear so close a relation to the uses for which the apartments were intended as to enable us to judge accurately thereof; but the Egyptians do not seem to have adhered so strictly to this rule as the Persians. But Persepolis, as Layard remarks, was not founded until after the Persian conquest of Egypt; and in the reproduction of the Egyptian models, both in the architecture, sculpture and general decoration of their temples and palaces they evidently failed to express the freedom, and perfection characteristic of the originals.

The third difference observable between the temples and palaces is to be found in the style of the architecture, the style of the palaces being most pleasing and simple throughout, yet retaining a character of grandeur and magnificence. In the pavilion, so called by the French, we have an example of a building two stories high, which is never the case with the temples.

Now, regarding the temple of Ammon at Thebes: According to Diodorus, Thebes had four principal temples, the largest of which was, at least, thirty stadia in circumference. As among all these that of Ammon was the most celebrated, the question naturally arises, which of the temples at Thebes was the old temple of Ammon? In the opinion of the most painstaking and competent explorers this is the great temple of Karnac, called by the French, the great Southern temple.

The reasons given for this are as follows: First, the old temple must have been on the eastern side of the Nile, because on this side according to Strabo, the old town was built, which derived its name from this very temple. If the decision be confined to the monuments of Luxor and Karnac, it is found that Luxor contains nothing which bears any reference to the temple of Ammon. The great building at Luxor is a palace and not a temple as has been shown by the description above. Secondly, at Karnac the case is quite different. Everything here refers to Jupiter Ammon and his service. To this refer the great avenues of colossal rams; ornaments taken from rams present themselves on every side. Osiris, the son and usual companion of Ammon appears frequently, and it is known that the tradition of the two usually ascribed to the priests, the foundation of the city. The holy ship with the attributes of Ammon appears, and once in a very remarkable represen-

tation, where it is represented as being towed along by a profane vessel upon the river, which is considered a clear proof that it is here not represented as borne in procession but as voyaging on the Nile. And, finally, according to the testimony of Diodorus, the temple of Ammon was the oldest, and at the same time, the largest of all the temples at Thebes; statements which the French have verified, that is, taking into consideration the whole plan of the buildings, as facts which would have been self-evident, even had he not mentioned it, as it was the chief temple of the city, and bore the name of the principal Deity. The temple of Karnac appears, in the opinion of the French visitors, both in its architecture and in its ornamentation and reliefs, as the oldest of the Theban temples; so much so as to present quite a contrast to the small temple near it, notwithstanding, it is partially built of the remains of a still more ancient temple, which had the same kind of ornaments. Thus, the present temple, or that of which we have contemplated the ruins, is only the successor of one which preceded it, and which stood here many thousand of years ago: "And who," says one writer, "can offer anything like a proof that even this had no predecessor?"

The great palace of Medinet Abou is called by the French the palace of Sesostris, because the historical reliefs upon it seem to represent the exploits and military expeditions of that hero, as they are described by Diodorus. In the lion chase we see the youthful exercise which he practiced in Arabia during his father's lifetime; in the naval engagement the operations of the fleet which he built on the Red Sea, etc. All this appears probable enough, but we could judge more understandingly did we possess copies of all the reliefs upon the temple. If, however, Sesostris was the veritable hero of the narratives of the Egyptian priests, which is not improbable, then it is reasonable that his exploits should, by pre-eminence, be the subjects of the historical pictures, which adorn the walls of the palace and temples.

Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, all three agree without dissent that some of the ancient Kings of Egypt were great warriors and conquerors, who extended their expeditions in the East as far as Bactria and India; in the North and South as far as the Caucasus and Ethiopia; and in the West as far as Thrace, the Scythian country, and the Straits of Gibraltar. They further inform us that some of them built fleets on the Arabian and Indian Seas and were, in naval warfare, as powerful as they were on land. Now, as to how

far the reliefs confirm the statements of these writers, we find, in fact, that not only these writers but the traditions of the priests, which celebrated many of their old Kings as heroes and conquerors, are by them confirmed in so far as confirmation might be fairly expected in such a way. The inquiry also becomes more interesting and the conclusion satisfactory by our finding that the artists in their delineations and general representations have carefully and faithfully distinguished the different nations by their costumes, arms, color and some other tokens as far as this was possible. Without attending to these particular marks, it is also rendered easy to distinguish the Egyptians from their enemies, as the former are always represented as victors, the latter as conquered or as on the point of being so. These works of art are intended as memorials of the bravery and fame of the nation and its Kings, which shows it reasonable to conclude that they would not have perpetuated in such an expensive manner any events which did not redound to the glory of their nation.

These latter pieces are partly naval engagements and partly battles on land; representations of the former are found on the walls of Medinet Abou and on those of Karnac; those at Medinet Abou can here only come under our consideration as they alone have been copied and described.

In the naval engagement, which, by the way, took place at sea, not on the Nile, a part only could be copied. In their structure the ships are different from that of the vessels on the Nile. They have a long frame resembling galleys and are impelled by sails and oars. Although the Egyptian vessels and those of their enemies have the same form, yet the former are easily distinguished from the latter by the head of a lion or ram upon the prow, which do not appear upon the hostile vessels. The question is whether the engagement took place upon the coast of the Mediterranean or on that of the Arabian Gulf or the Red or Indian Seas? In the first case the enemy might be Phœnicians; in the other, some southern nation.

The first supposition is not supported by history, nor does it appear from the traditions or the monumental representations of the nations themselves. Neither does the costume of the enemy suit the Phœnicians, who, being of kin to the Hebrews and Arabians, would doubtless wear beards and long garments, as according to the Asiatic custom; but the opposite of this appears here.

But everything here seems to point to an engagement in the Red

Sea or Indian Ocean. The traditions of the Egyptian priests celebrated the expeditions of the old Pharaohs on this sea, as is recorded in Herodotus and Diodorus. "Sesostris," says Diodorus, "conquered first the Ethiopians of the south and made them tributary. He then sent a fleet of four hundred ships to the Indian sea and was the first in those countries who built long vessels. With this fleet he took possession of the islands and the coasts of the countries as far as India." "The priests," says Herodotus, "relate of Sesostris that he sailed out of the Arabian Gulf with long vessels and conquered the countries lying on the Indian Sea and continued to advance till he came to a sea which could not be navigated because of its shallows." The naval engagement represented on the walls of Medinet Abou would rather seem a successful repulse or defeat of an enemy attempting to land than an attack. But this seems only one scene of those naval expeditions of which there is left no particular history.

That the long ships were built for the sea, that their construction differed entirely from that of the vessels on the Nile, has been mentioned by the French and is seen in their appearance. The Egyptians and their allies, while wearing the same habit, have weapons different. The former are armed with bows and arrows, while the latter carry clubs, as Herodotus ascribes to the Ethiopians above Egypt. Of their enemies, among whom two different though it may be kindred nations are clearly perceived, the costume is entirely different. They have neither long garments nor beards, consequently are not Arabs, Phoenicians or Syrians. They both wear short clothes, which seem to be fastened with bands or girdles. They are armed with swords and round shields, but differ from each other in their head dress; one constantly wearing a kind of helmet, decorated with a bunch of upright feathers, the other a cap made of the skin of some beast, with its ears left prominent. The French at once recognized in the first of those two nations the inhabitants of India. Respecting the other nation of the *duo in uno* they have not ventured to express an opinion; but Herodotus seems to settle the matter as to who they were. He leaves us to conclude that if the first were Indians the second were their neighbors, the Asiatic Ethiopians, that is to say, the inhabitants of the coasts of Gedrosia and Caramania. "The Asiatic Ethiopians," says Herodotus, "were dressed much like the Indians; but they wore on their head the skin from the forehead of the horse, with the ears left on; the ears of the horse are left standing quite



upright; but as defensive armor they had crane's skins instead of shields."

Since the probabilities are so strong in favor of this opinion that the opponents of the Egyptians in this naval engagement were the old Asiatic nations on the Eastern borders of the Indian Ocean, we can scarcely any longer consider the traditions of the Egyptian priests, regarding the naval expeditions of their ancient Kings, Sesostris and others, as entirely fabulous. And, as to the tradition of a primeval connection between those lands, namely, between India on the one side and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, we find it to obtain thereby a confirmation, which but for the light we receive in this case from the father of history, we could scarcely have been justified in expecting to attain to.

But the pictorial displays of the land battles give a more magnificent idea than do the naval of the extensive warlike expeditions and wide dominion of the ancient Pharaohs of Thebes. They are more frequent than the naval scenes, being found on all the imperial palaces, as well on those at Luxor and Karnac, as on those at Medinet Abou, on the palace of Osymandyas and in the tombs of the Kings. There is in every place a series of representations upon the walls, as we discover the departure of the King, the battle, the victory, the triumph, always ending in a religious procession. And it is also concluded that the scenes in the various palaces form a general mythological cycle; as, among the Egyptians, art availed itself of a series of traditions relative to the early heroic deeds of the nation and its rulers. More complete copies of these war scenes would make our information on this point more accurate; but, as it is, we must only make the best use we can of such descriptions in character and quantity as we possess.

And in the contemplation of this, everything suggests that Egyptian art and mythology sought their favorite subjects rather in Asiatic than in African history. Of the conquered nations the figure and dress are Asiatic. Although the Egyptians are depicted without beards, their enemies have them and usually long garments, the latter, however, being variously fashioned. They have, in general, the full tunics so common in the East; but in the triumphal pageant on the walls of Medinet Abou the prisoners wear a kind of overcoat of blue and green stripes, covering only the back, and under this another shorter garment. Not less characteristic than their dress are their accoutrements and weapons, in this respect the most striking difference being in the shields. Those of the Egyptians are

large and usually of a square form, rounded on the side ; in the attack on a fortress, indeed, they used an immense shield, nearly covering the whole body, exactly such as Xenophon (*Cyrop.* I, VI.) describes as being in use in his time. The shields of the enemies, on the other hand, are sometimes round and sometimes square but usually of a small size. In the armature on the reliefs of Luxor, Hamilton (p. 125) recognizes the coats of mail which always were common in Middle Asia ; and, in the head dress, occasionally, the Persian tiara. Of so many kinds are the weapons for attack that it is difficult to arrive at any precisely correct conclusion concerning them. Comparing, however, the various shaped swords of the Egyptians with those of their enemies, we find them sometimes long, sometimes short ; now straight, now scimitar-shaped. The darts, missiles and arrows are also of various descriptions ; the warriors sometimes appear with only a single javelin and at other times with several.

As to the war chariots which were in use among the Egyptians and their adversaries, a still more particular attention is due to them. They have in all cases two wheels, that is, one on each side. Those of the Egyptians in the most ancient times usually carried but one man, in later times often two ; but among the Asiatics they usually carried two men and later three, as the driver, the bowman and the swordsman. In these may be recognized the ancient form of the war chariots as described by Homer, and which, according to Xenophon, were common among the Medes, Syrians and Arabians, until Cyrus made an improvement by introducing instead of them chariots with four wheels and with scythes. To attempt to point out more accurately than I have done by their arms and clothing the particular nations here concerned would appear to be a fruitless undertaking ; and, therefore, to terminate the inquiry by a few general remarks may prove to us quite as profitable.

Egyptian history and tradition lay the scene of their wars and conquests chiefly in Assyria, which with other provinces included Chaldaea, in which stood the city of Babylon ; in Bactria and India, consequently in the countries of Asia most famous for their commerce and for possessing that wealth, which usually incites a desire for conquest. Besides, those countries are situated on the great rivers, the Euphrates, on which stood Babylon, the Tigris, on which was Nineveh, the Oxus, Jaxartes, Indus, Ganges, etc. ; and it is worthy of remark that the scenes of the battles and the victories on the reliefs is usually near the river, which is clearly por-

trayed. Which of the streams is meant on each occasion it may be difficult to decide ; but it can hardly be doubted that it is one of those mentioned, perhaps, more often the Euphrates or the Tigris.

The storming of a fortress is one representation which frequently occurs. This also transports us into Asia, but where it took place at each time we need not attempt to decide. From the history of Alexander's expeditions we know how much Bactria as well as India abounded in such mountain fortresses.

In representing those scenes of war Egyptian art seems to have paid much attention to variety. From the accounts of the French and those of Hamilton we learn that there scarcely remains any great warlike scene which is not here represented. Sometimes it is the commencement of the contest in an open plain, sometimes the near approach of the contestants to each other ; sometimes the victory obtained on one side and flight on the other ; now the struggle of the armies ; now of the leaders in single combat, and of these, sometimes in their chariots and sometimes on foot. Now, the scene changes to the storming of a fortress, then the taking of a town by assault, with a representation of all the horrors which usually accompany it ; sometimes the chariots alone are engaged, and at others on foot. All this presupposes history either written or traditional in abundance ; and doubtless, also, poetry to which those traditions furnished material ; if not epic yet balladic.

The Egyptians, therefore, read the early history of their nations and its heroes on the walls of the imperial palaces. With a success surpassing all expectation they are the only nation known to us that have ventured to represent such historical subjects in sculptures. We learn from an eye-witness that although unacquainted with the rules of perspective they make up for this deficiency by the strength of their drawings and the force of the expression. Of the above-mentioned representation of the surprise and capture of a town on the walls of the palace of Osymandyas Hamilton speaks in tones of rapture : Here some of the women rush forward and beg for quarter, while others try to escape with their property. The father of a family raises his hands to petition for the lives of his wives and children, but in vain ! the eldest son has already succumbed to a blood-thirsty soldier ! How different our estimation of ancient Egyptian art now from what it was when we founded our judgment thereof upon the idea conveyed by a few idols ! They seem, indeed, to be enlarged almost in the same proportion as our notions of the ancient Kings of Egypt and the extent of their dominions.

Of the sculptures on the main walls the historical reliefs comprise, however, only a small part; most of them relate to religious rites, all, for example, in the temples and many in the palaces and catacombs. I shall only notice here such of those as relate to the immediate object of our attention. Of the close and indissoluble connection between religion and politics abundant proofs might be found here, if further such were required. The interior and exterior walls are covered with sculptures, which represent processions or the offering of gifts and sacrifices. There is a complete confirmation of the conjecture that the circle of divinities in the Thebaid was of less extent than it afterwards became in Middle and Lower Egypt. This circle is composed of Ammon, Osiris, Isis and Florus. The first two concluded to have been identical in their origin, and only separated by the further development of the religion of the priests, are the ruling divinities; although some others occur in the paintings they only appear as subordinate deities. Osiris seems, at the same time, to be the prototype of the king; the same emblems which decorate the God are not unfrequently bestowed upon the monarch; not only the same head dress with the serpent, but also the same attributes, the rod and what is called the key, the sign of initiation into the mysteries which must have been its original meaning, and even the royal banner. The priests pay to the king the same honors as the latter pays to the gods. This is not the case with any other deity.

The dependence in which the king stood to the priests is clearly enough shown in every part of these representations. There appears no doubt that at the time these temples were erected the caste of the priests was esteemed higher than that of the warriors, which nevertheless forms so distinguished a feature in these pictures. The priest-caste consider the king as it were their property; he is initiated into their mysteries, which is a scene oft-repeated. In it he receives the priestly head-dress, the high cap wherewith Osiris himself is decorated and appears in solemn processions. Whenever the king appears in public, martial expeditions and battles excepted, he is constantly accompanied by priests. By their shaven heads and long robes they are recognized. Among them, however, different grades existed, which are mostly indicated by the head-dress and the shape of their garments. Both of these are peculiar. The head-dresses not only show the rank, but some seem peculiar to certain ceremonies and change accordingly. Among the head-gears must be reckoned the animal masks in which the priests appear on



certain occasions, particularly at initiations. They are masks taken from the sacred animals. The manner of dressing the hair is equally various, and, in some cases, there can be no doubt but that false hair or wigs are seen here, as well as in the most ancient Indian monuments at Elephantis, but much more artificial, complicated and elegant.

A wide field opens here also for theologians who would like to compare the religious notions of ancient Thebes with the descriptions given of the Jewish sanctuary, the tabernacle, the temple and the sacred utensils and paraphernalia. For a comparison of such kind this is hardly the place; but in those monumental representations how many things we do find which are described in the Scriptures! — the ark of the covenant (here carried in procession), the cherubim with their extended wings, the holy candlesticks, the shewbread and many parts of the sacrifices. Although among the Jews everything was upon a smaller scale, yet in the architecture itself a certain similarity is instantly recognizable. Besides the disparity in size between the Jewish and Theban temples we are to remember that the temple at Jerusalem was as much of wood as stone. But, although Egypt had no Lebanon with cedars, we know that wood was used to some extent in Egyptian temples, at least for ornaments, as is proved by the masts with their pennants flying before them on the great pylons, and by the account in Herodotus of the wooden statues of the chief priests in the temple at Thebes. But what works of art in brass must have decorated those colossal temples of the Egyptians, beginning with the tremendous gates and pylons and extending to the innermost sanctuary, if we estimate them in proportion to what was contained in the smaller temple of the Jews! If the monarch Time and the avarice of crowned and uncrowned robbers had not left it to be supplied by the imagination what a wealth of new wonders contained in old objects we should here now have to contemplate.

Now, with regard to the origin of the Egyptian nation I do not, in this connection, speak so particularly as of the origin of Thebes as a colony of Meroë. This colonization was celebrated by an annual procession of the priests with the statue of Ammon. "Every year," says Diodorus, (i. p. 110) "the sanctuary of Amun is taken over the river to the Libyan side" (consequently from the temple of Karnac) "whence it is brought back after a few days, as though the god returned from Ethiopia." This tour is supposed to be represented upon one of the reliefs in the temple of Karnac; the

holy ark of Ammon is here seen on the river fully equipped and being towed along by another boat, and thus performing its voyage. Of this festival there must have been a remarkable celebration, as even Homer alluded to it when he mentions the voyage of Zeus to the Ethiopians and his absence for twelve days. That it was usual for the colonial deities to pay such visits to those of the parent states is known from antiquity in general. The forms of these visits, however, varied as they were sometimes paid in such processions as these and sometimes by solemn embassies.

Although of its high antiquity there is abundant evidence the time of the founding of Thebes cannot be stated with certainty. If in the time of Abraham the cultivation of Egypt had spread into the Delta, that of Upper Egypt must have long previously been well advanced. According to Diodorus the foundation of the temple of Ammon took place before that of the city; and according to the French explorers similar but older materials are discovered to have been used in raising the walls of the very ancient temple of Karnac. This may reasonably be thought to put the foundation of this state many centuries prior to the time of Abraham, and this is thought to be confirmed by the many royal Sepulchres at Thebes. The empire of Menes I find to have commenced about 2150 B. C. The Biblical chronology puts Abraham's mid life about 1910 B. C., so that his time would synchronise with that of the contemporaneous first two kings of Manetho's 2nd and 3rd dynasties; but some Chronologers put Abraham's time much earlier than did Usher. We may safely reckon the new Temple of Amun to have been built at Thebes in the time of the 1st dynasty; and some supposed the date of the foundation of the old temple to have been as early as 2900—2800 B. C., which they do not consider too early a date to assume for it. The eighteenth dynasty of Manetho comprised, according to Eusebius (p. 215) fourteen kings as follows: Amosis, twenty-five years; Chebron thirteen years; Amenophis, twenty-one years; Memphres, twelve years; Misphatumosis, twenty-five years; Thuthmosis, nine years; Amenophis II.,\* thirty-one years; Orus, twenty-eight years; Ach-

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\* This was the same with the Memnon of the Greeks, from whose statue a sound is said to have issued every morning at sun-rising. As to this statement itself it is confirmed by such respectable evidence that its truth cannot be doubted. "The Thebans maintain," says Pausanias, (p. 101) "that the colossus does not represent Memnon but Phamenophis, one of their native kings." This is further corroborated by an inscription upon the statue: "I, Publius Balbinus, have heard the divine voice of Memnon or Phamenoph." Ph or Pha or Pa is the Egyptian or Coptic definite article *the*. Pha-ra-oh *the son of the sun*." Ph-amen-oph, the son of Amun.

encheres, sixteen years. Under this one is placed the departure of Moses. Acherres, eight years; Cherres, fifteen years; Aramais (Danaus) five years; Rameses (Ægyptus) sixty-eight years; Amenophis III., forty years.

The nineteenth dynasty comprised eight kings, as follows: Sethos\* (Sesostris) fifty-five years; this I understand to be same root name as Rameses with Ram prefixed; form *aes*, as in Asia for Aeth as in Aethiopia, and this with the proper consonant *S* prefixed, is *Saes* as in *Ses-ostris*, or *Seth* for *Saeth*, as in *Sethosis*, *Sethos* or *Sethis*. *Ses-ostris* means the same as *Rameses*, in one sense, the great King; in another form, *Rameset*, born of the sun. We learn from *Diodorus* that the traditions concerning him were adorned and exaggerated by verse; and, although he was certainly a great and actual hero, we must consider much that is stated concerning him as political history, highly embellished by the traditions of the priests. Says an able writer on this subject: "Sesostris or Rameses, the great, (as we may very properly call him to distinguish him from his namesakes) is not to be considered as a mere creature of the imagination; that he is not to be considered a symbolical being, but historically a monarch of Egypt is so obvious as to render it almost unnecessary to mention it"); *Rampses*, sixty-six years; *Amenepes*, eight years; *Amnemenes*, twenty-six years; *Thuoris* (*Homer's Polybus*) seven years; under this one the destruction of *Troy*, soon after *anno* 1200 B. C. Of the twentieth dynasty, which included twelve Kings and lasted one hundred and seventy-two years, the fragments of *Manetho*, as according to *Eusebius*, do not give the names: and for the twenty-first dynasty, he gives for the reigns of five Kings, as they come before me, one hundred and fifteen years, but, according to *Herodotus*, one hundred and thirty.

*Sesonchosis*, the first King of the twenty-second dynasty, becomes more interesting to us as *Champollion* (p. 232) recognizes in him the *Shishak* of the Jewish annals. His name, *Sheshonk*, together with his title, "the confirmed of *Amun*," is found on one of the first great courts of columns in the palace of *Karnak*; and the correctness of this reading is confirmed, according to *Manetho*, by the name of his son and successor, *Osorthon*, being found close to it.

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\* This is the most celebrated of all the Pharaohs. He is called *Sethosis*, *Sesorsis* or *Sesostris*, and the pages of *Manetho*, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* bear testimony of his fame. On the monuments, however, he is not mentioned by either of these forms of name, but by the form *Rameses*; but that he was called by both those forms of name, *Manetho*, himself tells us (*Joseph, Antiq.*, p. 1043 and 1057; *Champollion*, p. 227; Cf. *Tacit, Annal* ii, 61; *Chaeremon Hist. of Egypt*).

The identity of the name forms Sheshonk and Sheshak is very important, enabling us, as it does, to determine the chronology. Shishak was the contemporary of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon. In the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, about *anno* 970 B. C. (2 Chron. xii:2.) he made war upon Palestine, took and sacked Jerusalem and pillaged the temple. At this time, according to the Jewish accounts, the Egyptian nation must have been very powerful; for it is said of Shishak that he came up with twelve hundred chariots of war, sixty thousand horsemen and an innumerable body of infantry, consisting of Egyptians, Libyans, Troglodytes and Ethiopians. His empire, therefore, must have extended over all those countries, far beyond the limits of Egypt. In the century after him this greatness must have declined, and the power of the rulers of Meroë, under the dynasty of Sabaco, the Ethiopian (who reigned between 800 and 700 B. C., both over Ethiopia and Thebes) must have prevailed. The Pharaoh Bochoris, who, according to Manetho, alone occupies the twenty-fourth dynasty, was defeated, taken prisoner and burnt to death by Sabaco.

About this time, therefore, say *anno* 800 B. C., begins to decline the Theban might and grandeur. Notwithstanding the extent of the expeditions of Sesostris, there is no proof that the dominion of the Pharaohs in Asia was at any time of long duration. That it may have occasionally embraced Syria, the coasts of Southern Arabia and, perhaps also Babylonia, is more than probable. Had there been, however, any permanent dominion over the interior of Asia, some account of it would have been likely to have been preserved in the Jewish annals. Arabia Petrea, doubtless, did belong to Egypt, for this was proven to the satisfaction of Niebuhr by certain monuments covered with hieroglyphics which he found here and copied. These monuments Niebuhr considered to have been tombs; but they may possibly have been remnants of a temple. Any lasting conquests in Europe have never been claimed by Egypt.

That Egypt was, in all its parts, subject to the Kings of Thebes cannot be doubted. "There was once a time," says Herodotus, (11, 15), "when the whole of Egypt was called Thebes; not only the fruitful valley of the Nile, but also the eastern and western borders." The eastern side, usually spoken of under the name of Arabia, was subdued by Sesostris, without which, indeed, he could not have built a fleet on the Arabian Gulf; but how far toward the west the dominion of the Pharaohs extended is uncertain. That it comprised the two oases the monuments prove; it must have ex-



tended into proper Africa, for Libyans are enumerated among their subjects. That the inhabitants of Marea and Apis were still Egyptians was formerly decided by a sentence of the oracle of Ammon: — “All that is watered by the Nile is Egypt; and all who from Elephantis downwards, drink its waters are Egyptians;” this was on occasion when they desired to be classed as Libyans. In what political relation Ammonium or Siwah stood to Thebes cannot be here exactly stated; but as it was a colony of Thebes and the worship of Ammon prevailed there it may at least be assumed that the relation which commonly subsisted between parent states and their colonies, when they held to the same religion, was in effect here, although it might not amount to a complete dependence. Ammonium, so far as our information goes, is the western limit of the Theban monuments and therefore most likely to have been recognized as of the Egyptian dominions. In this possession they were neighbors to the Carthaginians. A peaceable commercial intercourse was long carried on between them; but we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (xii, 4,) that hostilities occasionally broke out. From this source we also learn that a little before the Persian invasion (supposed 600 — 550 B. C.) a Carthaginian army had surprised and sacked Thebes, a shock from which this city had scarcely recovered at the time of its invasion by Cambyses.

In the direction of Ethiopia the dominion of the Pharaohs extended, doubtless, for some ages to the northern boundary of the empire of Meroë, and, notwithstanding that this empire was once overrun by Sesostris, its subjection could not have been of long duration as is proved both by history and the monuments. Thus we see on the banks of the Nile, from its sources to the Mediterranean the two empires of Thebes and Meroë, existing contemporarily during so many ages, under mutual relations, various and changeable. The extent of the empire of the Pharaohs, therefore, exclusive of mere transitory conquests, was nearly that of present Egypt; but how different was the state of Egypt in those ages to what it is now!

That Thebes was the usual seat of government for a series of ages is shown as plainly by the ruins of its palaces as by the testimony of historians. Religious notions were so connected with the residence of the monarch that neither subjectively nor objectively could this be left unnoticed, although some change afterwards took place. Their religious notions were closely connected with the idea they entertained of a life after death. The Pharaohs

lived near their tombs, for there, according to the belief of the Egyptians, were the proper habitations; hence the construction and decoration of these engrossed the attention of their kings quite as much as the construction and decoration of their palaces, of which we have proof in the tomb of Osymandyas, situated near his palace and in the sepulchres and caverns near Thebes. With them it was not a matter of indifference where they were buried. Certain spots were preferred to all others and held sacred; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots in which Osiris, the ruler both of the upper and lower world was buried. They all, of course, wished to rest near him! These places were numerous. In the Thebaid, besides Thebes itself, there was a small island near Philae and Elephantis, and also Abydos, formerly called This. In Middle Egypt there was Memphis, and, in the Delta, Busiris. Mr. Creuzer, therefore, has fairly enough proved that those burial places of Osiris were the seats of the Egyptian monarchs. This is supposed by some to show that those places were the earliest states of Egypt before it became consolidated into one empire; which, if it have such meaning as is supposed to be implied, might throw a new light upon the dynasties of Manetho.

At a comparatively late period Memphis became the capital of Egypt, for Manetho tells us of a King Athotis and Diodorus of a King Urechoreus, who built a palace there, which, however, did not equal in magnificence those at Thebes. The particular date of its foundation is uncertain, but Diodorus adds that it was the removal of the successors of its builder to Memphis which caused Thebes to decline. It was, however, a common thing for the monarchs of the Eastern countries to have more than one residence and, although the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties might for some time, have made Memphis their capital after its evacuation by the Hykshasu, yet their names upon the monuments of Thebes as well as the general circumstances of the case sufficiently evince that the latter place was their proper seat of government. This was, also, the place of the inauguration into the government, and would not easily have lost its right to be considered the capital of the nation.

With regard to this government there is no doubt but that it always remained a hierarchy, but the relation of the king, the head of this hierarchy, to the general body of the priesthood may require some further elucidation. As to whether the monarchy was

hereditary or elective, it may be remarked that as we read so often of the son succeeding to the father we may fairly conclude it implied that it was hereditary, although Synesius, a comparatively late writer, describes the election of a king to the throne. It is not known from what ancient writer Synesius borrowed his relation, which there has been no reason assigned for supposing fictitious; but we know that hereditary succession in the same family or clan may be not incompatible with election, when a peculiar combination of circumstances may necessitate it, and as we see instances of in some modern monarchies. It is not probable that the king was taken from the priest-caste; for if such had been the case we cannot conceive the necessity of his initiation into it after his inauguration, a ceremony in connection with coronation, which repeatedly appears upon the walls of Karnac and Medinet Abou.

In the case of an election of a monarch we may conceive that the person nominated and elected by the priests, if his personal character did not otherwise order him, would be much under their control; hence it happened that nothing of such importance could be done till the oracle had been first consulted. In many of the processions of the oracle ship, pictured on the walls of the temples and palaces, we see the king coming to meet the holy ark, as it is borne by the priests in such attitudes as to show clearly that he seeks a favorable decision from the oracle.

But the strict routine by which his every-day life was regulated, was another circumstance which held the monarch in such dependence on the priests. An example of this is also found in the power exercised in a similar manner over the king of Persia by the Magi. Early in the morning (as was natural in so hot a climate) Diodorus tells us, the affairs of state were settled. The sacred ceremonies next followed. The king went to sacrifice and prayer; he then listened while he was instructed from the sacred writings of his duties in which the greatest possible moderation in all enjoyments was strictly inculcated. The scenes so often recurring upon the walls of the temples and palaces leave us no room to doubt but that the most powerful of the monarchs were accustomed to conform to these prescriptions; but with all this we know, for reason as well as common sense assures us, that the degree of their subjection to the priests depended largely upon their own personal character. The constitution and regulation of the court of the Pharaohs very much assisted the priests in the maintenance of their

influence over the king; the court was mainly composed of the sons of the high priests. These were they who served the king, whom no slave might approach. The custom which was in use long before the Ptolemies that the kings should marry their sisters doubtless arose in order to prevent strangers from succeeding to the throne.

With regard to the divisions of Egypt, Herodotus ascribes this division to Sesostris.

Ten nomes are enumerated in Upper Egypt, sixteen in Middle Egypt and ten in Lower Egypt. Strabo speaks of the Egyptian nomarchi and toparchi — the former the officers intrusted with the government of the separate nomes and the latter with that of the districts and villages. The Egyptian word for nome a district is Ptosch, doubtless Pa-tosch, *the* district or division by way of pre-eminence.

The reveuues of the Pharaohs were derived from various sources of which the lands were the most important. The lands which belonged to the kings and priests were cultivated by the persons who paid rent for their use. And Diodorus informs us that the lands of the priests and soldiers were free from taxes or rent as regards any claim of the government, which was not the case with the rest. But in speaking of the land rent we must keep in mind that this was rather in the nature of a tax, which in Egypt, was regulated according to the produce of the soil, arising from the overflowing of the river. It was determined by the measurement of the Nile, and from this we may conclude that the same method was followed in ancient as in modern times, namely, the ground or produce rent fixed annually. In the present age they wait till the flood has reached its highest point, and according to the height the taxes or rents are graduated and immediately imposed. That it was the same method that was followed in ancient times we are informed by Diodorus (I. p. 44). “The kings, to prevent any inconvenience which might arise from the rising of the flood have constructed at Memphis a Nilometer. Those who manage it can measure exactly in yards and inches the rising and falling of the river of which they send immediately advice to the several towns. The people by this are enabled to judge beforehand of the produce they may expect. Accounts of the rise and fall of the river have been preserved among the Egyptians from the earliest times.” As it is almost impossible that individuals should have private landed property on account of the annual overflowings which obliterate the boundaries, so a whole township possesses the land in common,



every one whose name is inscribed in the township book being a partner and sharing the produce. Thus the rents or taxes are not imposed upon individuals but upon whole towns and villages, which are obliged to answer for them. Even now each village has a coptus or secretary and these secretaries are closely united, forming a kind of caste, distinct from the inhabitants, and, it may possibly be, are descended from the old caste of priests?

Now, this institution of common possession may have existed in the antiquity, as the natural constitution of the Nile's Valley seems to determine its propriety therein; and when Herodotus ascribes the origin of geometry to those mensurations it can hardly be understood otherwise than of the measurement of whole townships, although he might derive his conjecture from private possessions. For the construction of the canal system considerable mathematical knowledge was required, and upon the good condition in which these were kept the fruitfulness of their land largely depended. The government, therefore, had control both of the land and of the canal system, which was its particular interest and care.

A second source of the revenue of the Pharaohs were the gold mines of Nubia, which were reckoned among the most productive in the world, and account for the abundance of gold spoken of in Egyptian history. Agatharchides, who visited them during the reign of Ptolemy IV., has given a scientific and, as it proves, an accurate description of them. They were, according to him, situated near the present Mount Alaka, 22° north latitude, 51° east longitude, not far from the ancient Berenice Panchrysos, as it was called in the time of the Ptolemies. They were worked by a great number of prisoners, men, women and children, among whom the labor was divided according to their strength and ability. This writer describes quite minutely the manner in which the labor was performed. "These mines," says he, "have already been worked for a very long time and were discovered by the first Kings of these countries. The working of them, however, was interrupted, when the Ethiopians, who are said to have founded Memnonium, overran Egypt, and kept possession for a long period of its towns, and again under the dominion of the Medes and Persians. In the shafts made at that time brass instruments are still found, the use of iron being then unknown. Bones also are found in great quantities of people who were smothered in them by the caving in of the earth. The extent of these mines was such that the subterranean passages reached to the sea."

From the accounts of the Arabian writers we learn that these mines are situated in the country of the Bedjahs, the ancient Blemmies, between Eidub and Suakin ; that they abound in silver, copper, iron and precious stones ; but that gold is chiefly sought for. It was to possess these mines that the Pharaohs made war against this country, a war which the Greek dynasty in Egypt also prosecuted in their time. These mines appear to have lain unworked from the end of the fourteenth century till Belzoni again discovered them ; there are four species of emeralds found in them, which attract a good sale in India and China.

Another source of revenue to the Pharaohs were the fisheries, in so far as they belonged to the crown. As fish formed a principal article of food among the Egyptians, fishing was found to be a lucrative employment, for the Nile contained an abundance of fish especially at the time of the flood. Of what importance the fisheries were may partially be gathered from the words of the prophet (Isa. xix), when he threatens Egypt with approaching famine : "The waters shall fail from the sea and the river shall be wasted and dried up ; the fishes also shall mourn and all they that cast angle in the brook shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the water shall languish."

The fishery of the Nile itself was left to the people untaxed as well it might have been ; but of the canals and the lake Moeris the fishery pertained to the crown. Herodotus tells us that this fishery supplied a talent daily to the royal treasury, during the six months in which the waters flowed through the canal into the lake ; and during the six months in which it ebbed, twenty minae a day ; which income of twenty minea a day for the six months of the ebb, (as I understand it to mean), was, according to Diodorus, turned over to the queen. The fish of which there were twenty-two different kinds were salted and preserved ; and the quantity was so great that the persons whose business it was to preserve them could seldom complete their labor. "With a considerable part of this people," says Herodotus, "fish continues the principal article of food ; they dry it in the sun and eat it without further preparation. Those fishes which are gregarious seldom multiply in the Nile ; they usually propagate in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea ; the male leads the way and emits the engendering principle in their passage ; this the females absorb as they follow, and, in consequence, conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they

leave the sea, return up the river and endeavor to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode, however, of their passage is reversed, the females lead the way while the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish and each which escapes the male regularly increases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish such as are taken in their passage toward the sea are observed to have the left side of their heads depressed, which, on their return, is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious; as they pass toward the sea they rub themselves against the banks on the left side; as they return they keep closely to the same bank, and, in both instances, press against it that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as they are saturated an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: When the Nile ebbs, the fish, which in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the stream; but at the proper season when the stream flows this spawn is matured into fish."

There were also other sources of revenue to the Pharaohs which I do not think it necessary here to enumerate; but the question will occur: How were those taxes paid? was it in coined money or in produce? That the precious metals were used as representatives of value in Egypt there is no doubt; but no coins of the Pharaohs has yet been discovered, nor has there been anything yet found on the monuments relating to money. But, notwithstanding all this, we might suspect from the transactions of Joseph and his brethren that accounts in Egypt were reckoned in money, whether or not our suspicion were well grounded. "And he commanded the steward to put every man's money in his sack's mouth; to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver." (Gen. ch. xlv and xlv.) Against coining there was a particular law as well as against usury. But may not Phoenician and afterwards Cyrenean money have been current in Egypt? The Hykshas, during their long occupancy, might have had some such circulating medium as representative of produce values. It is most probable that payments were made by weight of the precious metals, as scales very often appear on the reliefs, and as this corresponds with the ancient way of reckoning among the Hebrews, Greeks, Assyrians and other ancient nations.

It is clear from the accounts of Diodorus that the Egyptians had a written body of laws in eight books, of which he has preserved specimens. These laws which the Egyptians ascribe to their early kings, Mnevis, Asychis, Sesostris, and Bochoris, relate to crimes and matters of police (with which the legislation of all nations is found to begin) and they betray their early origin by their severe punishments. Other laws, however, present to us a people who had already made considerable progress in civilization. Security of person and property (the creditor could only attach the property not the person); the sanctity of oaths (which was considered as the foundation of the state); and of marriages (among the priests monogamy was ordained;\* but not among the other classes and the father gave his rank to his children, even though their mothers were slaves); the permission and yet the limitation of usury (the capital could only be doubled by the interest); the punishment for treachery and cowardice in a soldier; for coining base metals; using false measures, weights, seals, and forming legal documents, are proof of this assertion. The single law which ordained the same punishment for the murder of a slave and a freeman indicates an advance in real civilization which is seldom met with among the nations of antiquity.

This same impartiality appears still further in their legal institutions, respecting which Diodorus has preserved many particulars. The kings did not sit as judges but the administration of justice was left to its proper tribunals, whose sentences were strictly limited by the laws. Every one pleaded his own cause, no counsel being permitted. The accounts of Diodorus, however, are confined to the regulations of the highest courts of justice; of the lower courts of which many must needs have existed, we have no knowledge. This highest national tribunal consisted of thirty judges, who were chosen from the principal inhabitants of the three cities of Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, and were paid by the king. These thirty elected from among themselves a president, whose place was filled by another from the city to which he belonged. The proceedings in this high court of justice were all transacted in writing, as their great object was to avoid everything which could excite the passions. The prosecutor first sent a copy of his accusation and at the same time specified the damage he demanded; to which the defendant

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\* When Herodotus (*temps.* 445 B. C.) mentions that the Egyptians practice monogamy as the Greeks he does not make any distinction between the priests and people. Time of Diodorus *circa* 50 B. C.



responded in a similar manner. The prosecutor was at liberty to reply to this in writing and the defendant might again answer; and after this the court was obliged to pronounce sentence. This likewise was given in writing and sealed by the president. He, as an emblem of his dignity, wore round his neck a golden chain, to which was attached an image set in precious stones with a hieroglyphic; it was called Truth. At the beginning of every session he was obliged to hang this about him. This image, as we are informed by Diodorus, was the seal which was affixed to the sentence. A golden chain was given to Joseph as a sign of honor, and it is often found sculptured on the monuments with some ornaments attached to it.

As to the military art of the Egyptians we find it to have been similar in many respects to that of the Greeks, as described by Homer. Neither nation in the very early ages, at least, made use of cavalry. Their armaments consisted of war-chariots and infantry. The war chariots seem to have borne by far the largest proportion, even to judge from Homer, as whole battles are described, in which only the chariots are mentioned as engaged. The size of the man must have been taken into account in the appointment of a leader. The king elevated above all is sometimes designated by the hawk hovering over him; at others by the serpent in his helmet, and sometimes by both. He is also known by having a standard carried behind him, which represents the leaf of the Theban palm. The splendor of the horses as well as of their harness and trappings is surprising; as is also that of their beautifully formed chariots, seemingly all of metal. In these last respects the Egyptians were not, what we may call, so barbaric in their splendor as the Assyrians. They appear to have had, in everything, more of an eye to actual business than to show. Not less remarkable are the close columns and skillful positions and evolutions of the infantry, just as Xenophon describes them in his *Cyropaedia*. These exhibitions presuppose long and accurate training and could be supposed to be common among the Egyptians only to the warrior caste. The manner of attack, of outflanking and surrounding, give evident proof of advanced skill in tactics. The same skill also appears in the naval engagements, which show that at least some of the Pharaohs were well prepared for naval operations.

“In that day there shall be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria; and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt and the Egyptian into Assyria” (Isa, xix: 23-25). A contemplation of the picture given us of the manner of life, arts, agriculture, manufactures, commerce,

etc., of the ancient Egyptians is of such great interest that we will here pursue it a little further, and this with reference to the whole of Egypt, in the hope that we may find it interesting as well as profitable and tending to more completely round out our idea of the ancient Egyptian cosmopolity.

On account of the representations found therein the tombs of Eilethya are among the most interesting discoveries made in Egypt by the French. The painted reliefs found on the walls of that called the Sultan's tomb represent the occupations of daily life, the various branches of industry, of fishing, hunting, navigation and of the business of their markets. In the plates given in "*Description de l'Egypte*" we have made visible to our eyes what we could before but very imperfectly conceive from mere verbal descriptions. We must not, of course, conclude that they were ignorant of such domestic scenes and occupations as we do not happen to find among them, for we need not expect to find all such represented nor the extremest detail in the representations that are. The industries of so civilized a nation were distributed over too many different objects for them all to be represented here. But however various the occupations of the people may have been there is no doubt that the cultivation of the earth held the highest rank, for agriculture was considered the foundation of civilization.

From the nature of that country their agriculture exhibits many peculiarities. It depended upon irrigation and was, therefore, not only confined to certain tracts, but its labors limited to certain portions of the year. They could not be proceeded with till after the flood, because previous to that the soil is everywhere parched and full of chinks and clefts from the heat of the sun. When the overflowing of the Nile takes place the water soaks into the ground and renders it level and cultivable. When the water has run off sowing must immediately follow, because the soil, which is now similar to a drained marsh, soon becomes hardened. The seed sown on the moist earth, no manure being requisite, either sinks into it of itself or is trodden in by cattle being driven over it. Neither the spade, plough nor harrow is made use of excepting where the soil is too hard. In the representations the plough often appears of the most simple construction, drawn by oxen and occasionally by men. It seems to have answered the purpose of what we would call a cultivator or a very simply constructed drag than what we understand as a plough, which throws the soil clear over. Between the times of sowing and reaping no labor is re-

quired. There are very few weeds in Egypt. Having sown in November the farmer begins to harvest in April. The corn is cut with a sickle, often merely the ears, the straw being put to little use and estimated accordingly. The corn is carried from the field in baskets, trodden out by oxen and the chaff separated from the grain on the floor by sifting and winnowing. This done the husbandman is at leisure till the next flood. By enabling them to devote so long a time to their improvement and religious feasts this relief from labor must have produced in a few years an incalculable influence on the character of the inhabitants.

Before the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt we are told of the various kinds of corn that were cultivated, when these were destroyed by a hail storm, "And the flax and the barley were smitten; for the barley was in the ear and the flax was balled; but the wheat and the rye were not smitten because they were not grown up." (Exodus, ix:31-32.) The wheat and barley harvests are met with on the monuments; that of rye is not easily distinguishable. As to flax we have not only its harvest, but the further process it underwent represented.

Pliny informs us that the cultivation of cotton had become quite naturalized in Upper Egypt; though when it was first introduced we cannot exactly determine. Since, however, we find that the dress of the mummies was chiefly composed of cotton we are justified in assigning a very early date to its cultivation in Egypt.

Owing to the situation of the valley of the Nile and especially the Delta, the cultivation of aquatic plants constituted an important part of agriculture, especially in Lower Egypt. The passage referring to this in Herodotus is, however, the ground of most that is now known on the subject. "Those," says he, "who live in the marshes have the same customs as the rest of the Egyptians; but, to procure themselves easily the means of subsistence, they have devised the following inventions: when the river is full and the plains are become as a sea there springs up in the water a quantity of lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus. After they have gathered these they dry them in the sun, and then squeezing out what is contained within the lotus, resembling the poppy, they make it into loaves which they bake with the fire; the root also of this lotus, which is round and of the size of an apple, is edible and imparts a sweet flavor. There are also other lilies, similar to roses, likewise produced in the river; the fruit of which grows on a separate stem, arising from the side of the root, in shape very

like a wasp's comb; in this are found many kernels of the size of an olive stone; these are eaten green and dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after they have plucked it from the marshes, they cut off the top part and employ it for various purposes; the lower part that remains, about a cubit in length, they eat and offer it for sale; but such as wish to make a very delicate mess of the byblus, stew it in a hot pan and so eat it."

Of the two *χρυσέα* or lilies, in this case lotus, which Herodotus here distinguishes, the former is yet found in abundance in the neighborhood of Damietta; its stalk grows about five feet above the water and is still used, as we are informed by Savary, as an article of food by the inhabitants. The other plant, equally celebrated in India was also found in Egypt. Its fruit cannot be more clearly defined than this has been done by Herodotus. The kernels, similar to those of the olive, lie in the calyx, each in a cavity or cell. Both plants had religious allusion, among others to the realm of the dead and, therefore, we find them portrayed in the catacombs.

In the royal vault opened by Belzoni, a beautiful representation of them is found, both in their natural colors and their stalks and fruits. In this tomb they often occur and are always represented with two stalks of each hanging down, doubtless, having some signification. Their leaves and calyxes are to be seen in every part as ornaments; and the assertion of Herodotus, that the fruit grows upon a separate stem or stalk, is also verified, as two stalks always grow together, one of which bears the fruit. The byblus is the third plant Herodotus mentions. It was from this papyrus was made and it also served for food. The byblus is a water plant, though, according to Theophrastus, it does not grow in deep water. That it was manufactured at a very early age in Egypt into papyrus is certain, since many papyrus rolls have been found in the catacombs of Thebes. These rolls prove beyond a doubt that the literature of Egypt was much richer and more abundant than otherwise could have been supposed. Besides the religious writings the custom so often represented of drawing up documents of all public transactions must have given rise to the formation of archives; and it follows as a matter of course that in the imperial palaces there must have been a library or apartment for the storing of the public records, both religious and political. The byblus plant grows in great abundance in one place in Europe, namely at the rivulet Cyane, near Syracuse. The Chevalier Landoline used the pith or pulp of this shrub for the



preparation of papyrus and succeeded admirably in his undertaking. By the researches and experiments of this gentleman, all the statements of Herodotus with respect to the papyrus, have been confirmed.

The wine-press was, according to Herodotus, unknown in Egypt, though the priests used wine; and the people used it at certain festivals, but ordinarily they used a kind of beer made out of barley. The grape vine was not, however, altogether unknown in Egypt; representations of its branches with ripe grapes growing thereon are found among the architectural adornments. Both the vintage and process of pressing the grapes are represented in the paintings of Eilethya. At all events the vine could only have been cultivated in a few high-lying districts. Belzoni found it in abundance in the Fayoume about the lake Moeris. While the climate of Egypt did not suit for the growth of the olive it allowed the cultivation of a kind of *sesamum*, which Herodotus calls *sylicyprum*, and the Egyptian Kiki, from which they extracted an oil.

Excepting the date-palm and the sycamore, of which the cases of the mummies were made, and perhaps that sacred tree, the persea, which sometimes occurs on the monuments, Egypt was destitute of woods, forests and tall trees.

The tending of cattle constituted a principal branch of Egyptian industry, but it was closely connected with religion and depended some on the situation of the lands. Where animal idolatry became so essential a part of the religion of the people the influence of religion on the breeding of cattle seems to have been less than might be expected. Of the larger domestic animals the cow only was considered sacred (to Isis and never sacrificed); the worship of the bull Apis applied only to a single beast characterized by certain marks. The bull when adjudged clean was a common sacrifice and is often represented as such on the reliefs. Of the smaller domestic animals the sheep was sacred in some nomes and the goat in others. Swine were esteemed unclean, though at one festival they were offered to Osiris.

Of the cattle breeding black cattle formed a principal branch, a whole caste having been named from it. They were kept in herds and appear in this manner upon the monuments. The ox was used for agricultural labor, the ploughs, such as they were, being represented as drawn by oxen.

The breeding of horses was also common in Egypt. The monuments afford no proof that the horse was made use of in hus-

bandry; he was for carriages both in peace and war, never for riding. To judge from the representations on the monuments the ancient Egyptian horse was a fine animal, as he is now in the Nile's valley, above Egypt in Dongola. A considerable trade in horses was carried on with foreign countries. Solomon (2 Chron ix: 28) obtained horses from Egypt. In the harness and trappings of the Egyptians there was quite a tasteful splendor as is evident from the reliefs.

Of asses and mules the breeding was always common in Egypt; and from the fragments of the work of Mago we learn that the Carthaginians also bred them; so that those useful animals were found all over northern Africa. It has been asserted that the camel does not occur upon the monuments and hence it was hastily concluded that it was not a native of Egypt or Africa till after the conquest of the Arabs. But on the obelisks of Luxor the long necks of camels frequently occur, a fact which has been often asserted and was satisfactorily confirmed by Minutoli and others. The Nile's valley continually exposed to overflowing was but little adapted to the rearing of camels; and, therefore, we need not be surprised at not finding the camel on the reliefs, which represented the husbandry of that valley. Few are ignorant of the fact that the adjacent tribes, the Arabians, the Midianites and others made the breeding of camels their chief occupation; that even in the time of Joseph their merchants traveled with their camels into Egypt. In Africa itself, moreover, the camel was bred from the earliest times. Camel-breeding is now the chief employment of the Ababdes, in the eastern mountain chain. Thence they are brought to the Egyptian markets (particularly to Esneh), and, doubtless, this was much the same in antiquity. The Arabian tribes south of Egypt bred them in great numbers, for they sent their cavalry of camels to the army of Xerxes, as Herodotus assures us. If then the camel was not to any large extent bred in Egypt, it was very numerous in the adjacent countries.

Although the nature of the country did not allow the breeding of sheep to any great extent yet some were bred there. At a very early period Jacob drove his flocks into Egypt (the Delta: Gen. xlvii: 1, 17). On the monuments, both single sheep and flocks appear. But if Egypt did not herself produce all the wool required for her manufactures she had on her borders nations of shepherds, more especially in Arabia and Syria who produced it in great abundance and of the finest quality.

That all kinds of poultry were plenty in Egypt the frequent representations on the monuments show. The catching of water-birds with nets is also often portrayed.

The Egyptian monuments are, if anything, richer in information regarding the manufactures than the productions of agriculture. Previously to our obtaining copies of the pictures taken by the French and others, nobody would have been likely to suppose that the nation had carried them to such a high degree of perfection. The mechanic, by accurate inspection, will here find an extensive field which may put him in the way to new discoveries. It will be sufficient here if we enumerate and describe the principal branches of their industries. The raw material for many of them Egypt herself produced; but not for all nor in sufficient quantity. A large amount of the material must have been imported.

Of the different branches of manufacture, weaving claims our first attention as it undoubtedly employed a good proportion of the population. When the prophet (Isaiah xix:9, 10.) sets forth the miseries that were to befall Egypt and the laboring classes of the people, he mentions the weavers next to the fisherman: "Moreover they that work in fine flax and they that weave networks shall be confounded; and they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish." According to Herodotus, weaving was the business of men, and, therefore, not merely a domestic affair, but carried on in large manufactories. The most beautiful specimen of a representation of the manufactures is given by Minutoli from the tombs of Beni Hassan. "The weaver's loom," says he, "is fastened to four pegs, rammed into the ground; and the workman sits upon that part of the web already finished, which is a small chequered pattern of yellow and green. It is observable in many colors of the early Egyptian clothes, that the byssus was dyed in the wool before being weaved." Even in the time of Moses these manufactures had attained a wonderful perfection in Egypt, of which, among many others, the covers and carpets of the tabernacle afford a striking example. They were sometimes made a hundred yards long, and many of them were embroidered with colored thread or gold wire by way of ornament. The most honorable presents in the time of Joseph were costly garments. Not to speak of Jacob's present to Joseph of a coat of many colors, see the presents which Joseph makes to his brethren (Gen. xlv: 22.). But here the monuments also speak. In the Description de l' Egypt, the Royal Tombs of Belzoni and in the work of Minu-

toli we see those garments in their splendid colors as fresh as ever. They are so different and varied that a distinction in the stuffs is clearly perceived. Many of them are so fine that the limbs are said to shine through ! Others, on the contrary, are coarser. The finer seem to be rather of cotton than of linen fabrication, though in regard to this, a positive decision seems impossible from a mere engraving. For the same reason it cannot be positively asserted that silk is found amongst them. The King and the soldiers are usually dressed in short tunics ; but the latter form an exception in the processions ; husbandmen and laborers wear merely a white apron ; the priests wear long garments, often thrown round the neck in a fantastical manner. Of these many are white and many striped white and red ; others are starred or flowered ; and many exhibit the most splendid colors of the East. The fine garments call up in our mind the Indian muslins ; in the dazzling glitter, silk-stuffs seem to be resplendant. As verbal descriptions, however, can at best convey but a very imperfect idea of them, the readers may be referred to the last ten plates of the second part of the great French work upon Egypt, and to the first five of the Atlas of Belzoni, where garments of the Kings and others afford the best specimens.

That the art of dyeing had made as great progress as that of weaving, is clear from what has been said. The various colors, white, yellow, red, blue, green and black, are met with in remarkable perfection, but without mixture. As to the materials used for dyeing, whether found in Egypt itself, or imported from Phœnicia, Babylon or India, it is difficult to decide. It is probable that the Tyrians had much of this trade, as they had a large and active establishment at Memphis. But even from what has been said, it appears certain that three or four thousand years ago, the arts of weaving and dyeing had been brought to an equally high degree of perfection in the East as they are to-day ; and from this it naturally follows that the intercourse and commerce, in a certain way, of those nations must have been equally great as it is to-day. It is hardly to be supposed that the arts should have advanced so far among an isolated people. Or does any one suppose that Egypt itself produced all the raw materials and dyes which were necessary to the existence of those productions ? Must there not have been a great international intercourse or commerce here ?

Next to weaving the works in metal rank. They carry us back to an age when the use of iron was yet unknown in Egypt ; for, in so far as we can judge from the color, which is always green, all im-



plements, not of gold or silver, were made of bronze. As already remarked, the war chariots seem to have been entirely made of bronze. Their green color, their form, the neatness and lightness of the wheels and their beautiful ornaments all tend to prove this satisfactorily. A great portion of their weapons were likewise of bronze; not only the swords, but also the bows and quivers. Both these and the cutlery, represented among the hieroglyphics, are always green. Whence did Egypt procure this great quantity of bronze? We find no trace of mines in proper Egypt, from which the metal could be obtained. Was it supplied from the Nubian gold mines? Diodorus, at least, informs us that all the instruments used in them were made of metal.

Not only these but all other instruments and furniture, whether of wood or of metal, were formed with so much elegance and such variety that the Egyptians, in this respect, rivaled every other nation of antiquity, not excepting the Greeks. Their beds and couches in those distant times may even now be taken as models. The silver tripods and basins, the neat spindles and baskets of the ladies, as now appears on the monuments, were celebrated by Homer. Their musical instruments, especially their harps, surpass in the elegance of shape and gracefulness of finish our modern ones. The richness and variety, which prevail in all these matters, cannot fail to give an exalted idea of the refinement of common and domestic life.

Lastly, their earthenware composed an important branch of their manufactures. Egypt is reputed as having an excellent clay, which possesses the peculiar quality of imparting an agreeable coolness to the water kept in vessels made of it; but it doubtless has at the most, only the peculiarity of being able to keep the water cool, that is, of keeping out the heat. This earthenware was not only in common use but was also kept in the tombs for the preservation of the mummies of the sacred animals, such as the ibis and others. The variety and beauty of the shapes into which it was moulded may be compared with the Grecian; they are also found painted of the most exquisite colors. So far as to the agriculture and manufactures of the ancient Egyptians. A few words now as to their commerce.

From the natural advantages, which it possesses, in the way of productiveness and geographical position, it would seem reasonable that Egypt should be one of the most important commercial countries of the world. Neither the despotism under which it groaned

for centuries and still groans nor the continual sanguinary struggles of which it was the scene have been able to deprive it altogether of the benefit of those advantages. What we call natural ordinations or determinations may be partially impeded, as regards their execution, but, it does seem, cannot be totally frustrated.

It is on the banks of large rivers running through countries rich in natural productions that an extensive and lively commerce would most easily be expected to be formed. Such streams facilitate the intercourse of the inhabitants of the countries through which they run; and a lively trade at home, which promotes national industry, is always a certain step towards the acquisition of a foreign trade and a sure foundation of home wealth. The course of foreign trade depends in a great measure upon external circumstances and relations which cannot always be controlled; but internal commerce, being a sole home work, only declines with the nation itself. The Egyptians dwelt on a river such as here described, which afforded them all these advantages and history proves that they profited by them. Even during the dry season it is navigable from Elephantis, without interruption, to the Mediterranean; and the navigation against the stream is facilitated by the north winds which prevail during certain periods of the year.

The ships or boats, which they used on the Nile and which they called *Baris*, were entirely constructed of native materials. They cut boards, three feet in extent, from the root of the papyrus, a low tree, of the same wood was the mast, and the ropes of the bark of the *hyblus*. Herodotus describes the structure of those vessels and informs us that there were some of them of many thousand talents burden. We have a clearer idea of them now from the pictures of them preserved in the tombs of Elithyia, wherein it is seen they were impelled both by sails and oars.

Even in the age of Moses the boats of the Nile were known and common. But when afterwards, the country became everywhere, especially on its western side, intersected by canals, navigation remained almost the only convenient way for natural intercourse and was in fact, the only way during the floods. The establishment of canals was not, according to Diodorus, designed merely for the extension of the inundation, but for the promotion of the national trade and intercourse, and thus at an early day the Egyptians profited by the advantages their country afforded them, and sailors formed quite a numerous caste.

It is during the hot months, when the coolness of the water makes

a residence on it agreeable that the inundation takes place. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, celebrate every year six national festivals, all in the cities of Lower Egypt; and it appears that at least one of them, that of Diana or Artemis at Bubastis, fell in this season. The people, on this occasion, sailed from city to city; and the inhabitants of each successively joining the throng their number at last increased to the average of 700,000. It could hardly be otherwise than that these festivals, in which the people indulged in Bacchanalian luxury (for in this single festival of Artemis, according to Herodotus, more wine was consumed than in all the year beside), should become so many fairs and markets; and these must have much promoted the internal commerce of Egypt, as has been found to be the case among other nations.

The internal trade intercourse to which the government, according to Diodorus, gave particular attention, partly by prescribing the forms for the security of loans, partly by regulating the rate of interest, and partly by allowing the creditor to indemnify himself by the property, not the person, of the debtor; this internal trade, I say, became the parent of foreign commerce by increasing the wealth of the nation. An opinion has, indeed, been largely entertained that the Egyptians were an isolated nation; that carefully avoiding all communication with foreigners and confining themselves within their own country they were to themselves alone indebted for their civilization. This notion, in which there may possibly have been a grain of truth, has doubtless been modified and corrected in various ways by the foregoing investigations.

But the notion seems to have primarily arisen from the contempt which the Egyptians, in common with other nations, who observed a certain diet and dress and mode of life prescribed by religion, had for foreigners; and, in addition to this, because they not only had no maritime navigation themselves, but had sought previously to the time of Psammetichus, to prevent all foreigners from coming by sea to their country. Before getting through, and in view of what has gone before, we may be able to account for those peculiarities without having recourse to religious principles.

The timber material for building sea vessels is neither produced in Egypt nor in any contiguous country of northern Africa. The early Pharaohs built their warships upon the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. The later Pharaohs who succeeded Psammetichus, as well as the Ptolemies, could not fit out fleets until they had control of the Phœnician forests; and history shows what bloody wars

were carried on between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae for the possession of those countries. But it is easily seen that the Tyrians and Sidonians were little inclined to make the Egyptians a maritime people, however the latter might have desired it.

One reason why the ancient Egyptians prohibited all access to their country by sea may be found in the state of maritime commerce in ancient times. Most if not all of the nations who traded on the Mediterranean were addicted to piracy and made it their business to kidnap men from the coasts and use them as their slaves or sell them elsewhere. It was, therefore, natural that a people who had no maritime force to oppose to them should allow them under no pretense to land on their coasts.

Some facts, however, do appear, which although they come to us with an air of romance about them, would still lead us to suppose that there were occasional deviations from this rule. According to Homer and the story of the Egyptian priests to Herodotus both Paris and Menelaus sailed into Egypt; and Diodorus mentions a seaport, Thonis, to which he assigns a high antiquity. Even the colonies which emigrated from Egypt into Greece, such as those of Danaus and Cecrops, for example, presuppose an acquaintance with navigation; but we must allow that these may have been carried over in Phoenician vessels.

It is known, however, that among the ancient nations the amount of trade a nation possessed could not be estimated from the amount of its navigation and tonnage, as land trade was the most important; and the geographical situation of Egypt afforded it great advantages, as soon as a connection between Africa and Asia, or between Ethiopia and Northern Africa became established. Egypt was so placed as to make it a central point for the caravan trade; and such she has become and continued to be till our time, notwithstanding navigation has so much diminished the great extent of the overland trade.

All Egypt, it is true, shared in these advantages, which were more peculiar to Upper Egypt or Thebaid. This country was so situated as to form, at a very early period, one of the most considerable staples for general trade. Placed at the northern extremity of the Nubian desert it became the mart for the produce of the interior of Africa and the countries beyond the desert. The situation of Upper Egypt, in relation to rich commercial countries, leads us as Denon (ii, p. 195) truly and elegantly remarks to imagine them all as it were close together: "When we reckon," says he, "the num-



ber of days required for each journey, when we see the means before us of accomplishing those journeys, the distance no longer appears so great, the length of the way seems to vanish. Gidda and Mecca, on the Red Sea," continues he, "were neighboring towns to that in which he resided. India seemed to unite with them. On the other side the oases were but three days journey from us; they were no longer as unknown lands. From oasis to oasis, which were two days journey distant from each other, we approached Sennaar, the capital of Nubia; and Darfour which lies on the road and trades with Timbuctoo. After a forty days' journey to Darfour it requires but another one hundred to Timbuctoo." These remarks from an explorer, experienced in what he is speaking about as to those southeastern countries, throws a much clearer light upon the facility of intercourse among those nations than the most learned commentarian, not acquainted as he with the subject, could be expected to do.

Thus was had by Egypt the advantage of possessing the commodities most in request and the greatest facilities of disposing of them. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that those countries in which agriculture and commerce flourished for so many centuries should have become the most opulent and powerful in the world; that here should have been erected those magnificent temples under whose protection the trade was carried on; and that here should have been erected the hundred-gated Thebes, the great storehouse and staple of the world, and which Homer (*Illiad* ix, 381) mentions as celebrated in his day.

The great importance of this southern commerce to those countries by which it was carried on, when favored by exterior circumstances, as well as its great extent and liability to local fluctuations from various causes, is shown by Makrizi, an Arabian writer of the Middle Ages. "For two centuries, from 1074 to 1280," says he (*Memoirs sur l'Egypte*, ii., p. 162), "the road from Egypt and Asia to Mecca passed through the desert of Eidab. From another quarter came the merchants of India, Yemen and Abyssinia by sea to the port of Eidab, on the Arabian Gulf ( $22^{\circ} 30'$  N. Lat.), and thence traversed the desert to Egypt. The desert was, at this time, always covered with caravans of pilgrims and merchants, journeying to and fro; whole loads of pepper and other spices were often left by the wayside until the return of their owners; and although so many were continually passing none thought of removing or injuring them. The harbor of Eidab was, at that time, the most fre-

quented in the world, as well by the vessels of India and Yemen as by the barks which ferried over the pilgrims. Its inhabitants derived immense sums from these sources; they imposed a duty upon every load of meal and let vessels to the pilgrims, which carried them to Gidda and back again; but after the time above mentioned its commerce declined and was finally shifted to Aden and Ormus. Eidab became again a desert, but Ormus, although situated on a *waterless island*, became one of the richest, most splendid and luxurious towns in the world."

By the preceding inquiries we have become somewhat acquainted with the countries with which Egypt was commercially connected, and the roads by which that connection was kept up. By this, Egypt obtained a vast quantity of the most valuable foreign commodities; from Ethiopia she obtained gold, ivory, etc.; from Arabia, incense, and from India, spices; Greece and Phoenicia supplied her with wine, and from the African deserts she procured fine salt in abundance. In exchange for these Egypt had to offer the first and most indispensable necessities of life; her fertility made her the oldest granary for corn; and in the weaving both of linen and cotton she had attained very early to a high degree of excellence.

The frequent mention of Egyptian products both by Hebrew and Greek writers show that they had a very extensive sale. In the age of Herodotus Egyptian linen was greatly esteemed by the Greeks; and, according to Scylax, it was one of the articles of the Carthaginian trade on the distant coasts of western Africa. The Tyrian dyes, it is probable, first procured the full estimation for those articles (see Ezek. xxvii:7); and proofs are found that carpets and garments were the principal goods imported by the Syrians from Egypt.

The Tyrians had, as already observed, a settlement at Memphis in Middle Egypt. Herodotus places it near the sanctuary (τέμενος) of Proteus, within which stood a temple dedicated to "Venus, the friend of strangers." It was called the camp of the Tyrians and was an establishment for trade under the protection of a sanctuary, similar to the one, which we shall speak of, presently formed by the Greeks at Naucratis.

Of no less importance to Egypt than her manufactures was her corn trade. This country, even in her youth, was the granary of adjacent countries, which, by the nature of their soil, were not so well adapted for agriculture as she. In Jacob's time an unproduc-

tive harvest in Egypt seems to have caused a slight famine in Syria ; and as soon as it became known that the Egyptians had corn in abundance stored up from previous harvests caravans were sent thither without delay in order to supply the deficiency by importation (Gen. xlii:5). Arabia, also, imported considerable corn from Egypt, and on this account it was that the Egyptian government endeavored to connect the Nile by means of a canal with the Arabian Gulf ; now the Red Sea.

When Egypt had secured its great fruitfulness by the digging of the lake Moeris this trade must have become more extensive and regular ; a failure, at least in Lower Egypt, being rendered thereby physically impossible. That less notice is taken of this in the early ages than in the times of the Ptolemies and Romans ought not to create surprise. The exportation in the early ages was by land and it is in the nature of land trade to be less conspicuous than that by sea ; and the less noticeable the less liable to competition and the more regular in its course for long periods.

Our knowledge of the African caravan trade, for example, may be considered a discovery of modern times and yet the fact is incontrovertible that it has continued with few interruptions for many centuries. An example, quoted by Aristotle (*De Re Famil.* op. ii, 395), in which an attempt to interdict the exportation of corn rendered impossible the payment of the public taxes shows how important and necessary this trade must have been for Egypt. There is no other country in the eastern hemisphere, perhaps in the world, where the fruitfulness of the soil, the little labor required, the certainty of produce, and the profit derived from exportation concur in so great a degree to stimulate the inhabitants to agriculture ; and where its fostering and protection were so evidently the best policy of the ruling classes.

Local circumstances were the cause that, notwithstanding their extensive commerce the Egyptians themselves never engaged in the exporting trade. The geographical position of Egypt rendered it the great thoroughfare of commerce, as *the great trading routes from South Africa and Asia ran through it* ; and its own native productions, moreover, were of such a kind and always in such demand that they were not compelled to carry them to a foreign market ; but could, like a storekeeper, quietly wait until necessity or an idea of profit induced purchasers to come and fetch them. As remarked before the African caravans were chiefly composed of nomadic shepherds, who were employed as carriers, and not to any great

extent of the inhabitants of cities or of people who had fixed habitations. Egypt still remains a principal seat of the caravan trade ; yet but few of its inhabitants form part of those traveling communities, which are chiefly composed of the nomad tribes of interior Africa.

So far as we can discover, such was the state of Egyptian trade during the flourishing period, and that in which it continued without any remarkable change down to the time of Psammetichus. He, however, inaugurated some changes even during the dodecarchy and while he resided at Sais, by opening Lower Egypt to the Greek and Phoenician merchants ; the products of the Delta were now advantageously exchanged for the manufactures of Phoenicia and Greece, whereby he did not fail to make for himself friends in those foreign countries. Although history be silent concerning the effect on Egypt which their conquests produced and their almost uninterrupted wars with the Phoenician cities, still we know it must in the issue have been rather disadvantageous, although in the progress somewhat profitable to Egypt.

In the reign of Amasis, however, the whole internal commerce of Egypt underwent a remarkable change. This prince who greatly admired the Greeks and was much given to luxury and licentiousness, opened at last to foreign merchants the mouths of the Nile, which had so long been barred against them ; a concession which led to important changes in the normal and political character of the nation.

Naucratis, a city of the Delta, situated on the Canopian arm of the Nile, near whose mouth Alexandria, the seat, for a time, of the Ptolemaic dynasty, was afterwards erected, was assigned to such Greek merchants as desired to settle in Egypt. The commercial states of Greece were at the same time permitted to build temples in certain places for the accommodation of their traveling merchants, and which might also serve as marts for the merchandise, which they should send into Egypt.

The rivalry of the Greeks, especially those of Asia Minor, in their endeavor to profit by this privilege, is the surest proof of its importance. The principal and largest of those temples, which was called Hellenium, was founded by nine Greek colonial cities of Asia Minor, namely, by the Ionian colonies of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae ; by the Doric colonies of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis ; and by the Aeolian colony of Mitylene. Although afterwards many other towns claimed credit for



having taken a share in it, Herodotus assures us that those claims were without foundation. The Aegintae erected besides a particular temple for themselves, which they dedicated to Jupiter; the Samians another consecrated to Juno, and those of Miletus another consecrated to Apollo.

Under such restrictions as prudence seemed to him to dictate Amasis at first granted this permission to the Greeks. Their vessels were only allowed to enter the Canopian arm and they were obliged to land at Naucratis. If a ship happened to enter another mouth it was detained, and the captain was deprived of his liberty unless he swore that he was forced through necessity to do so. This done he was obliged to sail to Naucratis, or, if continual north winds prevented this, he had to send his freight in small Egyptian vessels round the Delta to Naucratis.

However strictly those rules were primarily enforced they must soon have fallen into disuse; as, after the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, the mouths of the Nile were made open to all nations.

The Egyptians, however, soon experienced the good effects of the liberality of Amasis; every part of Egypt enjoyed more prosperity than it ever had before, and the reign of this king was regarded as one of the happiest that the country had experienced. The dead capital, which had accumulated by a long trade with the gold countries, was now put into circulation; the new wares, imported by the Greeks, gave rise to new wants; and, as such an extensive novel market now opened, new branches of industry naturally sprung up.

This general movement of trade had the most noticeable effect in the extension and improvement of agriculture. "The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "had never before turned to so good account the produce of their fields," a natural consequence of the ready sale which they now found for their agricultural products in Europe and Asia. By the enactment of certain regulations one of which obliged every citizen under a heavy penalty to give annually an account to the chief of his district of the means by which he obtained his livelihood Amasis exerted himself to promote industry and commercial activity.

But, as the event proved, Egypt, in some measure, purchased this prosperity by sacrifice of her national character. The Greek merchants and their agents who now formed a separate and influential caste, under the name of interpreters now spread over all Egypt; and introduced with their Greek wares Greek manners and ideas.

Such a change as this must, however, have come sooner or later, even without the intervention of Amasis; the Egyptians could scarcely have preserved their former government and customs, after they had begun by conquests and treaties to come into close political contact with foreign nations. But, though the comparison of Egyptian and Greek deities might cause some slight change in religious notions, the deeply rooted institution of castes was a strong barrier against the introduction of novelties.

Upon the Egyptian commerce, especially that carried on by land, the Persian invasion must at first have had an unfavorable influence. Cambyses directed his armaments exactly against those places, which happened to be the principal seats of the caravan trade; against Ammonium and the principal places in Ethiopia; and though his bad success rendered this interruption only temporary, yet the re-establishment of the ancient course became difficult, in proportion as it had been regular before.

After, however, the first storms had subsided Egypt appears to have revived, especially under the mild government of Darius. The annual tribute which he imposed upon the country, and towards whose payment the neighboring Libya, Barca and Cyrene contributed, amounted to only seven hundred talents. To this, however, is to be added the corn required for the maintenance of the Persian garrison at Memphis (in which it is said 120,000 men were for a time quartered); all of which together would seem to have made a tax sufficiently large for Egypt. Of Darius the Egyptians always bore a grateful remembrance, notwithstanding the frequent revolts against the Persians.

When, in about thirty years after the death of Darius, Herodotus visited Egypt, the trade with Ethiopia and the interior of Africa had again revived. At this time any one could acquaint him with the general state of trade and with the chief routes leading to Meroë and Libya. He, moreover, enumerates the chief articles of trade which were imported at this period from the southern countries as well as the productions of Ethiopia (iii. 114). Any loss, which Egypt sustained in the land trade, was, at this time, fully made good by her maritime trade with the Greeks, which was less exposed to interruption and must have increased in activity in proportion as the hatred felt by both nations for the Persians brought them more frequently into contact and strengthened their connection.

Though it did occasion some few deviations from its course in

Asia, the Persian dominion taken altogether did not prove hurtful to commerce. Under its sway the Phœnician towns lost nothing of their splendor, it made the peoples of Asia better acquainted with each other; and the lively intercourse to which it gave rise must in consequence of the continual intercourse between Egypt and Asia have benefited the trade of the Nile's valley. But Egypt was affected far beyond this by the downfall of the Persian empire, an event which in its time gave rise to a new order of things, and which, in its place, succeeding pages may through some light upon.

The end of the splendid period of the Pharaohs is placed between the years 800 and 700 B. C. It was probably about the year 750 B. C. that Sabacus, the Ethiopian, conquered Thebes and all Upper Egypt; but it appears that the two dynasties of Tanis and Bubastis continued in Lower Egypt as contemporaries, if not as tributaries to this Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty. The predictions of Isaiah concerning Egypt, which occupy about the whole of the 19th chapter of his book, were delivered perhaps a little before this time, and indicate the affairs of Egypt to have been in that period in an unsettled, if not in a stormy condition. Powerful convulsions must have distracted the country at this time of which the history in Herodotus only mentions the result, namely, that the Egyptians shook off the yoke of Sethos, the priest king\* and instituted a government of twelve princes, to each of whom a particular district of Egypt was allotted. It may possibly have been that this division was made according to the then division of the land into nomes, for De Pauw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii, p. 324), says that this was the exact number of nomes which existed at this time in Egypt. It would seem from the accounts given by Herodotus from the priests that those dodecarchi were taken from the warrior caste and that it was intended that they should be subservient to the authority of the sacerdotal college and the chief priest, its head. If this were the intention the plan was soon after frustrated by Psammetichus, to whom the government over Sais, in Lower Egypt, was entrusted; for, by the actual help of Greek mercenaries, he expelled the other eleven rulers and took upon himself the sole dominion of Egypt.

Thus, according to the account in Herodotus (a differentiation of

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\* Says Rawlinson, Herodotus, Bk. ii, p. 219, note: Sethos, whom Herodotus calls a contemporary of Sennacherib, is unnoticed in Manetho's lists; and as Tirhaka was king of the whole country from Nepata, in Ethiopia, to the frontier of Syria, no other Pharaoh could have ruled at that time in Egypt. We, may therefore conclude that Herodotus has given to a *priest of Ptah* the title of *king*."

the same is shown farther on), Psammetichus re-established the rule of the Pharaohs and his reign forms an epoch in Egyptian history. From the time of his attaining to the sole dominion down to the time of the Persian invasion, under Cambyses, Herodotus reckons it at one hundred and thirty years, viz.: Psammetichus, he reigned after the fifteen years of the dodecarchy thirty-nine years (617 B. C.) ; Necho, seventeen years ; Psammis, six years ; Apries, twenty-five years ; Amasis, forty-four years ; Psammenett, a year and a half.\* During the whole of this period Egypt continued as one government and kept up a constant communication with foreign nations, both Greek and Asiatic. It numbered among its rulers some princes who were men of considerable parts and with happy results to that country made it, in effect, a maritime power. The obscurity, therefore, which surrounds the early history of Egypt, becomes gradually dispelled, and the narrative of Herodotus, which says or implies that the Egyptian history here begins to have a higher degree of probability, becomes the more authentic ; and we can also compare this history with that of the Jews, who, in their books, frequently refer to Egypt, with which country that people were in various ways historically connected.

In his interesting work, "The Pharaohs and their People," Mr. E. Berkeley appears to understand the Assyrian empire to have mixed a good deal in Egyptian affairs for a century or two prior to the time of Psammetichus ; and as the Assyrian empire, both first and second, as so-called, has made such a considerable figure in history, involving in its somewhat transient conquests not only Egypt but the Jewish and other surrounding nations, it will be found eminently fitting for me to fill in here whatever may tend to throw light upon this subject, still keeping within my intended limits.

Mr. Berkeley, after tracing the history of the Israelites and showing that they had existed in the tribal state, in effect without an organized national government until the time of Solomon, expresses himself as of the opinion that the Egyptian influence is traceable in the Jewish court after the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of a Pharaoh, who reigned somewhere in the Delta, but that the alliance which this brought about between Egypt and Israel was of only short duration. Solomon having passed away a contention arose between Rehoboam, his son, and Jeroboam, a leader of the

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\* Necho and Apries are mentioned in the chronicles and prophets as Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Hophra.



people, as to certain questions of dominion; and when Sheshonk (Shishak) the first king of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty (which dynasty Mr. Berkley as well as Brugsch Bey appears to think of Assyrian origin, and which appears to me to have been such in a female but not in the male line) when this Sheshonk, I say, was on the throne and the fugitive Jeroboam arrived in Egypt, it was not with the son of Solomon but with Jeroboam that the world came to know Sheshonk was in alliance.

Soon after this Sheshonk invaded Judaea, sacked Jerusalem and carried off not only the treasures he found in the temple, but in the newly erected and furnished palace. He also despoiled many of the cities of the Levites, who had remained faithful to the house of David and the service of the temple. The names of the towns subdued by Sheshonk in this campaign both in the kingdom of Judah and of Israel are found inscribed on the walls of the temple at Karnak. They are about 100 in number as entered in vol. II. pp. 208-9, of Brugsch Bey's work, "Egypt under the Pharaohs."

When we reflect that Jeroboam had set up at Bethel and Dan a rival worship to that of the temple at Jerusalem it will not be difficult for us to understand the cause of the hostility of the Levites to the government which had instituted it. The forms of the worship set up by Jeroboam were, doubtless, after the pattern, which he had seen in Egypt and adopted, perhaps partially out of deference to the opinions of Sheshonk and as a pledge of his firm alliance to him. It was under the dynasty of which Sheshonk was the first king that the worship of Apis was carried to such a remarkably extravagant height in Egypt. In the Serapeum, the burial place of the sacred bulls, there are still preserved, if not destroyed very recently, the tablets which record their installation, death and interment. It was the living animal which in Egypt was worshiped, but an image of this, a golden calf, was set up by Jeroboam in Bethel and Dan. This dynasty consisted of nine successive kings, and it is the successive deaths and interments of the Apis bulls which we find to form nearly all the events recorded during their successive reigns. From the conspicuity given to the winged, human-headed bulls and lions among the monuments discovered by Layard at Nineveh, Koyunjik, etc., I would think that not only the bull but the lion, or representations in which the ideas of these were thus compounded, were objects of worship among the ancient Assyrians.

Tiglath-Pileser II. (744-726 B. C.) was the founder of the second

Assyrian empire,\* which was destined to be for more than a century the scourge of every neighboring nation. The smaller states which had risen to power on the fall of the first Assyrian empire, instead of mutually combining against a foreign foe, continued their wonted rivalry and bitter antagonism, thus preparing the way for their easy conquest by the common enemy. The two dominions into which the kingdom of Solomon had divided were at enmity with each other and both were constantly at feud with the king of Syria. Abaz, on his accession to the throne of Judah, being hard pressed by the assaults of the Edomites and Philistines and frightened by the news of a coalition formed by the kings of Syria and Israel to dethrone him and set up a man of their own choice in his stead, in an evil hour, declared himself the vassal of Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, and sent the treasures of the temple as an offering to his new master. The Assyrian king, upon this, quickly advanced from Nineveh, took Damascus, the capital of Syria, carried its people away captive and destroyed the power of Syria. He also attacked the Israelitish territory east of the Jordan and carried its inhabitants into captivity. His successor, Shalmaneser, crossed the Jordan, and, marching upon Samaria, reduced Hoshea, king of Israel, to vassalage. Hoshea did not, however, remain long under this yoke, but ceasing to pay tribute to Shalmaneser, sought the aid of Sarchak (the So of 2 Kings, xvii: 4), the now king of Egypt and Ethiopia. We learn that the forces sent from Egypt to assist the king of Israel at this time were routed and Hoshea was carried captive to Assyria. During the three years' siege of Samaria (2 Kings, xvii: 5) Shalmaneser died, but his immediate successor, Sargon, after defeating the Egyptian forces and capturing Ashdod, brought the siege of Samaria to a close in 721 B. C., and carried the people of the land into captivity to Assyria "and placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes." Seemingly unable to afford any efficient help Egypt became an asylum for some of the outcasts of Israel.

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\* According to Ctesias, the Assyrian empire commenced in the 22d century B. C., with Ninus, and Nineveh, the capital, founded by that monarch, was destroyed by the joint power of the Medes and Babylonians in about 875 B. C. Rawlinson, however, in the inscriptions understands it thus: While the Assyrian monarchs claim generally for their empire a remote antiquity, still the Assyrian empire in its full sense commenced, according to Sennacherib, in or about the year 1303 B. C. Twenty-three names of successive kings are given from the time of the conqueror, *circa* 1303, to Sennacherib, "all guaranteed by contemporary or nearly contemporary records," which Rawlinson considers to be confirmatory of the date given by Sennacherib and approximating to that of Herodotus, the latter having its commencement *circa* 1270 B. C.

To the end of his days Ahaz, king of Judah, appears to have remained tributary to Assyria; but his son, Hezekiah, adopting a different policy, cast off the Assyrian yoke and sought the alliance of Taharak (Tirhakah) the king of Egypt and Ethiopia. This Tirhakah had spent many years in endeavoring to assure his own sovereignty over the land he claimed to rule. Upon Egypt the Assyrian King had cast longing eyes; and the Delta, during this



ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS GOING INTO EGYPT.

dynasty, being always in a state of disaffection, arising from the pretensions of rival princes, it was a risky business for the Ethiopian King of Egypt to undertake military enterprises beyond the borders.

Over Palestine meantime Assyrian invasion had swept. Sargon had taken Ashdod; Sennacherib marched upon Lachish; both of these places lay on the road to Egypt, towards which country the Assyrian had been gradually advancing over the ruins of the conquered states. Forty-six fenced cities of Judah, besides smaller towns were taken and pillaged by the invaders and Hezekiah was besieged in Jerusalem. In this condition he sends his humble submission and arrears of tribute to Sennacherib, encamped before Lachish. At the same time he dispatches messengers through the desert, their camels and asses laden with gifts, to implore present



aid from the King of Egypt, who seems then to have been at Zoan in the Delta, making preparations to march against the common enemy.

The Assyrian King seems not to have been left unaware of the double-dealing and secret hope of Hezekiah; having heard that the Ethiopian-Egyptian king had crossed the frontier at the head of his army to attack him, he postponed his own attack upon Libnah, and demanded of Hezekiah nothing short of an unconditional surrender, taunting him with his vain reliance upon that 'broken reed,' the King of Egypt. Here the curtain falls upon this scene; but the silence is broken by the exulting cry of the Hebrew prophet (2 Kings xix) and by Byron's Epic "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold," etc. A fair inference would be that the Assyrian king was in a state of anxiety as to the condition of his home government, fearing the movement of some pretender to the throne in case of his possible defeat by the Egyptians and that this hastened his return.

Thus did Egypt and Judah breathe freely again though not for a long time. Although Sennacherib was much engaged in war during his after life yet he left to his son, Esar-haddon (680-668 B. C.) the prosecution of the war against Egypt. At this time Judah took no part in the terrible struggle which ensued and remained itself unmolested.

Tirhakah, the Egyptian King, had entered into an alliance with the King of Tyre against the common enemy. Esar-haddon laid siege to Tyre, and then, advancing along the military road, trodden of old by the armies of Tuthmoses, and of Ramesses, in the opposite direction, entered Egypt. (Vide Rawlinson's 4 Great Monarchies, iii, p. 25). Tirhakah was defeated and retreated towards the south. Esar-haddon annexed to his dominions the whole country, portioning it out into twenty districts, over which he placed his viceroys. Then concluding a treaty with Tirhakah, he returned to Nineveh. Soon after this, having fallen sick, he associated with himself, as regent in the government, his son, Assur-bani-Pal. It is from the records which purport to have been left by the latter that we learn the proceedings both of his father and himself in Egypt. It is probable that it was, on having heard of the illness of Esar-haddon, that Tirhakah went North and, regardless of his treaty, occupied Memphis and expelled the Assyrian garrisons and governors. These having returned to Nineveh, reported what had happened; and without delay the regent assembled a large force



and marched into Egypt. "When," says he in his narrative, "Tirhakah had heard in the city of Memphis of the approach of my army, he numbered his hosts and drew them up in battle array. In a fierce battle he was put to flight. Fear seized upon him and he escaped from Memphis, the city of his honor, and fled away in ships to save himself alive. He came to Nia, to the great city. I sent my servants after him, a journey of one month and ten days. Then he left Thebes, the city of his empire, and went up the river. My soldiers made slaughter in that city. Assur-bani-Pal, having reinstated the governors in their respective districts, returned to Nineveh with great spoil. But Tirhakah, undaunted by defeat, came forth again from the Nubian hills and the vassal governors found it convenient to enter into an agreement with him. Many of these being by birth Egyptians and unwilling subjects of the Assyrian King rather sought than avoided such an alliance; and, besides, they had all for the moment more reason to fear Tirhakah, who was near than the Assyrian King, who was at such a distance. Of this change, however, the news soon reached Nineveh. Letters had been intercepted by 'judges' and the insurgent vassals were sent in chains to the feet of the Assyrian monarch.

Assur-bani-Pal once more put himself at the head of his army, determining now to make a final settlement of matters in regard to the government of Egypt. In coming on the ground he found it, however, politic to restore Necho, prince of Memphis, the chief of the rebellious governors, and to uphold him against Tirhakah. But the hand of the Assyrian was still heavy upon the land. "Memphis, Sais, Mendes and Zoan," says he, "and all the cities they had led away with them, I took by storm, putting to death both small and great." Tirhakah, soon after this died and his successor, Urdamaneh, following in his steps, occupied Thebes and once more endeavored to wrest Egypt from the invader. Assur-bani-Pal again takes the field, and, compelling him to retire to the far South, takes dire vengeance upon Thebes. "My warriors," says he, "attacked the city and razed it to the ground like a thunderbolt. Gold and silver, the treasures of the land, precious stones, horses, men and women, huge apes from the mountains, my soldiers took out of the midst of the city as spoil. They brought it to Nineveh, the city of my dominion, and they kissed my feet."

This appears to read like a romance and the statement that "Thebes was razed to the ground," which we know was not literally done, might render the narrative in the judgment of a critic

incredible as representing real events. But there may, nevertheless, have been some ground for this relation, as the prophet (Nahum iii: 8-10) in his indignant denunciation uttered against Nineveh, and her King thus addressed that magnificent and cruel city, the translation here being mainly according to the rendering of Ewald and Stanley: "Art thou greater than No-Amun (the city of Amun, which is referred to Thebes) that was enthroned among the streams and the floods were round about her; her rampart was upon the river and the waters her defense. Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were her helpers. Yet she was carried away, and went into captivity; her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of the streets; they cast lots for her honorable men and her great men were bound with chains."

Supposing, which is not at all improbable, that this prophecy points to a destruction of Thebes by the Assyrians, which took place in its time, yet we find it was only a little over half a century later that Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, was itself destroyed at the hands of the Babylonians; and in not a long time after (538 B. C.) Babylon was taken possession of by the Persians.

After the sack of Thebes the successors of Tirhakah, in that dynasty, made no further attempt at regaining the supremacy. The princes who ruled in Lower and Middle Egypt, more or less as the vassals of Assyria, were much engaged in mutual strife, and the twenty satrapies established by Esar-haddon had dwindled down to twelve, the dodecarchy of the Greek writers. But the time had finally come, even while Assur-bani-Pal was still reigning that Assyria had no soldiers to spare either to achieve or to maintain foreign conquests; and, consequently, Psammetichus, the son of that Necho, who had been imprisoned and restored to his government by Assur-bani-Pal, encountered and, by the aid of foreign mercenaries, defeated the Assyrian forces at Momemphis in the Delta, when they left Egypt to return no more.

Psammetichus, having obtained the sole dominion by the aid of Phœnician, Greek and Carian mercenaries, was naturally considered a usurper by the bulk of the nation; he had consequently to struggle with a powerful party and was obliged to keep those foreigners under pay in order to maintain the authority he had by their assistance acquired; but, as might have been expected and as the event proved the very elements which should have constituted the strength of the throne, they had assisted to establish, brought on

its infirmity and overthrow. The Greek soldiers were given lands in Egypt and formed a colony near Burbastis, in one of the districts in which a portion of the Egyptian warrior caste had resided. This Greek settlement was one of the principal causes of the remarkable change, which now took place in Egypt. The Egyptian warrior caste, who had been most injured by those foreigners, became their bitterest enemies; their lands had already, according to Herodotus, been taken from them; and they were now exasperated at seeing foreigners preferred to or placed on an equal footing with themselves.

To subjugation, therefore, they preferred emigration, and although Psammetichus, in an eminently patriarchal spirit, endeavored to dissuade them from leaving their country, yet the greater part evaded him, expatriated themselves, and, as before explained settled in Ethiopia in the district at the sources of the Nile, named in my map Gojam, that is the land of the strangers. It may not be necessary to remark that this must have greatly diminished the strength of the nation, whose whole armed force originally consisted of one caste alone; so that although the throne was re-established, and the unity of the empire restored it no longer possessed its former power.

From this time on the Greek auxiliaries were considered as the sinews of the Egyptian armies; and they formed even the body guard of the King. They retained their settlement at Bubastis (where the remains of their dwellings existed in the time of Herodotus) until the time of Amasis, who, for the protection of his person, removed them to Memphis. As they constituted the principal support of the royal power, it is probable that they came to have a very marked influence in the affairs of Egypt.

At Sais was the usual residence of Psammetichus as well as of his immediate successor, probably, for security as the Greek mercenaries were not far distant. The successors of these moved their residence nearer the sea, as this better suited their political views.

Memphis was, however, even at this time, considered the real capital of Egypt and appears in that character at the time of the Persian conquest and even under the Ptolemies, who, themselves, at least for a time, resided at Alexandria, as is shown by the inscription on the stone at Rosetta. After the emigration of the warrior-caste Psammetichus seems to have cultivated the friendship of the priesthood, and testified his own to them on many occasions, espec-

ially by his erection at Memphis of the temple of Vulcan and opposite to this a splendid portico to the temple of Apis.

The ambition of conquest evinced by the Egyptian kings throughout the period of the dynasty begun with Psammetichus is truly remarkable; in former times this did not very remarkably belong to the character of the nation, but now it seems to have been called forth by the spirit and valor of the Greek mercenaries, and the success which usually attended their arms. From Herodotus and the Jewish annals we gather that one leading object which was, as it were, hereditary in the Pharaohs of this dynasty, was the conquest of Phœnicia and Syria. The rich commercial cities of these countries, where for centuries immense wealth had been accumulating, proved a powerful temptation to those now haughty Egyptians. They effected their object only in a limited measure; but their mania for conquest was punished in the usual manner by other enemies equally ambitious and more powerful than themselves. The representations of the expeditions and victories of the ancient Pharaohs, which they were accustomed to see on the walls of their temples and palaces, doubtless incited them to those undertakings; but the times were changed, the conditions of affairs being no longer the same. When the former undertook their expeditions there was no powerful empire in western Asia; but victorious nations now dwelt there ready to repel any invader.

Psammetichus himself began those aggressive movements by besieging Azotus, a town on the frontier of Syria. He took it at last, but not till after many unsuccessful attempts, which occupied altogether twenty-nine years; for we cannot well imagine one siege, though turned to a blockade, to have lasted so long. "I know not," says Herodotus, "that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege."

His son and successor, Necho, made a more rapid and successful progress. He defeated the Syrians at Magdolum, captured Jerusalem (supposed the Cadytis of Herodotus), and overran Syria as far as the Euphrates (2 Kings, xxiii: 33). "The vest which he wore," on the occasion of his victory at Magdolum, "he consecrated to Apollo and sent to the Milesian Branchidae," which might indicate his sense of gratitude to the Greek mercenaries for the result of the battle.

After this overthrow of the Syrian power a new conquering empire, that of the Babylonians, or Chaldaeans, arose in Central



Asia, and under its king Nebuchadnezzar \* arrived at a high though transitory pitch of greatness. The Egyptian and Babylonian heroes met at Carchemish or Circesium, where a single battle not only deprived the Egyptians of all their conquests in this direction, but laid open their country to the danger of a hostile invasion (see Jer. xlv.).; some authors suppose that this prophecy of Jeremiah led to the invasion of Egypt by the victors !

The establishment of a navy for themselves by the Egyptians was one most important consequence of those foreign wars. The Egyptians, however, must have understood from the start that they could make no headway against the the Phœnician commercial cities without their possessing a strong navy. Necho, therefore, resolved to have one ; and the vigor with which he prosecuted its formation would naturally lead people to think that great results were to be expected from it. One fleet he built in the Mediterranean and another in the Red Sea and these he intended to combine by means of a canal from sea to sea by way of the Nile, the water entering the canal from that river a little above the city Bubastis ; this undertaking, however, which at the first glance, would be supposed to alter the general course of trade, was by Necho only half executed ; but seventy years later it was continued by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the immediate successor of Cambyzes. Some assert, while others deny that Darius finished this canal ; the expression of Herodotus is that he " continued " it ; those who deny the completion of it by Darius say it was finished by Ptolemy II. This was not an original " Suez canal," which last goes direct from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, now Red Sea, without at all touching on the Nile.

This canal was made sufficiently broad for two triremes to sail

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\* Nebopallassar, the immediate predecessor of Nebuchadnezzar, was the conqueror of the kingdom of Chaldaea or Babylon out of the power of Assyria. " But," says Rawlinson, " Nebuchadnezzar is the great monarch of the Babylonian empire, which lasting only 88 years, — from B. C. 625 to B. C. 538 — was for nearly half the time under his sway." Rawlinson's *4 Great Monarchies* iii, 489.

On the other hand he says: " Babylonia preceded Assyria as an important power in Western Asia, but became a secondary state about B. C. 1200, and only recovered its independence about B. C. 700." *Id.* vol. i, 452. He considers the chronological scheme of Berosus, which he much prefers to that of Ctesias, and which assigns to the primitive Chaldaean empire a space extending from about the middle of the 23d to the end of the 16th century B. C. to be remarkably supported and confirmed by the inscriptions. This is probably the same as that indicated by Philo Biblius, who assigned to Babylon an antiquity 1002 years before Semiramis, who some say was contemporary with the siege of Troy, 1200 B. C.

As to the descent of the Babylonians Rawlinson says: " They were also, it is probable, of a darker complexion than the Assyrians, being to some extent Ethiopians by descent. The Cha' ab Arabs, the present possessors of the southern parts of Babylonia, are nearly black ; and the black Syrians of whom Strabo speaks were intended to represent the Babylonians." *Id.* iii, p. 328.

abreast or to pass each other on it. It connected, as I have said, with the Nile, a little above the town of Bubastis and winding southward till beyond Memphis took its course thence, near the great stone quarries, and joined the Red Sea. Natural obstacles, particularly the danger of navigating the upper part of the Red Sea, were, doubtless, the chief reasons why it never had much influence upon commerce; for even in the period of the Ptolemies, when it must have been navigable, a caravan road was made a little more to the right, from Coptos to the Red sea, and the vessels coming from the Indian ocean went no farther than Myos Hormos.

With their possessions in Asia the maritime expeditions of the Egyptians ceased. In his war against the Phoenicians Apries employed a fleet with which he conquered Sidon; but it afterwards was allowed to fall into decay and in the time of Herodotus only some remnants of the vessels were left.

That the extravagant projects of their kings were little in unison with the desires of the people the rebellion of the Egyptians against Apries, after his unsuccessful expedition against Cyrene, which had the effect of raising Amasis to the throne, sufficiently evinces. A war between the Egyptians and the mercenaries, in which the latter were defeated and Apries soon after lost his life, was the immediate consequence of this rebellion. Amasis, apparently a man of the people, under whom Egypt is said to have enjoyed its greatest happiness, preferred the blessings of peace to the risks of war or the splendors of conquests, and died just in time to avoid being a witness to the conquest of his country by Cambyzes, the Persian.

From what has been said, therefore, the causes which led to the downfall of the Pharaohs will be immediately apprehended. After the Ethiopian conquest and then the emigration of the warriors, their throne which had been founded on the unanimity of the priest and warrior-castes, never recovered its former stability. Upon the defection and emigration of the latter the nation was in effect left in the possession of foreigners. These strangers the monarchs employed in the prosecution of foreign wars which the nation itself disliked; and these wars and conquests, eventually miscarrying, proved destructive to the nation. The people's dislike broke out into open rebellion; the ruling dynasty being overthrown a military adventurer seized the crown. He favored foreigners and foreign intercourse and in a manner enriched Egypt thereby; but, at the same time, excited the rapacity of designing

foreign conquerors. With whom could Egypt oppose these but with a spiritless, undisciplined native mob, and the foreigners engaged in her service?

For the Persian invasion many causes have been assigned, but whatever the pretext urged the true cause seems to have been a desire to possess Egypt with all its wealth. The fate of the country was decided by a single battle and a ten days siege of the capital, Memphis.

The destruction of the temples and cruelty to the priests are notoriously imputed to Cambyses. The difference of the religious worship of the Persians and Egyptians may perhaps be considered as the cause of these proceedings, and of the national hatred of the Egyptians for the Persians and their frequent revolts against their authority, which hardly do accord with their general character, if this may be judged by their conduct towards the Ptolemies. "There is," says G. A. Hoskins, in his work of 1863, "no reason to believe that the Persian dynasty was so very hostile to the religion of Egypt. In my (a) 'Visit to the Great Oasis' I have given drawings of a large temple built there by Darius."

We may perhaps form a more correct notion of this by considering the whole conduct of the Persians in Egypt as a struggle not so immediately directed against religious opinions and usages as against the exclusive caste of the Egyptian priests; but the ideas of religion and priest are so closely connected with each other in the mind of the common people that in the Persians proceeding against the latter they would have been most likely understood as waging war against the national religion.

Under the reign of the later Pharaohs the Egyptian priest-caste was no longer what it had been, but its political influence, though weakened was not destroyed. The priesthood still formed what was understood as the noble class of the nation and continued to possess the bulk of the nation's learning and the same high offices of state as formerly. The interest, therefore, of the ruling caste and that of the foreign conquerors must necessarily have often clashed, and the profanation of the temples and objects of religion, as for example by Cambyses and Ochus, was a consequence of the political competition and animosity. But as all we know of the characters of those two men is drawn entirely from the statements of the Egyptian priests, who were naturally enough their enemies, the accounts respecting this are probably exaggerated. With the



history of the succeeding revolts of the Egyptians against the Persians we are but imperfectly acquainted ; and of their origin and the means by which the people were stirred up we have no information whatever. But that the priests were the principal instigators seems evident from the fact that after the re-establishment of the Persian power in Egypt they were punished for it. For, according to Diodorus, when Artaxerses had driven away Nectonebus, and brought Egypt again under his authority the persecution of the priests began. Their temples were pillaged and even their sacred books taken from them ; but these they afterwards, through the good offices of Bagoas, got permission to redeem, by the payment of a large sum of money. Cambyses (B. C. 527), and his seven successors are set down as the 27th Egyptian dynasty, Egypt being under them a Persian province, governed by a satrap. Although the conduct of Darius towards the Egyptians was throughout remarkably mild and conciliatory, still they, being impatient of foreign rule, revolted from the Persians in the year before the death of Darius and succeeded in expelling them from the country ; but Xerses, in his second year, again reduced them to subjection and appointed Achaemenes, his brother, governor of the country.

Again, in the fifth year of Artaxerses (*circa anno* 458 B. C.), the Egyptians revolted, and assisted by the Athenians they opposed the force of 400,000 men and 200 ships sent against them by that monarch. Led on by Inarus, the Libyan, the son of one Psammeticus and by Amyrtaeus of Sais, they routed the Persians with a loss of 100,000 men and Achaemenes received his death wound at the hand of Inarus. But about four years after this, Artaxerses, still determining to subdue Egypt, adding 200,000 men and 300 ships to the remnant of the former army, dispatched them into that country under the command of Magabazus and Artabazus, when after an obstinate conflict, Inarus being wounded by Megabazus, the Egyptians were put to flight. Inarus having fled with a body of Greeks to Byblus, a then strongly fortified place, obtained for himself and his companions a promise of pardon, but was afterwards treacherously crucified by Artaxerses in order to satisfy his mother Amytis in revenge for the death of her son and his brother, Achaemenes. Amyrtaeus, however, more fortunate, escaped to the Isle of Elbo and in the fifteenth year of Artaxerses (*circa* 449-8 B. C.), the Athenians having sent a fleet to the aid of the Egyptians once more a hope was entertained of restoring him



to the throne. Egypt, however, remained undisturbed, the project having been abandoned. It was probably about this time that Pausiris, the son of Amyrtaeus, was made viceroy of Egypt by the Persians, his father being still concealed in the marshes, and the post being a nominal one, surrounded as he was by the Persians, it was a favor that involved no risk to them. But it failed to reconcile the Egyptians to the presence of their conquerors.

The aversion to Persian rule once more led the Egyptians to revolt and in the tenth year of Darius Nothus (*circa* 411 B. C.), they succeeded in completely freeing their country from the Persians, when Amyrtaeus became independent master of Egypt. His reign of six years constituted the 28th Egyptian dynasty. Having made a treaty with the Arabians he rendered his frontier secure from aggression in that quarter; so that the government passed without interruption into the hands of his successors, the Mendesian kings of the 29th dynasty. Of these the first was Nephertites, who reigned according to Manetho, six years (although Diodorus has a Psammetichus to precede him); but in his reign Egypt enjoyed tranquillity and was able to send aid to the Lacedemonians against the Persians; his fleet, however, of 100 ships, laden with corn for their armies, having put into Rhodes was captured by the common enemy, who had lately, unknown to the Egyptians, obtained possession of that island.

The reign of Acoris, his successor, is set down at thirteen years (Circa 399–386 B. C.). He, having made a treaty with the king of Cyprus, and secured the friendship of the Lacedemonians, and of Gaus, the son of Tamus, an Egyptian, who commanded the Persian fleet, remained in peace and undisturbed by the Persians; and this season of tranquillity he employed in adding to the temples of Thebes and elsewhere, but especially to the sculptures of a temple at Eilethyias, which had been left unfinished by Rameses ii. Of Psammuthis and Muthis, who reigned each one year and of Nephertites II., who reigned four months, little is known from historians or the monuments; the only one of them mentioned on the latter, indeed, being the first, whose name Pse-mant (the son of Mant) is found at Thebes.

The thirtieth dynasty of three Sebenytic kings continued, according to some thirty-eight years, according to Eusebius 20; and its accession is put variously at 387 and 381 B. C. The dates, therefore, concerning it are uncertain. During the reign of the first king, Nectanebo, the Persians sent a large force under Phar-

nabazus and Iphicrates to recover Egypt ; but owing to the dissensions of the two generals (Nectanebo, meantime employing well the time in securing the defenses of his country) the Persians were unable to re-establish their authority, and entangled in the Delta, amid the channels of the rising Nile, they were compelled to retreat. The leisure, which ensued on this, Nectanebo employed in adorning the temples of Egypt, in many of which his name may still be seen ; and he is supposed to have been the last of the Pharaohs who erected an obelisk, which Pliny says was without hieroglyphics.

After 13 years, or ten as variously stated (*Circa* 369 B. C.) Nectanebo was succeeded by Teos or Tachos, who, profiting by the unsettled state of the Persian dominions, and wishing still further to weaken that empire, entered into a league with the Lacedemonians, the determination being to attack it in Asia. To this enterprise, the Lacedemonians furnished a strong force, led by their king Agesilaus ; and the Athenians, a fleet under Chabrias ; to all which Tachos joined his main force, assuming himself the supreme direction of the expedition. But, in the course of the campaign, his nephew, Nectanebo, being assisted by his father, also named Nectanebo, whom Tachos had made Governor of Egypt during his absence, made a party against him, and openly revolted. Agesilaus conceiving himself affronted by the treatment he had already received from Tachos, willingly joined the usurper ; and Chabrias who had remained true to Tachos, happening to be recalled by the government at Athens, Tachos was unable to maintain his authority, and having fled to Sidon and thence into Persia, his nephew, Nectanebo II., was declared king (*Circa*, 361 B. C.) A rival Mendessian chief having put himself at the head of the people, and being favored by the incapacity of the young Nectanebo, would have succeeded in wresting the sceptre from him, had not the power and talents of Agesilaus been on his side and secured him on the throne.

Artaxerses, although he had made preparations to recover Egypt, died without putting forward any expedition, and was succeeded by Ochus, or Artaxerses III. in 363 B. C., in whose reign some unsuccessful attempts were made to reconquer the country, the consequence of which was a confederacy was entered into between Nectanebo and the Phoenicians, who were thus encouraged to throw off the Persian yoke. To aid them in this enterprise Nectanebo sent them a force of 4,000 Greeks ; but Ochus soon

after having put himself at the head of a large army, advanced and overran Phoenicia, and Mentor the leader of the forces sent to aid the Phoenicians, having deserted to the enemy, Nectanebo hastened to set his own country in a state of defense. Pelusium he garrisoned with 5,000 Greeks; and with an army of 100,000 men, of whom 10,000 were Greeks, he prepared to repel the invader. The chief attack of the Persians on Pelusium was foiled and much confusion and terror created in their ranks; but here Nectanebo evinced his incapacity; for, seeing the Persians succeed in occupying an important point, and fearing lest his retreat should be cut off he became panic stricken and fled to Memphis. Pelusium upon this surrendered and the Persians, accompanied by Mentor, the traitor general, having taken all the fortified places of Lower Egypt, Nectanebo retired into Ethiopia and Egypt became once more a Persian province.

The reign of Ochus the first king of Manetho's 31st dynasty, is represented as having been most cruel and oppressive. He distinguished himself, not only by his persecution of the people, but by the insults he heaped upon their religion, and in his progress he ordered the sacred bull, Apis, to be roasted and eaten, so that according to Plutarch the Egyptians represent him in their catalogue of kings by a sword. It was in his 20th year that he recovered the country, which he then ruled for two years; and being followed successively by Arses and Darius, these three complete Manetho's 31st dynasty, which was terminated by the conquest of the Persians and of Egypt by Alexander, in 332 B. C., and was succeeded by the Macedonians or Ptolemaic dynasty. This dynasty, in its turn, succumbed to Rome in 302 years later or in *anno* 30 B. C.

Though Egypt had long ceased to be a dominant State before its conquest by the Romans, yet the duration of its real and independent power was far greater than what we find has fallen to the lot of most other nations. When we compare with it the brief glory of the Persian empire to its overthrow by the Macedonian; the transitory greatness of the Babylonian of Nebopalassar and Nebuchadnezzar; or even the whole period of Assyrian domination, we find that Egypt continued to be a prosperous State, extending its arms beyond its own borders and practicing the sciences and the arts at home for a much longer period than any of those countries.

But in the unity and self-dependance of an enterprising people, local conditions being to them not, on the whole, unfavorable, is great and effectual strength. The unanimity of the priestly and warrior-castes for a very long course of ages before the defection and emigration of the latter, consequent upon the introduction and preferment of foreign mercenaries, gave to ancient Egypt its world-renowned prestige of intelligence and power. When the authority and respect for the priesthood declines and the military organization withholds its obedience a theocracy evidently contains in itself the seeds of its own destruction. When in ancient Egypt such a state of affairs came to have place, neither the enthusiasm of an undisciplined native people nor the swords of the foreign mercenaries availed to uphold the throne of the Pharaohs.









# CRITICAL REVIEW

OF THE

## HISTORY OF THE SCOTTS OR GAEL

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BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.

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AUTHOR OF

CREATOR AND COSMOS; OF COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF JUDGMENT  
CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT; OF THE CHALDAEAN AND  
HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND HINDOO ORIGINES;  
OF THE PHœNICIAN COSMOGONIES, ETC.

*REVISED.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

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### (Critique of Scottic or Gaelic History.)

I trust the few preliminary remarks I here think it expedient to make to this Treatise will not be taken as in the nature of an elaborate, well rounded and exquisitely finished Introduction, such as we sometimes find prefixed to books that are replete with fiction and falsehood; and, further, that it will not be taken as in the nature of an apology for the issuance of the treatise to which it is prefixed. For I here confess that I have no apology whatever to make for the publication of my “Critical Review of the History of the Scotts or Gaels of the British Isles.” But, *per contra*, and this for many reasons. In the first place, it is a “critique” of the ancient history of a noble race of men, of men who in their varying circumstances in all the historic ages, have proved themselves to be of a high order of mind and among the first orders and organizers in human society. And, secondly, it is a “critique” of a history which has been much mystified and falsified by historians, so-called, who wrote rather in the interest of class or of certain preconceived systems of ideas of their own, which were false, fictitious or of the romantic order, but the publication of which, in the way in which they wove them in a continuous web, they, perhaps, thought would conduce most to the good order and good manners of the masses of the people in the times after them, the writers, than in the interest of unvarnished, simple truth.

The subject of this Treatise being eminently an ethnological one necessitates that it be largely genealogical in substance as well as in the manner of treatment; and the author’s genealogy or rather

that of his family, extending back through the line of men of that race best known to the history of North Britain and Erin, being given, the ethnological bearing of the subject leaves no apology here necessary on account of its insertion; But, *per contra*, the sensible and intelligent reader will in it perceive a certain guarantee of the proper treatment of the subject; for, who, I ask, would consent to have inserted in the list given of his ancestors the name of a man, who he had fair reason to suppose was not an ancestor of his, a thought which implies great care in the treatment here. And, besides, the genealogical way of treatment, where this is possibly attainable, as it happens to be in this case, is well known to be by far the most true and exact way of treatment of an ethnological subject. If it be not the only way it is certainly the true way and enables the historical critic after he has passed back beyond the chronologically certain period to determine the chronology with comparative exactness. This genealogical line of the Gaels, connecting, as it does, with that of the Shepherd kings of the race of Menes, enables the chronology to be determined for a vast period of time. This treatise is of such a nature and has such an object as my “Critique of the History of Ancient Egypt.”

ST. LOUIS, 1888.

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## CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE SCOTTIC OR GAELIC HISTORY.

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AN EXTENDED AND CRITICAL REVIEW OF SCOTTIC HISTORY, TRACING WHENCE AND IN WHAT PRE-CHRISTIAN AGE THE PEOPLE CALLED SCOTS FIRST ARRIVED IN THE BRITISH ISLES AND MADE CONQUEST OF ERIN AND OF NORTH BRITAIN :

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AND THIRDLY, THE HISTORY CONTINUED BACK THROUGH THE VARIOUS WINDINGS OF THE SCOTTIC OR SCYTHIC MIGRATIONS, IN WHICH THE LINE OF DESCENT IS FOUND TO PASS THROUGH SOME REMARKABLE ANCIENT MONARCHIES, NOTABLY THAT OF ANCIENT EGYPT, TO ITS HOME IN ASIA, THE PROGRESS SHOWING THE SCOTS AND GOTHs TO BE SPRUNG FROM THE SAME STOCK.

The history of those countries, whose form of government from time immemorial has been an hereditary monarchy, being taken up largely with the accounts of the successive monarchs; and there being no certainty, chronologically speaking, about the dates given in those records after the investigator has past back in his course beyond the chronologically certain period; then the thing one has first to do, who intends to go far back in an investigation of the history of any country is to take the genealogy of its line of kings step by step or (if he cannot take such genealogy, at first sight, arising from the fact that there may be extant somewhat differing versions of the same genealogy in different histories), proceed to an investigation and by a patient study, by comparison and otherwise of the whole subject, arrive at the genealogy and from this determine the chronology.

In the following critique most of our work is of the genealogical kind, arising from the fact that our subject is primarily of an ethnological character, coming within the circle of the subject of the *Cosmos of Man*: and, secondly, to show who and from what primitive race were the kings called Gaelic of the British Isles.

The main genealogy, here given, is that of the regular line of Gaelic kings of Erin and North Britain, continued eleven steps farther down

than the last one of the line given that was king, so as to begin with the son of the first cousin of the author, who is in male line from No. 4, the author's father's father. From No. 4, therefore, it is the author's genealogy and is given in connection with the Review of the History of the Gaels of North Britain and Erin.

Before each name in this continued list of 75 places I will put its number and at the end of the list, referring to the numbers again, will give such explanation with historic reference and authoritative proof as I may consider expedient or necessary or that may serve to answer the historico-didactic general object my critique hath in view:

1. William, son of
  2. James, son of
  3. John, son of
  4. Harry, son of
  5. John, son of
  6. William, son of
  7. Robert, son of
  8. Aengus, son of
  9. Benjamin, son of
  10. Robert, son of
  11. Adam, son of
  12. James, *i.e.*, James III., son of
  13. Shaw, *i.e.*, James II., son of
  14. Gilchrist, *i.e.*, James I., son of
  15. John, *i.e.*, Robert III., son of
  16. Aengus, *i.e.*, Robert Bruce, son of
  17. Ferchadh, *i.e.*, Ethachfhair, *i.e.*, Alexander III, son of
  18. Ethachfhair, *i.e.*, Cathfhair, *i.e.*, Alexander II, son of
  19. William, *i.e.*, Gillechallum, *i.e.*, Malcolm IV, son of
  20. Cathanfhair, *i.e.*, Cathfhair, *i.e.*, Henry or Harry, son of
  21. Dunchadh, *i.e.*, Aengus, *i.e.*, David I, son of
  22. Ethachfhair, *i.e.*, (Saxon) Edgar, *i.e.*, Alexander I, son of
  23. Malcolm III mic., *i.e.*, Morgand, *i.e.*  

Ceannmhor, *i.e.*, MacDuff

Maelsneachtain mic.
  24. Dunchadh mic, *i.e.*, "Cali." 

Lughaidh mic.
  25. Malcolm II mic., *i.e.*, "Hundi." 

Gilcomgain mic.
- 
26. Malbrighdi mic., *i.e.*, Kenneth III, *i.e.*, Culi.
  27. Ruidhri mic., *i.e.*, Mael, *i.e.*, Malcolm I.
  28. Domhnald mic., *i.e.*, Dumb, *i.e.*, Duff.
  29. Morgand mic., *i.e.*, Constantine, *i.e.*, Aedh.
  30. Domhnald mic., *i.e.*, MacConnall or Connall.
  31. Cathmhail mic., *i.e.*, Connall, *i.e.*, Cairig or Gregor, *i.e.*, Eoghan, *i.e.*, Kenneth II.

32. Ruidhri mic., *i.e.*, Dungal, *i.e.*, Alpin, *i.e.*, Muredhach.
33. Ainéalach mic., *i.e.*, Sealbhach, *i.e.*, Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Achaius.
34. Ferchard III mic., *i.e.*, Fergus III, *i.e.*, Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Ewan.
35. Feredhach mic., *i.e.*, Aedh Finn, *i.e.*, Eochaidh, *i.e.*, Ewan.
36. Fergus mic., *i.e.*, Domhangart, *i.e.*, Ferchard II.
37. Sneachthain mic., *i.e.*, Domhnald (Breac), *i.e.*, MacEthaich, *i.e.*,  
Eochain, *i.e.*, Kenneth I (Ciar).
38. Colman mic., *i.e.*, Eochaidh (Buidh).
39. Baedhan mic. *i.e.*, Aedhan.
40. Eochaidh mic., *i.e.*, Gabhran.
41. Muredhach mic., *i.e.*, Domhangart.
42. Loarn mic., *i.e.*, Fergus II.
43. Ere mic., *i.e.*, Eric.
44. Eochaidh mic. (Muinreamhair).  
  45. Aengus Feart, son of
  46. Fiachaidh, son of
  47. Cruthluath, son of
  48. Eochaidh, son of
  49. Fiachaidh Cathmhail, son of
50. Eochaidh, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Carbri Righfhada, son of
51. Conair II., son of *i.e.*, Eoghan mor, *i.e.*, . . . . . Conn, son of
52. Moghallamh, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . MacNiadh, son of
53. Carbrie, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Lughaidh, son of
54. Daire, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Daire, son of
55. Conair, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Cathair, *i.e.*, . . . . . Ferulni, son of
56. Edarscol, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Edbolg, son of
57. Eoghan, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Daire, son of
58. Olild, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Sithbolg, son of
59. Uar, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Ferulni, son of
60. Deaghaidh, son of *i.e.*, Edhamhrach or Deaghaidh Teamhrach, son of
61. Sen, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Deagh Derg, son of
62. Arondel, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Dergthini, son of
63. Maen, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Nuadhat Argthech, son of
64. Fergus, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Forga, *i.e.*, . . . . . Luchthani, son of
65. Ferchard, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Feredhach, *i.e.*, Lughaidh Feidhloch, son of
66. Olild Aron, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Eramhan, son of
67. Fiachaidh Fearmhara, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Edhamhain, son of
68. Aengus Tuirmac, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Eosamhain, son of
69. Fere-Cataroet, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Sin, son of
70. Fyere-Roet, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Mathsin, son of
71. Fyere-Anroet, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Lughaidh, son of
72. Fere-Elmael, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Edhamhain, son of
73. Ture, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Mal, son of
74. Cathan, son of *i.e.*, . . . . . Lughaidh, son of
75. Eochaidh, *i.e.*, . . . . . Ughan mor, *i.e.*, . . . . . Ith.

These columns will illustrate the numbers of generations there may be in like long periods of time, with other things.

Ollamh Fodhla,	75. Eochaidh Aldeten, <i>i.e.</i> , Ughan mor, <i>i.e.</i> , Ith.	
Carbri mc.,	74. Cathan mc.,	Lughaidh mc.
Labhradh mc.,	73. Ture mc.,	Mal mc.
Bratha mc.,	72. Fere-Elmael mc.,	Edhamhan mc.
Finn mc.,	71. Fyere-Anroet mc.,	Lughaidh mc.
Siorlamh mc.,	70. Fyere-Roet mc.,	Mathsin mc.
Argedmar mc.,	69. Fere-Cataroet mc.,	Sin mc.
Foghmor mc.,	68. Aengus Tuirmac mc.,	Eosamhan mc.
Dubh mc.,	67. Fiachaidh Fermhara mc.,	Edhamhan mc.

Sithrigh mc.,	66. Old Eramhan mc.,	Eramhan mc.,	Labhradh Lore mc.
Rudhri mor mc.	65. Feredhach mc.,	Lughaidh Feidhlach mc.,	Beadhaeta mc.
Rosa Ruadh mc.,	64. Forga mc.,	Luchthani mc.,	Blathacta mc.
Fergus MacRoigh mc.,	63. Maen mc.,	Nuadhat Argthech mc.,	Eosamhan Emhain mc.
Ciar mc.,	62. Arondel mc.	Deargthini mc.,	Roigheon Ruadh mc.
Mogh Taeth mc.,	61. Sen mc.,	Deagh Dearg mc.,	Roith mc.
Astamain mc.,	60. Deaghaidh mc., Edhamrach or Deaghaidh Teamhrach mc.,	Finlaoch mc.	
Lamni mc.,	59. Uar mc., Ferulni mc.,	Eochaidh Garbh mc.,	Finn mc.
Enna mc.,	58. Olild mc., Sithbolg mc.,	Muredhach Muchna mc.,	Eoch Areanh mc.
Delbhnaei mc.	57. Eoghan mc., Daire mc.,	Mogh Febis mc.,	Trifin Evna mc.
Fiadhmaani mc.,	56. Eadarscol mc., Edbolg mc.,	Loch mor mc.,	Lughaidh mc.
Eochamhain mc.,	55. Conair I. mc., Ferulni mc.,	Enna Muncaein mc.,	Crimthan mc.
Artri mc.,	54. Daire mc.,	Deargthini mc.,	Feredhach mc.
Eochaidh mc.,	53. Carbri mc., Lughaidh mc.,	Dearg mc.,	Fiachaidh mc.
Orbsenmar mc.	52. Moghallamh mc., MacNiadh mc.,	Mogh Niadh mc.,	Ogaman mc.
Mogh Art mc.,	51. Conair II. mc., Conn mc.,	Mogh Nuadhat mc.,	Imchadh mc.

Sabhal or Saul mc.,	50. Carbri Riada mc.,	Findchadh mc.
Mesincon mc.,	49. Fiach Cathmail mc.,	Fergus Dubhdhedach mc.
Amblaibh mc.,	48. Eochaidh mc.,	Cormac Ulfada mc.
Mochduin mc.	47. Cruthluath mc.,	Carbri Liffecar mc.
Ebhric mc.,	46. Fiachaidh mc.,	Fiachaidh mc.,
Imchadh mc.	45. Aengus Feart mc.,	Mueredhach Tirech mc.
Ferbra mc.,	44. Eochaidh Mumreamhar mc.,	Eochaidh Mugh Med- [hon mc.]
		Niall Naoi Ghiall. mc.
Rectach mc.	43. Eire mc.,	Eoghan mc.
Senasg mc.,	42. Fergus mor mc.,	Muiredhach mc.
Durthact mc.,	41. Muiredhach mc.,	Muirchertach MacErcu mc.
Aedh Logha mc.	40. Eochaidh mc.,	Domnald mc.
Maeltuili mc.,	39. Baedhan mc.,	Aedh Uaridhnech mc.
Recta Brath mc.,	38. Colman mc.,	Maelsithrigh mc.
Cobhthach mc.,	37. Sneachtain mc.,	Maelduin mc.
Colman mc.,	36. Fearghus mc.,	Fergal mc.
Flann Fearn mc.,	35. Feredhach mc.,	Niall Frasach mc.
Maelsechlain mc.,	34. Fearchard III. mc.,	Aedh Oirnish mc.
Finn mc.,	33. Ain Ceallach mc.,	Niall Calni mc.
Conchobhar mc.,	32. Muiredhach mc.,	



Diarmaid mc.,	31. Cathmhail mc.,	Aedh Finliath mc.
Culuachra mc.	30. Domnald mc.,	Nial Glun-dubh mc.
Ruidhri mc.	29. Morgand mc.,	Murchertach mc.
Tadhg mc.,	28. Domnald mc.,	Domnald, died in 980, mac.
Aedh mc.,	27. Ruidhri mc.	Column of
Cathal mc.,	26. Maelbrighdi mc.	Irish Kings.
Conchobhar mc.	25. Malcolm II. mc.	
Muiredhach mc.	24. Dunchadh mc.	
MacBethaigh, slain 1014, mc.,	23. Malcolm III., slain 1097, mac.	

The numbered list is the claim of the ancestors. The three parallel lists are for illustration by way of comparison of the number of generations there may be in different parallel lines of descent for a like period of time.

The following is the royal Line of Leinster, so called, in descent from Labhradh Longsech and Ughan mor.

Domnall Caemhanach, abt. 1200 A. D., mac.	<sup>28</sup> Cu-Corb mc. Mogh Corb mc.
Diarmaid, na-n-Gall mc.	Conchobhar Abra Ruadh mc.
Donchadh mc.	Finn the Poet mc.
Murchadh mc.	Rosa Ruadh mc.
Diarmaid mc.	Fergus Fargi mc.
Donchadh mc.	Nuadhat Nect mc.
Diarmaid mc.	Sedna Sithbac mc.
Domnall mc.	Lughaidh Lothfinn mc.
Kellach mc.	Bresal Brec mc.
Kinaeth mc.	Fiachaidh Fobrec mc.
Carbri mc.	Olild Glas mc.
Aedh mc.	Fiachaidh Foglas mc.
Ruaghalach mc.	Nuadhat Follamhain mc.
Oncu mc.	Alloid mc.
Faelcu mc.	Art mc.
Fuelan mc.	Mogh Art mc.
Silan mc.	Crimthan mc.
Eoghan Caech mc.	Feidhlimidh Fortruin mc.
Nathi mc.	Fergus Fortamhail mc.
Crimthan mc.	Bresal Breoghamhain mc.
Enna Kennselach mc.	Aengus Follamhain mc.
Bresal Belach mc.	Olild Braechaen mc.
Fiachaidh Bacheda mc.	Labhradh Longsech mc.
Cathair Mor mc.	Olild Ani mc.
Feidhlimidh Firurglas mc.	Laegari Lore mc.
Cormac Gelta-gaeth mc.	Iugani Mor.
<sup>27</sup> Niadh-Corb mc.	

Under No. 23 is the man called Ceanmor, which the Sagas translate Langhals, meaning literally, I believe, "long neck," but the Scots trans-

David I, No. 21, whose Gaelic name was Dunchadh, has been in some old histories called Aengus.\* Their Aengus they also make to have been "a son of a daughter of Lughaidh," which last was the Gaelic name of the immediate predecessor of Malcolm III, as king of Scotland. But it comes out in the course of the narrative that his father was Alexander I, and his mother a daughter of William of Normandy. The Scottish monk historians have, in this connection, Aengus, Malcolm, his son, and so on, whom they represent as contestants for the Scottish crown; but this is, in a sense, fictitious, the object being to obscure the narrative as to origins. The histories represent Alexander III as having come to his death by a fall from his horse; but it is more probable that his death was the result of violence. A son of his survived him, and he is in genealogical lists named Aengus, but as King Robert II. Now, a comparison of the names in the lists of Mackintosh from this Aengus back to Dunchadh and of those with other family lists for part of that period and with what the monks, following Fordun, have said about it in their histories, shows it to be not improbable that the monks have made this last Aengus to have been son of Alexander I, instead of Alexander III, whose son he was. And in this way I notice that some few names in the list AFTER this Aengus may have been applied to some of those *before* him or *vice versa*, as follows:

"Hist. of Mackintosh and Clan Chathan."

13. Shaw, son
14. Gilchrist, son
15. Eoghan, son
16. Aengus

Skene's "Celtic Scotland." Appendix,

19. Gilchrist, *i. e.*, William in Hist. of Mackintosh and Clan Chathan.
18. Shaw, *i. e.*, Alexander II, son
17. Ferchard, *i. e.*, Alexander III, son
16. Gillemichael, whose name Skene says was Aengus. son

What makes it more than probable that it is Aengus, No. 16, that is made to be Aengus, No. 21, is that in the mystified histories this Aengus comes out in connection with David I under the name of Gillemichael MacDuff, while the name of our No. 16 is entered both as Gillemichael and as Aengus MacDuff. He is the dark horse or first "Steward," so called. These two lists of four names each are, as you see by the numbers, in the succession of father to son, the only name common to the two being No. 16. The form of name of No. 17, *i. e.*, Ferchard or Ferchadh, which equals Ethachfhair or Sethach, may have given rise to the two family names Shaw and Farquarson, as connected with that country. The idea of descent from monarchy in those narrow countries is apt to be thought of invidiously, and the various ideas connected with the knowledge of such descent, subjectively and objectively, doubtless led the monks to mystify the history as they did, their motives in doing so being perhaps, a good one.

David I, No. 21, being the same with Dunchadh, was son of Alexander I, and grandson of Malcolm III, not the son of the latter as some histories have it. He was also, in his name of Duncan MacDuff, "great-grandson" of the man who was slain by MacBeth, not of the man who slew MacBeth, as Burke has it in his heraldry.

The first part of the family history of Mackintosh has been carefully handled in order to obscure the true origin. Before Aengus, No. 16, their history reckons five chiefs of Mackintosh; but, I find, all these were kings of Scotland excepting No. 20, if he were not. According to Burton, Skene, and others, Alexander II died in 1249, and his son, then 8 years old, was, in Burton's language, crowned by the title of Alexander III. Skene has this to have taken place on July 13th, five days after his father's funeral. But a boy only 8 years of age has yet long to remain in tutelage. After speaking of the valor displayed by young Ferchard at the battle of Largs fought against the northmen in 1263, and how that he, in the next year, 1264, accompanied Comyn, earl of Athol, in his expedition against the northern and western isles; which (isles) were in 1265 ceded to the Scottish kingdom by the successor of Haeco, the author of the history of Mackintosh states: "In this last-named year (1265), when only about 25 years old, Ferchard succeeded to the chiefship." That is, he was born in the early part of 1241, was 8 years old in the beginning of 1249, at his father's death, and was in his 25th year when in reality he succeeded to the chiefship, as according to this. The Mackintosh history represents him as having lost his life by the hand of violence, and that of the MacDonalds calls his son, Aengus, "the first laird of Mackintosh," although, perhaps only father to that first chief; but this indicates that the five ancestors preceding him were not known as chiefs of Mackintosh. While the name of MacDuff appears to have arisen from the circumstances of the children of Dunchadh, No. 24, after the death of their father, that of Mackintosh as plainly arose from the name Aengus, No. 16; for MacAnthaesaigh (which is the proper way of spelling the family name MacAntoiseach) is for MacAenghaesaigh, the t being commuted with the g. This name Aenghaes is also turned into Taesean, generally spelled Toisean, an equivalent for Toiseach. The form Dunchadh equals Eoch-Dhuin or Eochain. According to Lhuyd and the old Lexicographers it equals Toiseach, prop. Taeseach; it thus plainly equals Aengus.

late "great head." It is not impossible that it may stand for Crannmor, meaning "great tree" or "mainmast of a ship," as, away back in the history, I see the clan of which he descends is called Clan Craebh.

In the Gaelic annals generally this next, 24, is entered as Dunchadh, which, however, may have been originally spelled Duchadh, whose genitive is Dubhthach; for I see instances in Scottish history in which the name appearing in English as Duncan is in the original Duchadh; as in the case of Duchadh, abbot of Dunkeld, in connection with the kings Dubh and Cuillen in the Pictish chronicle, wherein the name they have transferred to English as Duncan is Duchadh. If the case we have under consideration were alike why then Ceanmor was the literal MacDuff of Shakespeare.

Now, although Shakespeare's MacDuff may have been put down in the general mind as a myth, as well as the Fife MacDuff of the old authors, still we find from Tiernach and Marianus, contemporary authors, the former having died in 1088 and the latter having been born in 1028, from the Annals of Ulster as well as the general Scottic and Anglic authorities that Malcolm III. or Malcolm mac Dunchadh killed MacBethaigh,\* which would seem to indicate said Malcolm to have been the real MacDuff. Although I have not yet got myself to understand that there must needs have been an act of killing in the case, I yet find this Malcolm's name to stand eighth in the list from Alpin, which is the place Sir Geo. Mackenzie, whether correctly or not, has given MacDuff in the line of the descent.

The Saxon Scottish historians have rendered the history of that country very obscure by their having clothed some of their celebrated historic characters not only with such appellations as those here mentioned, but with some derived from the names of saints. The early compilers of their history were mostly clergymen of some grade, officials in their monasteries and institutions of learning, and the object of some of them evidently was

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\* A. D. 1057 MacBethaidh mic Findlaich Airdri Alban domarbad do Maelcolaim mic Donchadha. MacBeth the son of Finlay, chief king of Scotland, was slain by Malcolm, the son of Duncan." Tiernach's Annals: to which the Annals of Ulster add "icath" (in battle).

A. D. 1057. Marianus Scotus has: "Macfinlaeg occiditur in Augusto," that is, MacFinlay fell in August. And again: "Inde Macfinlaeg rengavit annis 17 ad eandem missam Sanctae Mariae" (15th August). Tiernach and Marianus were, as I have said, contemporary authors, Tiernach having finished his Annals before 1088. The popular mind, I believe, generally has it that MacDuff slew MacBeth; here we find out who MacDuff was; and the unvaried tradition of the house of Mackintosh and the Shaws of that ilk has been that they were descended from MacDuff who slew MacBeth, the grandfather of that one, whom I have set down as Aengus the 21st in my list.

A. D. 1058. Lulach Ri Albain domarbad Col MacDunchadha *per dolum*: i.e., "Lughaidh, the chief king of Scotland, was slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan, through treachery." Tiernach's Scottic Annals, under 1058 A. D.

That this is the proper date is shown by what follows: After entering the death of MacBethaigh, son of Finlay, in 1057 Marianus Scotus says: "Lulach successit et occiditur in Martio:" i.e. "Lughaidh succeeded and fell in March;" and again, "Lulach, a nativitate Sanctae Mariae ad missam Sancti Patricii in mense Martio regnavit" (17th March). He then had reigned king of Scotland just seven months and two days, that is, from the date of the death of MacBeth, being the 15th of August preceding.

to weave a mythico-historic web, which it would be found difficult in after times for the unscholarly people to disentangle or get the meaning of. Such historic style would appear to have had for its object, first, some idea the author had in his mind as pertaining to governmental class as distinguished from the people; and secondly, doubtless, that it might tend in time to unite the people of Scotland, north and south, into one whole, in which the national idea would eventually prevail over all sectional issues or clannal distinctions, by which a way might eventually be opened to a unification of North and South Britain.

However, this Duncan, 24, is in the Orkneyinga Saga called Karl or Kali Hundason; no where there is he called Duncan; and this is accounted strange, since that the Norwegians of Orkney and of the north of Scotland were for some years occupied in waging war against him. The form Karl or Kal in the Norwegian would mean, in its commonest acceptation, a stout, robust man, and thus Karl or Kali Hundason would mean "the stout son of Hundi," his father being usually in the same Sagas called Hundi. Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary shows that Carl signifies a "male," being "chiefly used before words to signify the male as *cwen* is the female," which shows it would before Hundi mean at least what I have stated.

But, on the other hand, if Karl or Kali were meant by them to represent a root name in this case, by which Duncan was known, it would reasonably appear that Kali, rather than Karl, would justly represent that root, for the Sagas usually affixed an *r* to our words, but they could not easily affix it to Kal for Kalr would not sound very well. A person would be apt to conclude that if the root had been Carl they would have expressed it usually as Karl, but their expressing it as Kali would tend to show that, if the forms they used had reference to the root name, that root was Cal, Col or the like.

In the old Gaelic *cull* or *gull* means a house, a church, a round tower, in all of which it agrees with *Dumh*; it also means a champion, a hero, and in its form *Cull* and *Coll* is the appellation of Hercules in that language; it means, moreover, kin, kindred, relations, people, clan, from which arises the idea of 'house,' or 'patria;' it means the back which has reference to the roof of the house, and a hindrance, for meaning kin, it is kind and this is hind referring to that which 'hinders' *i.e.* 'pulls back.' But the truth is that *call*, etc., equals in full *Cal-daemh* or *Cal-bhaedh* and either part of the compound is understood as meaning the whole. We can see, therefore, how *Clan Dhuibh* and *Clan Chuill* or *Mac Dhuiff* and *Mac Chuill* mean the same, as appears by the clan designations in the history.\*

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\* Says Vallancy in speaking of the ancient Irish alphabet: "The Irish have another Ogham called Ogham Coll, that is, the Ogham of Mercury, of the circles of Tait. Coll, *i.e.* Tait, *i.e.* Irish illustris Mercurius." "The Ogham Coll is not an alphabet properly speaking, but cir-



In the modern Gaelic Dictionary I find *Macabh* or *Macaibh* or *Macaimh* (all pronounced *MacCauv* or *McCu*, much as *MacDhubh*, when the *d* being aspirated and silent, the *c* in effect takes its place), put down as meaning (1) a liberal, generous, accomplished man; (2) a fair youth, a young hero; (3) plural heroes, renowned persons. Referring, therefore, to our number (24) it is easily understood from the foregoing he might have been called either *Cal* or *Dumh*, or, if you please, the whole

cular scales for the ordering of the terminating vowels in verse. From *Feadh* or *Fiodh*, a tree, proceeds *Foedh*, *Fodh*, knowledge, art, science, which in the Sanscrit or Brahminic language is written *Ved*, and from *Hercules* being the inventor of the *Fiadh* or *Fiodh*, he was called *Fidius*. "The symbol of literature with the Irish is a tree or a serpent, or both; the tree has been converted into a club; *Call*, the Irish name of *Hercules Mercurius*, signifies a club and also a tree. Hence we find on all the most ancient medals of *Hercules* a club, a tree, a serpent or a lyre; for he was *Ogham*, that is, the harmonious circle, the *Hercules Ogmus* of the Gauls; he was the *Rustam* of the Persians, because *Rus* in Irish signifies a tree and knowledge or science. To prune the tree or the vine signifies to compose a hymn; to wreath the pruned branches into *Ogham* or circles had the same signification. Hence in Irish *Damh*, a poet, a learned man, *Damha*, a poem, from the Chaldaic *dama*, *succidere*, *excidere*, (to prune). The Jews altered the first letter of this word into *Z* and wrote it *Zamar*, which signifies to prune and to sing psalms or compose hymns." "The origin of this symbol is to be found in Irish documents only. The olive tree and the vine was the emblem of literature in general. To prune the tree, to weave the small branches into *Ogham*, crowns or circles, signified to compose in verse, and hence, each letter of the Irish alphabet was denominated from a particular kind of tree and so were those of the Samaritan or Hebrew and Chaldee." "The two different *Oghams* are distinguished, as the *Ogham Craebh*, the *Ogham* of the branch, and the *Ogham Cuill* or the *Ogham* of *Tat*, that is, *Mercury*. Sometimes *Hercules* is represented as covered with laurel or ivy and by him an altar dedicated to *Oghai*." "The general, name of the *Ogham* when written on the right line was *Feadh* or *Fiodh*, that is trees, because the tree was the emblem of literature among the Scythians. Hence *Hercules* received the name of *Fidius*; hence *rus* a tree and *rus* knowledge; whence *Rustam*, the trunk, club, tree of knowledge, was another name of *Hercules*." "But *Creath* or *Criath* in Irish signifies science, knowledge and a sieve; and *Creat* is another name for the Scythian and Irish *Hercules*." It is evident that *Creath* is but another form for *Craebh*, a branch, a bough, a tree. "*Gollamh* is a common name in Irish for a strong man." Then we have "*Damh*, learning; *Damhaadh*, a man of learning, a professor, from *Damh* and *Eih*, meaning a teacher; *Damh*, blood, connection, consanguinity, clan, people, house; Greek *Demos*, people, root *Dem*; *Pesic Dem*, Society; *Ir. Daimhiath*, a powerful clan; *Daimh*, a church; *Damhliach*, the stone church, from *Damh* a church and *lach* a stone, pronounced *Duleek* and said to have been the first stone church, which the Christians erected in Ireland. According to *Ammianus* the ancient name of *Adrianople* in *Thrace* was *Uscu-Dama*, that is, in Irish, *Uisce-Daimh*, meaning the residence, town, village or city near the water,—*Damh*, equus, bos, or a learned man; *Dunn*, a learned man, a doctor or professor,—"*Deimh*, death, dark or hidden is now, say the lexicographers, written *Taimh*, as *Taimh-tin*, a natural death; *Taimh-leacht*, a burial earn; *Taimh-lach*, a tomb-stone. *Deimhal* is, therefore, the Angel of Death, *Daemh*, but with the *M* unaspirated, as found in the Latin *Domus*, and even in the Gaelic *Dom*, a house is the original for *Dome* and you can see that *Taemh* is *Tomb*, that is, the house or dome of the dead. *Daemh* as well as *Gall*, *Call*, etc., means a round tower. In its primitive idea it has reference to rotundity, the belt of the zodiac; circle of the sun; the concave dome of the celestial sphere, the convex dome of the hemisphere of the earth; and as applied to objects; such as the human cranium, a human dwelling, etc., it has in it the idea both of the concave and the convex, the internal and external idea of the dome. When the Greeks (says *Vallancy*, *Coll. IV., XIV.*, note), came to understand that *cuil*, in the Scythian language meant a club, and *err*, a hero, they thought *Hercules* derived from *Erreuil*, or the club-hero, and thus they represented him; and the symbol of *Hercules* being the trunk of an olive tree confirmed them in the mistake." He considers the name *Hercules* derived from *Arg-iul*, i.e., *Arg*, a ship, and *iul*, guidance, an index. But the first meaning, given for *Arg* is champion, chief, commander, which are also among the meanings of *iul*. Again, he adds, "*Earc* means the heavens and *Earciul* describes the instrument turning to a certain point of

compound *Caldhaemh*, contracted into *Coll*; for the foregoing explanation also bears that in those ages and especially among the Scotch, whose tendency it was to abbreviate their words, it is most likely that the form *Dunchadh* or *Dunach*, would be occasionally pronounced as *Dufach* or *Duff*, and sometimes get into the histories under those forms by which he might become permanently known.

Under our number (25) we have *Malcolm*. As I have said above he is called in the *Sagas Hundi*. A person would naturally suppose that this

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the heavens." But in the sense of these instruments the word *Earcial* does not refer to a man, but to an inanimate thing.

My explanation of it is that *Err*, as appearing above, has one *r* too many. The word is evidently for *Fear*, a man; and, before we shall have finished our genealogic treatise, we shall find our hero in the form *Ferulni*, i.e., *Fear-Culin*, a little *Hercules*.

*Ca I*, *Coll*, *Cull*, and *Guth* the voice. *Mac Chaill*, etc., "Son of the voice," an *Echo*. It has reference largely to the oracle-givers or the prophets who predicted future events or delivered oracles, and consequently *Mac Chuil* would be, anciently, a priest, a prophet or the like.

Both, *Bath*, genitive *Boithe*, etc., a cottage, hut, house; *Bothall*, *Bothlann*, a temple, house. Vallancy, in speaking of the word *Tirtiguacan*, a word meaning pyramid in Mexican, says: "This Mexican word is literally Irish, *Tir-teag-uaghan*, the sepulchre of the house of the spirit." Again, in speaking of his labors as set forth in the seven volumes of his "*Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*," from which very able work I have extracted much of the information set forth in this foot note, he says: "I flatter myself to have thrown new light upon this subject and to have proved that the old language of those islands was originally Palestine-Scythic; it was in fact the language of that people which Mons. Bailly calls *l'ancien peuple perdue*. And if I may be allowed the expression, I esteem the Irish, *Erse* and *Maux*, to be those very ancient people, and therefore, they may properly be called *l'ancien peuple perdu retrouve*."

Another very able and pertinent writer, the author of the "*Round Towers*," explains *Fiadh* to be the plural of *Budh*, with the *B* aspirated, changed to *F*, and remarks that *Syncellus* spells *Budh* in the singular number with an *F*; and *Josephus* changes the *d* into *t*, as in *Fut* or *Put*, the *Apollo* of the Chaldees, and the founder of the Libyan nations of Africa." Hence, the collective and complex idea arises to us from the simple; from the idea of a tree, for example, we rise to the idea of a wood, a forest, *fiadh*, *feabh*, *coill*; and even to a heap of (fire) wood as *conadh*, I have not noticed that our clan has in any age been called *Clan Fife*; but from what has gone before it might have been so designated literally; for if we put *Feabh* into the genitive after *clan* it will become *Clan Fhábhe*, which might be pronounced *Clan Hive*, perhaps, and a hive, you see, is a "bee-house." From Prof. Humphrey Lhuyl as follows:—

Irish *Fifach*, Sciens, Knowing, } Root *Fibh* of nom-  
Irish *Fifam*, I know } inative *Feabh*,

a wood, a forest, a tree. In this manner *Coill*, *Daemh* and *Feabh* are exchangeable; and *Baeth* easily suggests *Budh*, and this *Dæbh* or *Dubh*, all meaning a house. Under the head, of *Domus*, a house, Prof. Lhuyl, has for the Irish among other terms: *Teach*, *Domhnach*, *Cai* (which is an abbreviation of *Caill* or *Coill*); *Dae* (which is an abbreviation of *Daibh* or *Daimb*); *Domh*, *Dom* (that is they have the same word with the *m* aspirated and unaspirated, meaning a house). *Lann*, *Long*, *Conghall*, *Dunadh*, *Achadh*, *Dunach*, or *Dunachadh*, etc., and *Conadh*, that is *Cinaedh*, a wooden house or a heap of wood. I find not only in the Irish, but in the ancient oriental languages that the forms *Cal*, *Col*, *Cul*, have both the idea of shade, that which is above as *Coelum*, the celestial vault, the ceiling of a room, etc., and also the idea of a house generally, and of a church, and by prefixing *s* you have *scull* and *skill*. The *scull* is the dome of the human body, the *dæbh* or *daemh*, highest roof; and in fact in German *Rufen*, root, *ruf*, means "to call." Then there is the Irish *cail*, *cul*, etc., Arabic *koel*, a covenant compact; and *Damh*, a covenant, compact, law; the support of a family; chief of a clan; a column, pillar, prop; the pillar of a State, prime minister of a nation. (See farther Vallancy.) A general idea in the root *Gall* or *Cull* is that of rotundity; the zodiac or course of the sun; the sun, the sphere. The Irish round towers were called *Gaill* (plural of *Gall*), the idea, doubtless, being largely connected with the beautiful, conical dome, which finished them above. These towers were, as we are informed by Bishop Cormac MacCulinan, in the *Psaltar* of *Cashel*, the temples of the ancient religion of the country.

form, *Hundi*, would arise to the Norwegians from the Gaelic name-form *Conn*; but this is not necessarily so; for although such form might arise from *Cu*, genitive *Conn*, it is none the less true that it might arise from *Coll*, which itself is for *Colmh* or *Calmh*, one of whose genitive forms is *Chuilbh* (from which form, doubtless, arises not only our word *whelp* but *wolf*). Both forms were known and used by the writers of the Sagas. Mr. Skene (*Celt. Scot.* I. 386), in speaking from *Olaf Trygvesson's Saga* of that newly-converted Christian monarch, in his relation to *Sigurd*, Earl of Orkney, says: "King *Olaf* offered the Earl to ransom his life on condition he should embrace the true faith and be baptized; that he should become his man and proclaim Christianity over all the Orkneys. He took his son *Hundi* or *Huelp*, as a hostage, and left the Orkneys for Norway, where *Hundi* stayed with him some years and then died there."

This man warred against the Norwegians in the north of Scotland about in 987-8 A. D. (see Skene in time of *Kenneth III.*); and it is thought by some to have been the same *Hundi*, who, under the name of '*Cronan*, abbot of *Dunkeld*, fell in a battle, fought among the Scots themselves in 1045' A. D. But a little consideration will show that this was not at all likely to have been the case; for between the times of these battles there had intervened at least fifty-seven years; and when *Hundi* first appears under that name, in 987-8, he is in command of an army and cannot reasonably be supposed to have been less than 25 or 30 years of age; so that supposing him to have been the same man who was killed in war in 1045, his eighty-second year, at the least, perhaps his ninetieth, found him leading on his men on the battlefield, in which 'he got killed with nine score heroes.' In the *Ulster Annals* (in *O'Connor's Coll. de R. H.*) I find the following entry under 1045; "A battle between the *Albanenses* themselves in which was slain *Cronan Abbas Duncaillend*." *Tiernach*, who gives of his name, the form '*Crinan*,' has the number slain to be 'nine score heroes.'

It is true that King *Duncan* is called in the old authorities, the '*son of Crinan*,' but in the Sagas, invariably, the '*son of Hundi*;' and I, for my part, knowing how the old Scottish histories have been doctored for a purpose, as mentioned above, all of them I say which had a historical bearing being evidently thus treated—even *Tiernach's Annals* having been suppressed from 766 to 975—would not for a moment hesitate to prefer in this case the last mentioned authority. The fact is that were it not for the Sagas it would have been exceedingly difficult for Mr. Burton, Mr. Skene and some others to have broken the seal of the mystery which those old church authorities have stamped upon the historic records of Scotland, even to the limited extent, which in the face of national and class prejudices, these investigators have felt free to do this

There, probably, was in the age referred to, a man named *Cronan* or *Crinan*, who was abbot of *Dunkeld*, and, although *Duncan's* father was,



doubtless, known in his day by the name of Malcolm, yet in the fourteenth century, or three centuries after his death, he might have been entered by Fordun in his history as Crinan, this form, in the process of doctoring, being considered a literal equivalent for the other; for either Mael or Coll or both compounded into one word, namely Malcolm, would be to Cronan or Crinan, in point of literal meaning, as our word skull stands toward cranium.

It is true that the name Malcolm, meaning especially in that early age, 'servant of Saint Colum,' might have been assumed by a man over his baptismal name Cronan. The form Cronan, pronounced Cronawn, is evidently a compound word, having, as one of its components, the word dubh in its diminutive form, daemhan; consequently Cran-dhaemhan would equal in sound Crawnawn or Cronyawn. The word Crinan, Creenyawn, also implies the idea of rotundity, the globe, the world, the precise equivalent of one of its compounds, Domhan, the world. This idea of world is implied in the idea of Cranium (Greek Cranion) our S-Cull.

Said a gentleman to me, who is a professor of the Irish language, "Cronan is the name we give to a swarthy or dark complexioned man," having the same meaning as Ciaran (which he pronounced Keearawn), derived from Ciar, black or dark brown, corresponding to dubh, black or water-color. It has also, said he, the idea of rotundity, Cruinne which is Crinan, meaning the orb of the world, corresponding to domhan, or Budh, 'the world,' Beatha, 'life.'

In speaking of the epithet Crandhamhna, as applied to one Conall a king of Dalriada, Dr. O'Connor says: "Or, as in some Codices, Ceanghamhna." This would be pronounced Cawnyawn or Cawnawn, and the Cean or Cran in Cronan or Crinan equals 'Clann' or 'Mac.' \*

In an enumeration of certain clans of Scotland, in regard to their descent, standing in the books of Farborough MacFirbis (Scot. Forbes), a celebrated antiquary who wrote about 1560, and was of the family of MacFirbises who compiled the Book of Lecan, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, there appears under its appropriate head the following entry: "MacGilla Eoin (MacLean), the two MacLeods (or the MacClouds,

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\* Crann means a tree rather in the sense of a beam, mast, shaft, that which shoots up or forth as a beam of light; and it must also mean a plant or young tree; for Welsh plant is issue, offspring, children, and the l and r being consonants of the same organ are much interchanged in the languages. The c and p are also much interchanged. "The Celtic Clan," says Webster, "is probably the Welsh plan, plant, with a different prefix." Clann is Clant or Cland; plann is plant or pland, and so Crann is Crant or Crand. That Clan is an equivalent for Mac is shown by the fact that clan is plan and the Welsh for Mac is Mab or Map, and everybody knows that a plan of anything is, in a sense, a map of it. Clan, plan, plant: "the radical sense is probably to shoot, to extend." — Webster. From the fact that O'Flaherty, in the Gaelic, spells this name Crionan I would rather think that, in connection with this clan of Ruidhri or Clan Duff, which is understood generally as meaning a house, a shieling or the like, Malcolm or any other man of this family, might have been called, by the historian, Crinan for Grianan, the G being often represented by C, simply as a literal equivalent for the clan name Duibh or Craebh in the sense of Duibh; for the form Grianan has among its meanings a summer house, a palace, a peak of a mountain; or a sunny place, etc.



of the Islands of Harris and Lewis); MacConnigh (MacKenzie) Mac a Toisigh (Mackintosh); Murmor Hundon (Mormaer of Moray?) are of the race of Conaire."

This entry I take from Skene's *Celt, Scotland* (vol. iii., p. 119), and that author, who is an eminent Gaelic scholar and historian, knows nothing to the contrary of the "Murmair Hundon" or Hundi, referring here to the Mormaer of Moray. In connection, therefore, with our 'Kali Hundason' this entry may be taken fairly to show that said Kali was a descendant of the House of Moray.

The name which the Irish authorities generally wrote Cineadh, was by the Scots usually written Coineach and Cuineach or Cunachadh, and also Conan or Conang, which last forms would be equivalent to Cronan. Speaking of Kenneth Kear, king of Dalriada, O'Flaherty says: "He is indiscriminately called Conchadh, Connadh and Conang, but not Cineaeth." Notwithstanding this, however, the Scots have translated the name Kenneth, because with them it was the same. If, then, our Hundi had for his baptismal name any of those forms which from Conair or Cronan, might, perhaps, as well as Coll be translated Hundi, then he must have assumed the name Malcolm, for the reason above given, which I consider not improbable. The house of the Mormaers of Moray was of the same stock as that of the MacAlpin line of kings, that is it was of the house of Ferchar III., whence the line proceeded. This will become clearer as we go on. As to the father of our Kali, that is, Hundi, while having been king of Scotland for twenty-nine years, it is not improbable from what may be discovered to the contrary that he may have held the office, whether honorary or otherwise, for a term or for his lifetime, of lay abbot of Dunkeld. This, however, is secondary to the idea of Hundi, being the father of Kali, and we have before us a remarkable instance of the obscuration of the Scottish history by the clerical scribes alluded to above.

Says Mr. W. F. Skene: "What may be called the Celtic period of Scottish history has been peculiarly the field of a fabulous narrative of no ordinary perplexity; but while the origin of those fables can be very distinctly traced to the rivalry and ambition of ecclesiastical establishments and church parties and to the great national controversy excited by the claim of England to a feudal supremacy over Scotland, still each period of its history will be found not to be without sources of information. Before the early history of any country can be correctly ascertained there is a preliminary process which must be gone through and which is quite essential to a sound treatment of the subject; and that is a critical examination of the authorities upon which that history is based. This is especially necessary with regard to the early history of Scotland."

After giving a succinct review of the works on Scottish history, preceding his own, this author says: "These works are all more or less tainted by the same defect that they have not been founded upon that complete and

comprehensive examination of all the existing materials for the history of this early period, and that critical examination of their relative values and analysis of their contents without which any view of this period of the annals of the country must be partial and inexact. They labor, in short, under the twofold defect, first, of an uncritical use of the materials, which are authentic; and, second, of the combination with those materials of others which are undoubtedly spurious. The early chronicles are referred to as of equal authority and without reference to the period or circumstances of their production. The text of Fordun's chronicle, upon which the history, at least prior to the fourteenth century, must always to a considerable extent be based, is quoted as an original authority, without adverting to the materials he made use of and the mode in which he has adapted them to a fictitious scheme of history; and the additions and alterations of his interpolater, Bowar, are not only founded upon as the statements of Fordun himself, but quoted under his name in preference to his original version of the events.\*

It is well for me to remark here, in order that there may be the proper discernment in regard to this subject, that neither Mr. Skene nor any other writer intends to say that the work of Fordun and his continuator, Bowar, or that of Hector Boece, is entirely fictitious; but what they intend to say is that the true history of Scotland in its early periods has been by those writers so interwoven with fiction that it requires much labor and time and painstaking research on the part of the competent and unprejudiced critic to disentangle the facts and exhibit the continuous thread of the historic events free from mythic covering or class or race coloring. A man who would say, for example, that the work of Fordun is entirely fictitious would be prepared to say that the Albanic, Pictish and Scottish nations did not begin to exist before comparatively modern times, an assertion, which, if made, even intelligent common sense would at once negative, and the intelligence of the learned would say was idiotic.

Prof. Munch in his 'Chronicle of Mann' (pp. 46-48) calls the immediate successor of Malcolm II. 'Malcolm MacKenneth.' But in this he was following a misconception of Mr. Skene as published in his 'Highlanders of Scotland,' in 1837, in which he had suggested 'that two kings of Scotland, at this period, of the name of Malcolm had been confounded, one who died in 1029 and Malcolm MacKenneth, who died in 1034, and that the latter was Kali Hundason.' In his edition of Celtic Scot. published in 1880 (vol. I, p. 400, note), Mr. Skene notices the mistake of Prof. Munch and regrets that he should have led the Prof. into it; for that he had 'long since come to the conclusion that this theory is untenable.'

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\* Celtic Scotland, Introduction to vol. 1, by Wm. F. Skene, in 3 vols. Mr. Skene has the reputation of being one of the most perfect Gaelic-English scholars of his day. He must now be well advanced in years, his work on the Highland Clans having been published in 1837. His publisher is David Douglas, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Prof. Munch, speaking from the Orkneyinga Saga with reference to Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, says: "Thorfinn outliving his oldest brothers became lord of Orkney and Shetland, and Caithness was given to him by his maternal grandfather, Malcolm MacMaelbrigid, and, after the death of Malcolm in 1029, he sustained a successful war with King Malcolm MacKenneth and conquered Sutherland and Ross," etc.

In speaking of the theory of two Malcolms at this period Mr. Burton says: "It is necessary to speak of them as one since there are no means of separating their two reputations." *Hist. Scot.* 1, 374.

Now, as to our number (25) we shall leave this for the present, expecting more light on it as we proceed. But referring to number (26) we have Kenneth III. all wrapped up in his mantle of Saint Brigit. But this Kenneth was a renowned warrior, and in the Sagas he is called Mag-Biodr, which Mr. Skene and others think is meant as a substitute for MaelBrighdi, in which they may be correct; but for which there might be other reasons as follows: MagBiodr, the Scandinavians would substitute for MacBoidh, which name they would give him, as a surname, from his father, whose name was Ruidhri, our number (27). The name Ruidhri is a compound word, made up of Rugh and Airidh. Now, if any one looks into the Gaelic Lexicon he will find Rugh to mean an arm, a cape, promontory, etc., and among its meanings also is a shieling, that is, a booth, hut, or summer residence for herdsmen. Of Airidh the first signification is shieling. MacRuidhri, therefore, would be literally translatable MacBoidhe or MacBaidhe, which the Scandinavians, calling the man by his surname instead of his Christian name, would set down as MagBiodr or MagBoidr.\*

This Ruighri (27), whom they have set down in the history as Malcolm I, is in the Pictish chronicle simply called Mael, which may have given rise to the appellation of Malcolm I., as applied to him. 'Speaking of Constantine, the son of Aedh, his immediate predecessor' retiring to a mon-

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\* A reference in Skene's (*Celt. Scot.* I, 57) has led me to suppose, if not decide, that our Kenneth III. was named among his own people Cal or Col, genitive Cuil or Culi. From the records of grants, made from time to time to the Monastery of Deer in Buchan, there is the following expression: "Then Domnall, son of Ruidhri, the fifth-named mormaer (that is before mentioned), and Malcolm, son of Culi, give Bidhen, now Biffie; and here the king comes in as also possessing rights in these lands, for Malcolm, son of Cinaetha, or Malcolm II., gives the king's share in Bidhen, Pett mic Gobroig and the two Davachs of Upper Rosabard." I have thought it very clear that the Malcolm son of Culi and the Malcolm son of Cinaetha represented but one person, with a sort of glossing over to render obscure the king's identity; for, in the first place, I do not find that among the Scotch themselves the form Cinaeth was used much, if any, for our name Kenneth, their form being Calneach or Coinneach; and in the second place, their forms Call, etc., meaning Calthaemh, Colbhaedh or Culaedh, the first part of the compound having the meaning of kin or clan, it is very likely that this form was put by their historians into the form Cinaeth as a just literal equivalent. But this 'Culi' is called in the same record the 'son of Batni;' as it comes to me, however, in English the Gaelic is not fairly represented in the expression. Baedhan, genitive Baidhni, is, of course, a diminutive of Baidh or Boidh, and Culi would be the genitive of Cal or Col, and so the expression 'Malcolm, son of Culi, son of Batni,' as given in English, would, in short, thus equal 'Malcolm mac-MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri.'

astery in his old age, the chronicle, as Anglicised from the Latin, says: "And being decrepit with old age he took the pilgrim's staff and served the Lord, and resigned the kingdom to Mael, the son of Donald." Mael is evidently put here for Ruighri, meaning just the same as its first component.\*

This Rudhri's father being named Donald (28) helps also to identify him as the 'Mael' or 'Malcolm I, Son of Donald,' of the history of Fordun. In one of the old English chronicles, in an enumeration of the kings who were present with King Edgar on one occasion (sometime in the interval 950-975) I see his name entered as 'Rinoch, the King of Scottes,' which, however, may have referred to his son Maelbrighdi. The root of this form of his name would be simply a diminutive of Rudha, a point of land or promontory, as explained above, and would mean, in effect, the same.†

This root evidently carries in it the idea of Toiseach, he who precedes, goes before, leads; and the use of the form ness (a promontory) exchangeably with tus or tos (see local names Moythus, Moythes and Moyness, as in Celt., Scott., III., 248; those different forms referring to the same place), which (ness) I take to be an abbreviation of Aengus, which in its turn must equal Taesean, fuller form Taeseanach, show that all these words are, as it were, clustered together in the idea representing the same thing or action, the same collective idea or course of action. Speaking in relation to the grades and relation of offices to each other among the Gaels in early times, Mr. Skene (Celt. Scot. III., 141) speaks as follows of the King: "As the supreme authority and judge of the tribe he was the Ri or King. This was his primary function. Then we are told that 'it is lawful for a king to have a judge, though he himself is a judge.' As the leader in war he was the 'Toisech' or captain, and bore the one or the other title as either function became most prominent, while in some cases these functions might be separated and held by different functionaries." Thus, I think, it has generally been with the Gaels in the ages preceding the introduction of foreign manners, customs, and modifications of government, or before the age of the children of Malcolm Ceanmor; and the MacAlpine line of kings, I perceive, were not averse to the title of Toiseach.

And now for some more light upon what has preceded: In Tiernach's Annals, under the year 1029, there is the following entry: "Malcolaim mac MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri, Ri Albain, mortuus est." "Malcolm, the son of MaelBrighdi, the grandson of Ruidhri, King of Scotland, died." Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, p. 77.

\* "Rudha, a point of land jutting out into the sea, a promontory; Mael or Maol, a cape or promontory, the brow of a rock."—Gaelic Eng. Dictionary.

† "Ronn, a point, as of a weapon, a small promontory or headland."—Gaelic Dictionary. It is the diminutive form of the root that is used in the Greek for our word 'nose,' as 'Pis, genitive, 'Pisos, root 'Pis, this organ being a kind of 'point' or 'promontory' projecting from the face.



Under the year 1034 there appears in the same authority and on the same page the following: "Malcolaim mac Cinaetha, Ri Alban ordan iarthair Eorpa uile deg." "Malcolm, the son of Cinaeth, king of the Alban nobility (or dignity) of all western Europe died." This is rather bombastic language and seems to me to have no meaning; but if it has, then, one Malcolm, the king of Scotland, died in 1029, and another, the king of all the nobility or dignity of western Europe died in 1034. Or would this last entry have had reference to some man who had been the recognized chief of some secret and wide-spread organization after the manner of the 'Masons?' Otherwise it is so evidently a foolish entry or a forgery that I do not think worth while to say any more about it.

In the course of their mystification and, in effect, falsification of the Scottish historic records the fabulists who would apparently make the Mac Alpine line of kings to have been distinct and of different origin from the house of Moray have stated that their Malcolm II, son to Kenneth III., son to Malcolm I., had no son but two daughters, one of whom was married to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney and the other to Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld. They, perhaps, did not foresee that it would be discovered in due time in the Sagas, that the Malcolm, whose daughter Sigurd had married, was Malcolm mac MaelBrighdi mic Ruidhri, who reigned over Scotland as its king for 29 years. This last statement taken from the Sagas, as to the length of time Sigurd's father-in-law reigned, proves beyond all doubt Malcolm mac MaelBrighdi to be identic with Malcolm mac Cinaedha; for, according to the best authorities upon this subject, Mr. Skene among the rest, king Grim, otherwise called MacDhuff, the immediate predecessor of Malcolm II., and the immediate successor of Constantine, the son of Cuillen, died in 1004 or 1005 (the Annals of Ulster having it in the latter year), to which if you add 29 years you have 1034, which according to all is the proper year of the death of Malcolm II. Any one, therefore, can see what invaluable helps those Sagas are to us in the work of disentangling the intricate web of this history, which no one who has not tried his patience with, can fully appreciate the difficulty of. Mr. Burton in his History of Scotland (vol. 1, 310), speaking in reference to the history of the earlier periods and the difficulty of coming to a proper understanding of it says: "The whole affair is so fugitive and confused as to afford nothing but perplexity to those who have tried to unravel it."

The Sagas know nothing about MacBeth under that name any more than they do about Duncan under this appellation; but impartial consideration of the subject shows that MacBeth, whether or not he was known by another appellation also, was an entity and was king of Scotland for about seventeen years.

But to illustrate how those old records have been made to confuse matters, take for an example the following from the chronicle of the Huntington under *anno* 1054:—

Comes Northumbriae Siwardus Scotiam ingressus Maket regem nepotem dicti Malcolmi cum XV annis regnaret, a regno fugavit, which is translated as follows: "Seward, Earl of Northumberland, having entered Scotland, chased from that realm King Maketh, the grandson of said Malcolm, when he had reigned fifteen years." Without thinking it necessary here to show that almost all the ancient authorities agree as to MacBeth having reigned seventeen years, or up to 1057 instead of 1054, as, according to this author, I will simply bring to your notice how that MacBeth is here called '*the grandson of said Malcolm.*'

But it might be difficult here to determine which MacBeth was referred to, there appearing to have been a MacBeth or MacBoidhe, grandson to Malcolm 1st, and a MacBeth, grandson to Malcolm II. This tabulation will illustrate the case:—

Ruidhri was Malcolm I.

Maelbrighdi was Kenneth III, son of

MacBoidhe son of      Malcolm II, son of

Dunchadh son of      Bethach, daughter of  
Thorfin son of

The common opinion, as gathered from the genealogical lists appearing in the histories of those periods, was that King MacBeth was cousin-germain of Malcolm II, as having been grandson of Ruidhri through his son Finlaoch. But this is an egregious mistake as I will make plain before having finished this Appendix work.

Under *anno* 1033, the year in which, according to Mr. Burton, Malcolm II. died, the Annals of Ulster have the following entry:—

'Mac meic Boidhe mac Cinaedha do marbhadh la Malcolaim meic Cinaedha:' which, as it stands, is thus translated: "A son of a son of Boidhe, son of Cinaedh, was slain by Malcolm, son of Cinaedh." Mr. Skene says with respect of the Cinaedh here mentioned: "He may either have been the same Kenneth who was father of Malcolm II." (*i.e.*, Maelbrighdi), "thus making Bodhe his" (*i.e.*, Malcolm's) "brother, or the Kenneth, son of Malcolm, who slew Constantine, son of Culen, and is supposed by Fordun to have been his" (*i.e.*, Kenneth III. or Maelbrighdis) "illegitimate brother."

The present reading, however, of the Annals would make the person who was killed by Kenneth (it makes no difference as to time, as you see, which Kenneth it was, the two Kenneths being supposed brothers by Fordun, just as if there were not enough names accessible to Ruidhri, *i.e.*, Malcolm I., to obviate the necessity of his giving the same name to two of his sons; but the Kenneth here referred to in the Annals appears clearly enough Kenneth III.); I say the present reading of the Annals would make the person who was killed by Malcolm II. to have been great grandson of Kenneth by his son Bodhe, and consequently two generations

farther down in the scale than Malcolm II., the supposed brother to that Bodhe. If, therefore, such a person lived in the time of Malcolm II., and the latter killed him, he must necessarily have killed a young and harmless child. But such an idea is inadmissible.

The true reading for meic Boidhe in the passage in the Annals is beyond doubt MacBoidhe, which would make the passage thus translated: "A son of MacBoidhe, son of Kenneth, was slain by Malcolm, son of Kenneth." This would make the person whom Malcolm is supposed to have killed to have been his nephew and Kenneth's grandson. I have not noticed that there was such a name as Baedh or Bodhe common among the Gaels, but Mac Baidhe or Mac Boidhe, etc., was not uncommon, and signified, I believe, a champion, a hero, an accomplished gentleman.\*

\* In both Tiernach and Marianus MacBeth is entered as son of Finlaach: but whether or not Finlaach was a name by which a brother of Maelbrighdi was known, as according to some old genealogical tabulations, it is pretty certain that the MacBeth, who reigned King of Scotland for 17 years, was of the house of Malcolm mac Maelbrighdi, but through a female line. As king, therefore, he was illegitimate. "St. Berchan," says Skene, "gives MacBeth a reign of 30 years, which reckoning from his death in 1057 places its commencement about this time," i.e., 1029 or when Malcolm II. deceased. Consequently this MacBeth must have been considered by a portion at least of the Scottish nation as King during the reign of Duncan. A person would think that a man so regarded at the time could not be supposed to have risen to the place from outside the house of Maelbrighdi, unless he were a conqueror of the country. Under *anno* 1029 the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, p. 77, has the entry: "Malcolm mac Maelbrighdi mic Ruidhri, ri Alban, mortuus est." That is, Malcolm, the Second died in that year. "The later chronicles," says Skene, "state that he was slain by treachery at Glamis; and Fordun adds, by some of the stock of Constantine and Gryn, — but the older notices of his death imply that he died a natural death." If Malcolm had killed his brother's son whether or not he had good reason from his point of view for such proceeding, he doubtless made enemies for himself; for the brother whose son had lost his life, who doubtless had a strong party in the nation in sympathy with him, would have taken the matter to heart; and perhaps none the least of those, who would meditate vengeance for the deed would be the maternal relations of the boy. This would be likely to be so whether or not anything would come of it.

Under *anno* 1020 the Annals of Ulster have the following entry: Finlaach mac Ruidhri, ri Alban, a suis occisus. That is "Finley, son of Ruidhri, king of Scotland, was slain by his own people." In Tiernach's Annals, wherein the entry is under the same year, Finley is called not ri or king but "Procurator or Seneschall of the clan of Craebh."

While it may be taken for granted that Clan Craebh is meant for Clan Duibh, the then Clan Ruidhri, still I think there is good reason to conclude these entries not authentic: For, in the first place, this Finlaach is entered in the Sagas as engaged in war in about 980-1 with Sigurd, earl of Orkney; and we cannot suppose him to have been less than thirty years of age, when he entrusted himself or was entrusted by his people with the command of an army against the Norwegians, so that at the time he was killed, as according to the last entry, 'by his brother's sons, a not very likely thing indeed, even at that time, he would have been 70 years of age, perhaps 80; so that the entries, on the whole, look to me as having a counterfeit face. In all the Annals of that Country and period there is much that is not authentic, and much that is fictitious.

The reason why Tiernach's proper Annals are so comparatively meagre is thought to have been because of the author's great desire to have published only truth. I have thought it strange that his Annals should have been suppressed from 763 to 975 A. D. and although Dr. O'Connor supposes that the matter suppressed in his Annals appears, in the main, in the Annals of Ulster yet most investigators would prefer to have the statements under the name of Tiernach himself.

Under the year 995 there appears in Tiernach the following entry: "Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, king of Scotland, was slain by his own people." He is said by de Wyntoun to have been killed at Fetherkerne, which I believe is located in the district called the Mearns, by the wife of the maormor of that province, whose only son it is said Kenneth had caused to be put to death some time previously. Whether or not there be any truth in this it would seem to contain the story of Malcolm, the second's death by anticipation. If one of them died a violent death the story may have been transferred to the other gratuitously?

It appeared to me, whether I was correct in my notion or not, that it may have been Fordun's inventive genius which created a Kenneth, son of Malcolm, to slay a Constantine son of Culen; and secondly it has appeared to me plain enough—the whole story of Crinan, abthane of Dull to the contrary notwithstanding—that Kenneth III. had a sufficient number of sons to occupy his throne after him independently of any stranger who might have happened into his kinship through a female line.

Mr. Skene continues: “Fordun tells us that the old custom of the succession of kings lasted without a break until the time of Malcolm II., son of Kenneth, when for fear of the dismemberment of the kingdom which might perhaps result therefrom that king, in a general ordinance, decreed as a law forever, that henceforth each king after his death should be succeeded in the government of the kingdom, by whoever was at the time being the next descendant, that is a son or a daughter, a nephew or a niece, the nearest then living. Failing these, however, the next heir begotten of a royal or a collateral stock should possess the right of inheritance.” Fordun's Chron. B. IV. Ch. 1, Ed. 1872.

“Whether,” continues Skene, “Malcolm actually issued a formal decree to this effect rests on the authority of Fordun alone, which can hardly be accepted for the events of this early period. Malcolm seems to have taken the readier mode of removing from life any competitor who could claim as a male descendant.” Thus Skene. (Celt. Scot. vol. I., 399 note).

Would this whole thing have been pure and simple one of the continued fabrications of Fordun to which Mr. Skene himself sometimes gives a too literal interpretation; for it is a most unreasonable supposition that Malcolm would have gone to work and deliberately taken the life of any one simply to prevent such an one from succeeding in the government. If

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I have reflected, on consideration of this whole subject, that there is not only great likelihood but abundant proof of the Gaelic records of this period, say from the tenth to the fifteenth century, having been corrupted for a purpose, that is, in connection with the mythico-historic productions of Fordun and the Irish historians and that consequently what is found in those records of those and preceding periods should be as far as possible compared with the Scandinavian or other external records, before they are set down as authentic.

Secondly, I have noticed that since the marriage of the son of Duncan with the English princess Margaret, the South British literature appears to have been all on one side. The son and grandson of Duncan, that is Malcolm III. and his son Edgar, if not his brother David also, came into the power in Scotland by means of the assisting forces from South Britain; consequently, since that time, there has been no little glorification of that one side on the part of the South British and Anglo-Scotch authors and no little contempt, if not abuse, of the other side. It is a sorry thing indeed to find a Scotch historian try to keep on the popular side at the expense, perhaps, of some principal. In true patriotism there is much true principle. This, indeed, is not narrow or contracted, but looking above small things and not allowing itself to brood over or be occupied with the faults or follies of a few of its people, which faults are likely to be laid hold of and magnified by designing foreigners, perhaps for their own glorification, it embraces in its love the whole nation and kindred of its patria. Dr. Geo. Chalmers in his representation of the character of MacBeth might be thought to have developed a truly patriotic spirit if he had not developed it on the wrong side. He seems to have been conscious of MacBeth's illegitimacy as King, but if he thought him to have been by descent a Scot, he was mistaken.



he did take the life of any one it is most probable that he had good and reasonable grounds, at least from his standpoint, for such proceeding. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, I. 262, says of this Malcolm: "He made the crown hereditary which had been before a concession of the nobility; he enacted laws; divided the kingdom into baronies. John Skenae collected the statutes of Malcolm II., and published them; where in the first chapter, King Malcolm gave and distributed all the country of the Kingdom of Scotland to his subjects and reserved nothing for himself, as a property except his royalty and Mount Placid, in the village of Seone." He is said to have been the first who applied to the kingdom, the name Scotland; for in his reign he had won by war the territory south of the Firth of Forth, namely Lothian, so that he united the whole country as far as the English borders under the name of Scotland; I know not, indeed, whether O'Flaherty had in his possession a copy of the law collected, as he says, by Skenae; but it would seem that he was acquainted with it by his referring to its first chapter. Mr. Skene, however, says above that the said law 'rests upon the authority of Fordun alone,' and as to whether this was so or not I deem of no consequence.

When Fordun wrote, Scotland was under foreign, more especially Anglo-Norman influence. He certainly appears not to have had all his interest in humanity or for himself centered in the Scottish nation. He appears to have been of foreign derivation to Scotland, for Mr. Skene, after referring to his description of the Highlanders as contained in vol. II., p. 38 of his *Chronicle*, says: "This description is, no doubt, to some extent colored by the predilections of one who himself belonged to the Low country population, but is not greatly unlike the prejudiced view taken of the characteristics of the Celtic population by late historians; and the struggle between the prejudices of the old historian against the Highland population, and his reluctant admission of their better qualities is apparent enough."

With a peculiar ingenuity under his ecclesiastical cloak his general object, as appears to me, must have been: first, a sort of unification of Scotland itself under a strong government, somewhat akin to the Norman of that age; more nationality, less clanship would doubtless be for the end Fordun had in view, as best what was required. He, therefore, must, in his idea produce a history, so-called, in which the facts would be so interwoven and embellished with fiction that it would be difficult for the clans in future time to trace their origin, at least from his chronicle; and if they should undertake to do so they must, for the good of the general mass, become a laughing stock to the so-called learned class, who being largely of foreign derivation to the country would be in a position to attribute to them plausibly any foreign origin they pleased, without the people themselves being intelligent enough to exercise any judgment on the matter. He would thus, so to speak, render them mouldable, like clay in

the hands of the potter, as to their susceptibility to foreign influences and their receptivity of foreign institutions, national and local. Secondly, his object from the fraternal standpoint of a priest would doubtless have been the promotion of international friendship, intelligence and commerce, more especially among the people of the British Isles, and eventually the unification of North and South Britain. Whether this may be a somewhat fair view, in a limited way, of his general object, the man himself, his age and circumstance being considered, and whether all this has been accomplished to a remarkable degree at a much too great sacrifice to it, at the start, of simple truth only those who are acquainted with this general subject can judge; but it is evident that even Mr. Skene may have followed him too closely and understood him too literally in many places and connections in which his narrative may be fictitious.

It is agreed by all historians that with Malcolm II. the light breaks in upon the Scottish history. But this Malcolm II. the Sagas have enabled us to identify with Malcolm, son of MaelBrighdi; consequently Mael-Brighdi is their Cinaeth III. Now this Cinaeth III. was, of course, son of their Malcolm I.; but we really find by the genealogic list that Mael-Brighdi was the son of Ruidhri; consequently, as shown before, Ruidhri is their Malcolm I. But this, their Malcolm I. was, according to them, the son of Donald, which we find in the genealogic list to be the name of the father of Ruidhri. He was doubtless in his lifetime usually called by the short name of Dunh. He is number 28 of our genealogic list, and is called by Dr. Chalmers and the other historians Donald IV. He must be the Donald Dagathach of the Ulster Annals and O'Flaherty and this being so we have in our No. (29) that is Morgand or Moreund not only Constantine but Aedh; for, according to all the authorities, the man we find to be Donald IV. was son to Constantine, which name in the Gaelic is Conn or Cund, the clan name thereof being Aedh. Morcand is merchant, that is, the Conn or chief of the sea (Mur). This Constantine they enter as son to Kenneth II.; but here the immediate predecessor of Morgand is entered as Donald, who, being also given as his father, leaves Constantine to have been grandson of Kenneth II., not his son. For it is certain the one in our list they intend for Kenneth II. is Cathmail No. 31; Gregair in the adjoining list, and in another list, Eoghan. This being so the one who immediately precedes Cathmail in our list, *i.e.*, Ruidhri; and, in the

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\* Dr. Jas. Brown, in his History of Scotland, speaks of Kenneth McAlpin as of a mythical character, "celebrated in fabulous story for his supposed extermination of the whole Pictish nation;" and calls MacDuff, Earl of Fife, "a greater and more renowned hero than Kenneth McAlpin himself and not less apocryphal." In a like vein he speaks of Gregor, the Great, whom the clan of MacGregor claim as their ancestor. But notwithstanding all this those men were entities; doubtless, real, industrious, hard-working men in their day and generation. But the histories have clothed some few of them with different forms of name than those given to them in baptism—such as Fife MacDuff, with perhaps another name or two for the same man—while in most cases, doubtless the histories have entered them by their proper Christian names.

adjoining list, Dungal, is the man they intend for Alpin, for these three names, meaning the same thing, refer to the same person, whom some have also entered as Muiredhach.

Of the word Donald the parts are Daemh-land (nald being equivalent to land as Allin is in the Gaelic after mac or clan, MacNallie, etc., or as with us, our common name Ellen is Nellie; or in the Gaelic again, Seachlann is the same with Seachnaill, Dunseachlainn being Dunseach-naill, etc.), and in this name Donald we suppose the parts each to mean just about the same as the other. Now, although the form Connall, of which Cinnell is a variation, as for example, in the phrase Cineal Scuit, the Scottish race, Cinel Comhghall, the tribe or clan of Comgall, is but an inflection of Domhnall, that is a form which arises from the genitive after mac, clan, etc., MacDhomhnaill, being turned into MacConnaill as MacConnich arises from MacDhunach; and although this Connaill or Cinel or Cineal has the precise meaning of the form Cinaedh still and withal it may not be quite clear to those, who are unacquainted with the Gaelic language, its idioms, and the history of the nation whose language it was, that Domhnall MacChathmhail was sometimes Anglicised Connal MacConnal. Take the meanings of the parts then: Daimh, a house, a church, clan, people; Lann, an inclosure, church, house, land, either of them might in several of their senses be used for the other; but if a perfectly literal definition would be required of the compound word Donald, it would be the 'Dome of the Enclosure,' the roof of the house; as applied to a human being it would mean the 'head man of a State;' but the general meaning usually understood of it is 'clan,' 'house,' in which it agrees exactly with the form Cinaeth; which latter form, as I have remarked before, appears not to have been in very general use among the Scotch.\*

The place where Alpin was killed in battle with the Picts of Galloway is called Drum Cathmail. "One of the Chronicles," says Skene, "appears to have preserved the traditionary account of his death, when it tells us that he was slain in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single person who lay in wait for him in a thick wood, overhanging the entrance of the ford of a river as he rode among his people." In reference to the locality of the battle, the writer of the 'Statistical Account' says that 'its surface abounds with small hills of a conical figure called Drums;' and 'on the northeast is the green hill of Dungaile, whose summit was once crowned with a strong fort.' 'Dungayle,' says he, 'is probably a corruption from Dun — G. — Chathmhail, the aspirated consonants being quiescent.' N. S. A. vol. IV. pp. 144-5. "There is a large upright

\* The simplest explanation of it is that Cinneal, which the Scotch people generally use for Cinneadh (it meaning exactly the same), is understood as a variation of Connall, which latter is or arises from an inflection of Domhnall, that is, after mac or clan, or the like in the genitive case.

pillar stone," says Mr. Skene, "to which the name Laight Alpin or the grave of Alpin is given; it belongs to the farm of Meikle and Little Laight on the eastern shore of Loch Ryan, and the stone is on the very line of separation between the counties of Ayr and Wigtoun."

In the early church in Wales there was a St. Cathmail (also called St. Cadoc and Docus) and Mr. Skene finds there was a place called Kirk Cormac in the parish of Kelton in Galloway, near Kirk Cudbright, about where the battle was fought, which place or church he supposes was in early times called Cathmail.

Either Ruidhri or Dungal was, doubtless, the baptismal name of this man, but he was afterwards given for variation in the histories other names, of the same meaning at least in some of their senses.

As to the date of Alpin's death we are told in the chronicle of Hunting-ton that "in the year 834 there was a conflict between the Scots and Picts at Easter and many of the more noble of the Picts were slain and Alpin, king of the Scots, remained victorious, but, being elated with his success, he was in another battle, fought on the 20th of July in the same year, defeated and slain." This appears to be a variation of the other account.

Mr. Skene finds that in the old British language of Strathelyde Ruidhri means Dominus, which is the meaning given for the name Muiredhach by Vallancy and the old lexicographers. This name Muiredhach was used, doubtless, by some historians for further variation and mystification of the history at this period. This man is identical with "Muiredhach the good," the "son of Ferchar" in the Alban Duan.

In No. 33 of my list is the name Aincealach, spelled also in one old list I have seen, Aircealach, which is, doubtless, a mistranscription of a letter by some MSS. copyist. In the old Gaelic genealogies some whose proper name was Eochaidh appear in the histories under other names, as, for example, Carbri Righfhada and his grandfather Moghallamh, who had as their proper prenomens Eochaidh or Eoghan. This man, therefore, under whose two adjectival names of Aincealach (gentle, good) and Sealbhach (wealthy) they have made out so much of the historical romance, would seem to have had for his baptismal name Eochaidh; for Alpin is called "Son of Achaius." The strain of the history is that Sealbhach was a brother of Aincealach, who contested in war with him his right to the throne and so prevailed against him as to cause him to absent himself in Ireland for two years. That after the expiration of this time Aincealach returned, defeated Sealbhach in battle and resumed the administration of the government. But, if there were no other marks internal or external to indicate their character as partly fictitious, the contradictions and inconsistencies with which the histories of that age and country abound would clearly show to the historical critic that a large portion of the filling up or expansion of those histories must necessarily be of the nature of the historical romance.



No. 34 is quite a remarkable figure in Dalriadic history. To this Ferchard or to his father through a brother of his, all the private genealogies in the MacAlpin line, which have come under my observation, trace back. He is made eighth in descent from Loarn, who is set down in the Irish list as son of Ere and is represented in some histories as brother of Fergus. The genealogy of this Ferchard is given not only in the 'Tract on the Men of Alban' in the chronicle of the Picts and Scots (p. 316), but in the Books of Ballymote, Lecan and Leinster. Supposing, therefore, for the present, the said Loarn to have been as the statements in the Irish histories and the traditions represent, namely, as a son of Eric and elder brother of Fergus, then this Ferchard was the first of his line, after his eighth ancestor, who came to the throne of Dalriada. O'Flaherty puts him down as "16th king of Dalriada, and eighth from Loarn," so that of the race of Fergus, the latter included, there were fifteen kings before this Ferchard. Since, however, the old Scottish historians, Fordun and those who have followed him, have not mentioned Loarn or alluded to the clan called, afterwards, Cinnel Loarn, some people have thought Loarn to have been only another name for Fergus. Supposing it, first, to be as the Irish histories represent then Ferchard's accession to the throne arose from the following chain of circumstances. From the death of Donald Brec, king of Dalriada, in war with the Britons of Strathclyde, in 642, A. D., it is noticed that no one is called by Tiernach Ri of Dalriada (although he mentions two or three who succeeded each other), before the son of this Ferchard. "Dalriada," says Skene, "seems to have fallen into a state of anarchy on the death of Donald Brec. During the remainder of this century we find no descendant of Aidan recorded, bearing the title of king of Dalriada, and it is probable from Adamnan's remark" (circa, 700 A. D.), referring to Donald Brec, "that from that day to this they have been trodden down by strangers," that the Britons now exercised a rule over them. (Celt. Scot. 1,250). From this it is seen that the Britons did, for a time, during the period indicated, dominate over the Dalriadians, which both they and the Angles did to some extent over the Picts, whom they wished to bring more under subjection to them; for Bede tells us that in the year 685 "Ecgfried, king of Northumbria, led an army to ravage the provinces of the Picts, and that the enemy feigning a retreat, he was led into the passes of inaccessible mountains and slain with the greatest part of the forces which he had taken with him, on the 20th day of May, in the 40th year of his age," *i.e.*, in the year 685. In this expedition Ecgfried seems to have wrought much destruction to the Pictish cities, and, says Skene, "he seems at the same time to have sent a detachment from his army into Dalriada where he burnt Dunollaig, now Dunolly, the chief stronghold of the Cinel Loarn."

The effect of this crushing defeat of the Anglie army, together with their King's death, was to enable those who had been in a somewhat sub-

ject state to recover their complete independence: Bede sums it up: "From that time the hopes and strength of the Anglie kingdom began to fluctuate and to retrograde, for the Picts recovered the territory belonging to them which the Angles had held and the Scots who were in Britain and a certain part of the Britons regained their liberty, which they have now enjoyed for about 46 years." (Bk. IV., ch. 26.) Bede died about *anno* 734.

"Although," says Skene, the 'Scots of Dariada had thus obtained entire independence they did not immediately become united under one head. Their freedom from the yoke of the Britons and Angles was followed by a contest between the chiefs of their two principal tribes, the Cinel Loarn and the Cinel Gabhran, for the throne of Dalriada. On the death of Donald Brec, when the Britons obtained a kind of supremacy over the Dalriads, his brother Conall Crandamhna and his sons Maldun and Donald Duirn appear to have been at the head of the Cinel Gabhran; but Fearchar Fada, the chief of the principal branch of the Cinel Loarn, had, as we have seen, *taken the lead in the attempt to free Dalriada from the rule of strangers.* (Celt. Scot. 1, 271.)

In the year 690, according to Tiernach and all the best authorities, died Malduin, son to Donald Duirn, to whom succeeded Ferchard Fada, who reigned 21 years, dying, according to O'Flaherty, in 711. Mr. Pinkerton in his critique, written in 1728, remarks that *all the old lists have Malduin to immediately precede Ferchard Fada.* In the year 687-8, according to Skene, Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, sent twelve ships to Loarn for oaks and had the monastery repaired, which since the time of its foundation by Columba Cille, had fallen into disrepair. Hector Boethius informs us that this monastery was rebuilt by Malduin, King of Dalriada, who died in 690. Referring to this matter Skene says in regard to Malduin: "He, therefore, reigned at the very time when Adamnan was abbot, and this fixes the date of these repairs as between 687 and 690." (Celt. Scot. II. 171). From all this it is seen that the date given by Flaherty for the death of Ferchard Fada must be the correct one.\*

If those who understand literally the story of the two contesting brothers think they have ground to conclude the real Cinneth MacAlpin descended through Sealbhach instead of through Ainnealach, it is plain that the one (Cinneth) to whom only they can have reference is "Gregair the great," the son of Dungal, who is put down in the old historically romantic chronicles as having reigned over Scotland for eighteen years (878-896); for, in the first place, Dungal in the list is made son of Sealbhach; and this Dungal they represent as occupying the throne for six years in the early part of that century; and if this Grigair (Gairig, *i.e.*

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\* Some of the old authorities confound the entry of the death of Ferchard, the son of Conath Cear, which took place about 693-697, as appears from the entries, with that of Ferchard Fada. They were, however, two different men, the dates of whose deaths were different.

Cathair) son of Dungal were the son of this Dungal who was son of Sealbhach, and there is nothing to indicate that he was not, then he would have been the great grandson of Fearcharð who died in 711 and might be supposed, even on historical grounds, to have lived in the time set down for him. The following I extract from that tissue of fabrication, Hollinhead's Chronicle, V., 217-18. Speaking of the arrest and imprisonment of Aedh, son of Cinnaeth, in A. D. 878, he says: "This done they proceeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of one Dungal, governor or thane of Argyle, they chose Gregory, the son of that Dungal, who reigned before Alpin, who was not past two months old when his father died." Supposing Gregair to have been son of that Dungal, who was grandson of Ferchard Fada, you will see where his name appears in the list, and under this name he is ancestor to the clan of MacGregor,\* *who still trace their descent from Kenneth MacAlpin.* Now, the fact of their tracing back their pedigree to both Kenneth II. and Gregor taken in connection with the place these names appear in the list, shows these two names to refer to the same man.

The want of uniformity in the lists, which reckon the ancestors of Alpin in the male line back to Fergus, would lead a person to suppose that there existed great doubt as to the proper filiation of Alpin. But on the other hand, if the number of generations in the different lists between Alpin and Eric is found to be the same, a person would think the conclusion reasonable that the men represented in the different lists were identical under different or somewhat different forms of name. This last conclusion might also be thought to be justifiable, when the fictitious and mystic work accomplished by Fordun in the Scottish historic records is considered.

I have seen a list from Andrew de Wyntoun, Prior of Loch Leven, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and another from the Chronicle of Mailros, both of which traced back only a few generations from Alpin, but far enough to plainly show that the male line of Alpin's ancestors went back through Ferchard III. With these partial lists it is unnecessary for me to trouble you farther, especially when it is considered that I present you the full list from the Book of Lecan compared with and revised by the Scottish authorities. After we get back to Eric we connect with other lists, one from the same source, revised by the Scotch, and then from lists which I have reason to believe correct and will show to be so, until we arrive at the link at which we will terminate our list.

I think it, however, expedient to give a limited exegesis of some of the

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\* The Albanic Duan mentions not either Sealbhach or Gregair in its list of Gaelic kings. But there can no doubt remain that Sealbhach, Dungal and Gregor are but other names on paper for Ainnealach, Rudhri and Cathmal, respectively; and these again for Eochaidh, Alpin and Kenneth. The baptismal name of Kenneth II. was doubtless Eoghan, as is given in one of the lists, and Eachain is Caineach, which is the Scotch form of Kenneth.

names in our list as compared with some of those appearing in other lists represented to be of the ancestors of Alpin, such, for example, as that Dr. Geo. Chalmers adopted and followed: Referring to numbers 34, 35 and 36 of our list I may remark that the name-forms Fearchar, Fear-char, Fearchadh, Fearchann and Fearghaes being often misentered for each other in the old Gaelic histories, accounts, doubtless, for the form Feargus appearing in the short list referred to of Wyntoun and the chronicle of Mailros in the place of the proper form Fearcar or Fearcard. "Wyntoun," says Chalmers, "enters Sealbhach as Sewald," which is true of the chronicle of Maelros also as to that name; but we have as positive historic proof as is necessary in Tiernach and other ancient authorities that the name of the father of Sealbhach was spelled Fearchard or Fear-char not Fearghus. The literal meaning of this last form is "a male relation" or a "kinsman;" that of Fearghaes or Fergus would be properly "a male scion," having in it, perhaps, a little more of the idea of "champion" of a house than the other, but, considering, the root gaes, which is the original of our word "house," in the sense of clan or blood relations, which must necessarily be its root meaning, then Fearghaes means "a kinsman" just as the other, use having giving to it the heroic idea.\*

The Fergus, then, of the short list of Wyntoun is undoubtedly for the Fearcard of our list (34); and, in like manner, the Aedh Finn of our list would be represented by Feredhach, our number (35); that is, this last form would be in effect the other form; for Feredhach equals exactly Finedhach, Fear having here the same meaning as Fine.†

This name Aedh is sometimes spelled Eochailh, and even Eoghan, the diminutive or genitive being often and indifferently used among the Gaels for the root form. For example, Eochaidh Buidh, son of Aidhan, is called by Fordun, in his history, Eugenius (*i.e.*, Eoghan), Eochaidh and Aedh; by Boethius and Buchanan he is called Eugenius IV., and St. Adannan, in his life of Columba, which he wrote about the year 700, A. D., calls him Aedh. If Aedh Finn, as here, was originally written Aedhghan it might be translated Eugenius. The forms in Chalmers' list corresponding to our numbers 34 and 35 were Eochaidh and Eochaidh. Another

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\* The old list of Fordun and Buchanan, which has Alpin to descend from this same Ainceal-lach, enters this name in their Latin histories as "Amberkellethus, the son of Findanus." Dr. Keating (Hist. p. 141) in speaking of the Tuatha de Danaans, having already spoken of two castes of them, says: "The third caste, called Danaan, was composed of such as were devoted to the arts; for 'dan' (daun) and 'ceard' mean the same thing, *i.e.*, 'art,' 'handicraft.' Thus they were named Danaans from their 'dans' or 'arts.'" Fear, as above explained, meaning Finn, you find by this that Fearchard means the same as Findan, and besides have occasion to notice how Fordun and his class have doctored the Scottic history.

† Fine, a clan, family, tribe, as Na Fineachan Gaedhalach, the Highland clans. As regards color both Fine and Fear mean 'fair' not 'white' as Wyntoun has expressed in translating Aedh Finn 'Hed whyte' or 'white head,' perhaps for the sake of his metre. It is, of course often translated white, in accordance with Cormac's Glossary; "Fear, *i.e.*, find, *i.e.*, white," etc.



variation I have seen was Ewan and Ewan; but they managed to have so many Eochaidh's and Eoghans in the Gaelic histories that I have thought it must have been a handy name they sometimes gave a man, whose proper name was of some other form, or, *vice versa*, a man's prænomen might have been a certain Gaelic form, let that form be what it might, and it be written down by a Saxon scribe long after the man was dead under some other form; for there is reason to believe that many such scribes who meddled with the Gaelic histories did not properly understand the language or its idioms, and in some cases rather tried their ingenuity in punning upon it than in doing justice by a fair transcription. In our number (36) we have Fergus, who may possibly in the popular mind, have been set down as Fergus II.; for the popular mind, we know, confounds all chronologic distinctions; but what I want to remark about him is that he may have been entered in some of the histories by his surname, which would be MacNeachtain (37), which equaled, as then understood, MacEachan, the N being here for the article prefixed and not belonging to the root, and the t being aspirated and quiescent. What I mean is that a man, although likely to be called by his Christian name, would be not unlikely to be called by his surname; such surnames, I mean, as were then in use, the Christian name of the father after Mac, and this mac, clan or cran, or whatever the prefix might be, that went to make up the surname, would, of course, be sometimes dropped and the father's name be applied to a man, both in speech and writing, as if it were his own prænomen. This would be a mistake in fact, but popular use would render it permanent in print.\* Thus the name Eochaidh being involved in Fearedhach, which is Eochaidh with the prefix Fear, we have in effect in our numbers 34 and 35, in the first case the name Eochaidh involved in the surname, and in the second case involved in the prænomen, which would leave it not at all difficult for fictionists, such as Fordun, or Saxon scribal punsters, to make out several of the name of Eugenius or Eochaidh almost wherever they might please in the list, although the nominatives in the Gaelic were of different forms.

I think it true, as implied in the histories generally, that among the Gaels the prænomen Fergus may have been sometimes applied to a man, indicating the idea of "champion," "hero," although his prænomen proper might have been of some other form. Would then the Christian name of our Fergus (36) have been the Domhaugart of Chalmers after Fordun & Co.? And, as Sneachtain means Toiseach, would this form (37)

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\* When this name is spelled Sneachtain it represents Toiseach and is what remains of the form Toiseanachthain, consequent upon the aspiration and quiescence of letters after mac, clan, etc. Neachthain, consequent upon the aspiration of the t equals Neachain, and the N prefixed to this form not being radical, the form really equals Eachain. For further light on this form of name see the account of the sons of Uisneach (*i.e.* Tuiseanach) in Keating's History of Ireland, p. 267; Naesi, son of Uiseanach equals Aenghaes, son of Tuiseanach. And for light on the derivation of the form Neachtain, see as to Loch Neach, for example, which equals Loch-an-Ethach, the lake of Eochaidh, or of the horse. Thus the verb to neigh.

be for Donald Brec who fell *leading on* his Gaels against the Britons in 642, A. D.?

The names in our numbers (38), that is, Colman, and that in (39), that is, Baedhan, are indeed the names of celebrated saints in the time of these men, namely, St. Colum, abbot of Iona, and his immediate successor in the abbacy, St. Baedhin. Whether it happened so with men generally it is pretty certain that many of the saints of those days were not usually called by their proper Christian names. Keating tells us in his history that the proper name of St. Colum Cille was Crimhthan (pron. Crivan or Griffin); that he got the name of Colum Cille or "Dove of the Church," as a familiar appellation from his school-fellows, when a boy, he was accustomed so punctually to attend the church. After telling us that this soon became in effect his proper name, his baptismal name Crimthan being forgotten, he says: "Such changes often happened with the names of holy men. St. Mochuda is another instance of it. His baptismal name was Carthach. There was St. Caemhan, also a disciple of Patrick, whose first name was Mac Naesi; and then there was St. Patrick himself, whose baptismal name was Succath, and to whom St. Germanus gave the name of Magonius, when he confirmed him, and upon whom the Pope, St. Celestinus, conferred, lastly, the name Patricius, preparatory to his mission to Ireland to propagate the faith therein." "Again, there was St. Finbar, the patron saint of Cork, whose baptismal name was Louan; and so it happened with many others of the same class." (Keating's Hist., pp. 458 and 460.) I may add that this St. Finbar is written also St. Barfinn and merely St. Bar. And St. Mochua (not Mochuda) is St. MacDhuach, the sound of the latter combination giving rise to the form Mochua. It is not here intended to be implied that the men represented in our numbers 38 and 39 were those saints, Colum Cille and Baethin, any more than it is intended to be implied that they were not good men; but it is not altogether improbable that they may have had baptismal names different from those they have in the list, which their people may have applied to them after the names of those saints. Would then our Colman (38) have been identic with the Eochaidh Buidh of the list of Chalmers, and our Baedhan (39) with his Aedhan, for, a person would think, whether it so happened in this case or not, that Aedhan, with the B prefixed, is Baedhan?\*

\* There is historic evidence of some celebrated warriors, such as Constantine mac Aedh mic Cinaedha and Sealbhach mac Ferchar mic Feredhaigh having in their old age entered monasteries. The last named I find put down also in the history under the name of Eochal, a name which arose to him from his monastic life. And here is an illustration of how two such names of one man may be made in the after history to stand for two men. Wyntoun does not make the mistake, for he puts in its proper place "Sewald, called by some Eochal," but the chronicle of Maclos commits the egregious blunder of putting in the proper place of Sealbhach, "his son Sewald; to whom succeeded Eochal Venonosus," a mistake evidently which was likely to lead to many mistakes.

In number (40) of our list we have Eochaidh, in number (41) Muredhach and in (42) Loarn, names of which, if the men in the list aforementioned of Chalmers be identic with those in our list, would stand for Gabhran, Domhanghart, and Fergus respectively in that list. Neither the ancient Scottish histories, as Fordun and his followers, nor Tiernach, nor the Annals of Ulster, nor the Four Masters, who, however, are merely copyists of the foregoing and others, mention Loarn under that name but they may mention him under the form of Fergus.

This has led some to suppose that Loarn was the proper prænomen of the man to whom Fergus might have been given as an honorary title. And what strengthens this supposition, it is thought, is the fact that in the interview reported of St. Patrick with Eric, the prince of Dalriada and his family, Loarn does not appear to have been mentioned by name, but Fergus obtained the saint's benediction, with a prophecy that the kingdom of Albania was to belong to his descendants, which Jocelin claims to have remained in their hands down to his time, 1195 A. D.; but if it were so that the Loarn, who was eighth ancestor in the male line of Ferchar III., was not identical with Fergus then this could not have been so; for from the time of this Ferchar the government was certainly in the hands of his descendants and his genealogy goes back to Loarn son of Eric, which name occupies in the list exactly the same place as the Fergus, son of Eric, of the list of Fordun and Chalmers does. In the Albanic Duan, composed about 1057 A. D., the author makes Loarn to have been the first Scottish king in Albania, giving him a reign in his old age of ten years. Fergus he makes his next successor on the throne and gives him a reign of twenty-seven years, which makes the thing appear as if he were the son rather than the brother of Loarn, as he would appear to have made him.

The most careful historical investigator is, on some occasions, not unlikely to take too much for granted. Dr. Geo. Chalmers was a laborious investigator himself, and in general he had great confidence in O'Flaherty as a pioneer for him in the Dalriadic history; but I find that in some things this pioneer may not have been a perfectly safe guide. He puts down, for example, Eochaidh, he calls Rinneval, as the 'grandson of Donald Breac by his son Domangard,' quoting as his authority the Alban Duan; yet I find the Duan of itself does not bear him out in this; for it does not say who this Eochaidh's father was, simply designating him 'Eochaidh of the horses.' But it is not impossible that Flaherty may have had some other authority for this in his mind, which he has not quoted, and that we may have the said Eochaidh and his father and son in their proper places in our list under other forms of name?

As to the form Loarn it may not be considered strange that some people have thought that form to have arisen in Scotland from the form Gabhran after I give the following explanation.

The form Gabhran equals, as to parts, Gabh-ar-cathan or Can and Mac

or Clan Sil-Ghabharchan would be pronounced Mac or Clan Lawran, or taking the word from the genitive without the prefix, but with this sound, it would be Loarn. Thus, Loarn would be literally 'clan' or 'child' 'of the seed of Gabhran.' The same name we might conceive to arise from Dhaebharchadh, genitive Dubharchan (pronounced Duveran or Duerin), but coming out from the genitive form with the sound Loarn as explained above.

See, for illustration, our words 'teach' and 'learn.' This last is the Saxon *laeran*, which had in that language both significations, namely, to teach and to learn; and in popular use in our language, as Webster says, it has still both meanings. But in accordance with its root *gabh*, to 'take' 'acquire,' etc., our learn means to 'receive' or 'acquire' ideas concerning things, that is, knowledge; while, 'teach' in accordance with its root *tabh* in *tabhair*, to 'give,' means to give ideas of things, 'impart' instruction. Says Chauncey Goodrich, in his synonyms prefixed to Webster's Dictionary: "*Learn* originally had the sense of to *teach*, in accordance with the analogy of the French and other languages, and hence we occasionally find it with this sense in Shakespeare and Spenser. This usage has now passed away. To *learn* is to receive and to *teach* is to give instruction. He who is taught learns, not he who teaches." The Saxon *taecan* meant 'to teach' and 'to take.' The words for to 'give' and to 'take' are in the mother languages evidently only variations of the same root. A structure we call a 'house' for example is a house whether we view it from the outside or from the inside; but it implies a remarkable differentiation in the general idea of the house; as to which of these points of view you have in your idea. In the former case, you may say, you have the 'teach,' a Gaelic word for house, Greek *δεινω*, root *δειν*, to show, Latin *doceo*, root *doc*, to teach, etc., for to teach is to show implying light; and in the latter case, in the inside you may say you have the *gaebh*, Gaelic to take, acquire, hold, receive, cave or hole implied, the container, receptivity, the open hand which closes up upon what it receives, and the root *daebh* or *dubh*, the *d* being here for the *g*, means in one of its senses a house, and in another, dark or black. The outside of the roof, *thach* or *Teach*, implies light, giving, imparting; the inside darkness, recipiency. It is a carrying out, with another root, our idea of hill, hell, hole, the same root varied.

Now, although I understand the word Aedh or Edhach to be root of our Gaelic word Teach, a house, that is, Deach for Edhach; and although I apprehend that our word 'teach' or a slight variation of that root, must be originally involved in our word 'learn;' \* for otherwise it could not

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\* I find our clan was not only called clan Taigh, that is, genitive of Teach, a house; but also clan Dai, for Daimh or Duf, pronounced Du, a house. But, it is likely, different families of the same general clan went under these different forms of the name. I may say further that the forms Aedh and Aedhach or Eth and Ethach must have been understood as equivalent to



among the ancient Saxons have had the meaning of to 'teach,' still I clearly perceive that if the form Loarn did arise at all from the root Gabhran it might have arisen in this simple way, namely, that Cinel Ghabhran, the initial G in Gabhran being aspirated and quiescent after Cinel) would among the Gaels have been pronounced as we would pronounce Cinel Lawran, and thus the idea of two clans might be supposed to arise out of what was only one originally.

I do not conceive that this idea of two clans would be likely to have originated early in this way among the people themselves, but in later times it might arise from the writings of Saxon or foreign scribes, who did not possess sufficient knowledge of the Gaelic language and its idioms to fairly represent in their histories the Gaelic historic affairs and events, or, even if some of them did, their object might not have been to fully and truthfully instruct the people upon the course and nature of the real historical events; or, perhaps some of them foolishly thought it not expedient to have the general public know as fully and clearly the history of their country as the learned class who could criticise and investigate and understand the Latin and Greek and other foreign expressions they chose to scatter among their writings. Of course an author should feel free to put in a foreign word in his writings if he thinks it eminently fitting to do so, judging that it will serve its purpose with such as well understand it better than a native expression; and it must be confessed that not all who may be called fair English scholars understand their mother tongue, equally well in the matter of the contents of books.

It may be remarked in connection with our present subject that Tier-nach and the Annals of Ulster appear to speak of the Clan Loarn and the clan Gabhran as early as the year 700 to 720, when the sons of Ferchard Fada were waging their wars against Dunachadh Beag. The clan spoken of as in opposition to Seabhach is clan Gambhna, which perhaps is only another form of Gabhran, as before this time the great clan of Gabhran doubtless became distinctively subdivided into rival septs, which occasionally entered into war with each other. If, however, as appears to be the understanding of the Irish historians, the Clan Loarn were a clan *per se*, sprung from a man whose praenomen was Loarn, but whom the old Scottish historians do not notice, at least under that name, I would nevertheless understand that the name-form Loarn would be at least an exact literal equivalent in meaning for Dubharchon or Gubharchon; for Loarn

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Teach and Daimh, for Aedhach is equivalent to our word Adam which is pronounced in Gaelic Awoo, and Edhach or Ethach to our word Edom which Bible students understand to be the same word originally as Adam, meaning a house, land, red land, a reddish man, a Phœnician, etc. Hence, you see, the foregoing shows you that Eth or Ethach, being equivalent to Adam and Edom, Seth and Sethach must be also equivalent and you do not wonder that mount Seir, that is, Sether, equal to Sethach, is Eshaw or the mount of Edom.

would equal as to parts, Lugharchon, sea chief, etc., etc., just as the others.\*

The old compilers of the Scottish history, Fordun and his followers, make their Fergus II. to have been the fortieth King of Scotland, and the reckoning of the proper Scotch genealogical list makes him twenty-second in male descent from Fergus 1st. This account, all things about it being considered, I think, on the whole, quite reasonable to say the least. The old authorities also are likely to have been not far from correct as to the time they put down for their Fergus II., the son of Eric, and in what they say as to this juncture of the history. I will give here the words of the old record as to this juncture, (39) *i. e.*, the thirty-ninth king: "Eugenius 1st. Fincormachus Sonne. A valiant, just and good king. He was slain in

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\* In the old Lexicons 'Dubh' has among its meanings the sea, water, as Dobhar, a river, and that Lugh means the same originally we have the evidence of in the form Lough, the old Irish form of the Gaelic Loch, the same root word anciently. Moreover, in the old Lexicons Loch has the identical meaning of Dubh as to color, meaning black, dark, really the color of water or slate color. Adamnan (B. I. c. 27), says that the inhabitants of Skye 'call to this day,' the river in which the Pictish Chief Arthbranan was baptized Dobhar Arthbranan, and in Cormac's Glossary (Ir. Ar. Soc'y, 1865, p. 53) we find Dobhar is water, unde dicitur Dobarchu, *i. e.*, an otter, as in another Glossary (Gaelic, Soc. Tr. Dublin, p. 12), we find 'Dobhar a river.' Adamnan (B. II. c. 38) also tells us of a peasant, 'who lived in the district which borders on the shore of the Stagnum Aporicum' or Aporic lake (by which he is understood as meaning Lochaber), and placed a stake, blessed by St. Columba under the water, near the bank of the river, 'qui Latine dici potest Nigra Dea,' and caught a salmon of extraordinary size. This river is now called the Lochy, which running from loch Lochy, empties into the Linnhe loch, near fort William. The name the first component of which Adamnan translates Nigra was, 'Lochdea,' and in the title to B. I. c. 28, Adamnan has the same name in his Stagnum Lochdiae, which he located in the Pictish province. "It is now," says Skene (Celt. Scot. II. 456), corrupted into Lochy in which the obsolete word Loch, black, is preserved."

But Loch and Dea, more properly Dae, are two components, which, more easily recognizable in the forms Loch and Daebh, have the same signification; and so Lochdhea would be Loch-aedh and an equivalent in this sense to Lughaedh, and this would be equivalent as personal appellation to Dubhaedh, genitive Dubhthaeh, so that Lake Lochy would be translated Lake Lughy or Lake Duffy, as an equivalent appellation, whatever meanings the roots might have as differentiate from each other.

Now, if instead of Aedh or Dae we suffix to root Lugh, Lath or Lo, Dubh, Daebh, Gubh or Gabh, the component Archu, genitive Archon, a component which has also various meanings but as a personal appellation would equal in meaning the first part of the component that is Lugh or Daebh, then we shall have Loarn, or Gawran or Duverin, all easily enough understood. It may have thus arisen that the Clan Lugaidh or Loarn is called in the genealogies Clan Dubh.

La, genitive Latha, for which the form Lô is sometimes used, is Gaelic for our word day, which shows (1) that the root ta or te of teach is involved in our word Learn, connected with the root of Light; and (2) that Clan Loarchan or Lodharchan would be equal in signification to Clan Duarchan or Clan Duverin; Aedh or dhaedh, meaning also the circle of the sun, the zodiac, the day. An ancient Gaelic word for day is Dia, which corresponds to Latin die; Welsh dydh; Sanscrit, dyu; but quite a common word in use among the Irish for day is iudh, which anybody can see is for the old form Aedh, and would be pronounced wee about as iudh. In the name Lughaidh you can see the ancient root of our English word 'light,' corresponding to day; but I can hardly agree with the lexicographers, MacLeod and Dewar, that the modern Gaelic word Lochran, a lamp, a light, a torch, has for its second component with Lô or Lâ crann, a tree, beam, shaft or mast; it appears to be Laegharchon or Lugharchan and to refer to the king of day, the light-giver, the sun.

The word luchd is translated into our language load, burden, cargo, and also as a collective noun people, folks, Luchd-daimh means kinsmen; as Fear-daimh and Fearchard means a Kinsman.

battle by the Pictes and Romans, and the whole Scottish nation was utterly expelled the isle by the Pictes and Romans, and remained in exile about the space of four and forty years, 357-360. (40). Fergus 2nd, Erthus\* Sonne son to Ethodias,\* Eugenius the First, his brother, returning into Scotland with the help of the Danes and Gothes and his own countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all countries, where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdome of Scotland again out of the Romans' and Pictes' hands. He began his reign in the year of the world 4374, in the year of Christ 404. He was a wise, valiant and good king. He was slain by the Romans in the sixteenth year of his raigne.".....404-420.

Such is the expression of the old chronicles, which represent one or two generations to have been born during the time of their exile. This time, so far as the great body of the people were concerned, appears to have been spent in Ireland; and while the old chroniclers point to Denmark as the birthplace of Fergus, and, of course, his brothers, the Irish authorities seem to agree that these brothers were born in Ireland, in which country, that is, in its northeast part, they possessed a considerably extensive territory, tributary, of course, at that time, to the house of Niall Naei Ghiall, into whose family the exiled princes were marrying and giving in marriage. The account of the exile of the Scots at this time appears to me truthful, for at that period the Romans and Picts bore hard on their principality; and in the matter of what the Scots offer in their chronicles, as being the ancient history of their little kingdom, I would, of course, give preference to that as compared with what outsiders might have to object to it.

For, in the first place, if any investigator looks with an unprejudiced mind into the ancient history of Scotland, preceding this Fergus, called the Second, as given in Fordun and Buchanan's History, he will, doubtless, conclude that that historic representation, however much or little fiction there has been interwoven into its tissue, must have had a foundation in fact and will reason thus on the subject: "The country was there and was inhabited and must needs have had a government; here is a history before me purporting to be of that country, and its government, such as this may have been, for that period which it claims to represent; and even if there be nothing in the histories of other countries to support this as an authentic record, still I find nothing in history or literature to negative, no, nor truly to controvert it; all I find in this way being a few doubts expressed as to it by some men, who, perhaps, could not comfortably harbor the idea of anything worthy the name of organized government or civilized society having existed in the British Isles before the times of Saints Patrick and Austin; I, therefore, conclude that as the country existed, and was inhabited, and must needs have had a govern-

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\* Erthus is here for Ere, and Ethodius, brother of Eugenius 1st, is for Eochaidh Munreamhar of our list. This Ethodius, however, was not son to Fincormac.

ment of some sort, that this record claiming to be a history of that country, while it may contain many errors, inaccuracies and only approximations to the truth, must have had a foundation in fact, as I take it for granted that the majority of the inhabitants of that county were from age to age not insane."

And, now, in regard to the subject we are particularly considering you can see plainly by the direction in which that conclusion points: 1st. If Loarn and Fergus mac Erc mic Ethach Murinreamhar were identical then the appellation Loarn or Kinel Loarn would have arisen as above indicated, in connection with the history, say within two centuries after he had died; and, thus, the men represented under the name forms Muiredhach and Ethach in the one list would be identifiable with those under the forms Domhangart and Gabhran in the other, whether or not we might suppose in this case the form Domhangart was assumed in addition to his real name by Muiredhach, to indicate him a servant of St. Domhangart, the disciple of Patrick, who was of the first or second generation immediately preceding him. A person would naturally conclude the identity inferrable from the absence of any mention of the name Loarn in Fordun and his followers, and from the fact that these authorities have shown Alpin to have descended through Ainceallach, although they mystified the subject here by making him the son of Findan, which, however, has been understood by the mystifiers as a perfect equivalent for Ferchard. I have wondered that Dr. Chalmers did not examine more closely into the course those historians pursued at this juncture.

But, 2nd, if Loarn and Fergus were two brothers, as would appear to be implied in the historic Irish traditions, then there were two parallel lines of descent from Erc, and Ferchar III. was the first of his line after his eighth ancestor, who possessed the government of Dalriada and through him and Loarn is the line of the ancestors of Alpin reckoned back through Erc. Alpin would thus have descended from Erc through his son Loarn, whose honorary appellation was Fergus, or through his son Loarn, who had a brother of the name of Fergus.

But, 3rd, as the name Loarn, ancient Lugh-archon, means the same exactly as Fearghus, Fear-gaes, namely, 'sea chief,' then it is so consonant with reason to think that the Irish have substituted the form Loarn, as an exact equivalent for the proper Scotch form Ferghus, that I have left the form Fearghus in the list, as having been the name by which the man was called by the Scotch in his lifetime; and especially as I find that in the case of Fergus 1st, his 22nd ancestor, the like process exactly was followed.

In the old Scottish Chronicles, under the head of Fergus 1st, is the following entry:—

"Fergus\* mac Ferchard, a prince from Ireland reigned from 330 to 305

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\* This man had a brother, who reigned after him, whom I call Ferchard I. Buchanan calls him Feritheris, which is a shameful misspelling of the name.



B. C. He was a wise and good king that did marry the King of the Pictes his daughter, that did bear him two sons, Ferlegus and Mainus."

None of the ancient historians represent the settlement of this Fergus 1st in North Britain, in 330 B. C., as consequent upon a conquest of the country on his part; but as consequent upon an invitation from the Scots already long settled there, to come and rule over them as their king. In the traditions, written and oral, of the Scotch themselves, they have accounts of colonizations from Ireland from a very early period — from at least double three hundred years before the Christian era — and still some people of modern times are so irrational as to claim that there was not only no Scottic Government, but not even a Scottic colony in Albania before the settlement there of the Sons of Erc, spoken of above.

The venerable Beda, an Anglo-Saxon writer, and who is accepted as of great weight upon matters of history on which he has written (temps, 672–734 A. D.), after relating the colonizations of Britain by the Britons and Picts says: *Procedente autem tempore Britania post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes, quas, hactenus habent, vindicarunt; a quo videlicet duce usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur, nam lingua eorum dal partem significat.* Which is translated as follows: "In process of time Britain, after the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, that of the Scots, into the territory of the Picts; who, having emigrated from Ireland under the leadership of Reuda, achieved for themselves either by friendship or the sword, those seats among them which they possess to this day. From which leader they are to this day called Dalreudini; for in their language dal signifies a part." Dal, I remark, signifies also, a tribe, a clan; but this is, of course, implied in the connection, if not in the idea of part. In speaking in another place in regard to Ireland Beda says: "It is properly the country of the Scots, who immigrating from thence, as has been said, added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts. There is a very large bay of the sea, which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons; which bay runs from the west very far into the land, where to this day stands the strong city of the Britons called Aleluith. The Scots, arriving on the north side of this bay, settled themselves there." Beda's Compl. Wks. II., 35.

Dr. Chs. O'Connor, a contemporary of the celebrated Dr. Saml. Johnson, in his Dissertation on the History of Scotland at the end of his dissertation on the History of Ireland, tells us: That "in the time of Cormac O'Cuind an establishment of the Scots was made in North Britain: That it was in favor of Carbri Righfhada, a prince of the Deaghads of Munster: That Righfhada and his immediate posterity ruled that colony, as well as another that had settled in the present Antrim, and both colonies were from him called Dalriada: That the Picts, at length, forced the whole

colony in Britain to take flight into Ireland under their leader, Eochaidh Muinreamhar, and they settled in the Irish Dalriada: But that neither he nor his son Erc could obtain a re-establishment in North Britain; nor was it effected till Loarn, son of Erc, again fixed the Scots there."

This gentleman, who is also the author of the very comprehensive work entitled "*Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*," written in Irish and Latin, with perhaps a dozen of other languages interspersed, has on different occasions repeated the above information. In his publication of O'Flaherty's "*Vindication of Ogygia*," he gives several notes concerning this settlement, particularly a long one on page 163, wherein he shows that O'Flaherty is contradicting his own words in the *Ogygia*, where in speaking of Cormac O'Cuind, he says that he carried on a government in Albania. That the greater part of Antrim and a neighbouring part of North Britain were given to Carbri Riada. That some Irish Sennachies confirm Beda's testimony; that the Irish and British Dalriadians were governed by the same family. That, *the sons of Erc in the eighth generation from Carbri Righada re-established this colony, which had suffered much.*

Mr. O'Connor, has, of course, enlightened us somewhat, more especially upon the exile of the Dalriadians, their return therefrom, and the number of generations which existed in the interval between Riada and the son of Erc; but why he should intimate any connection between Carbri Riada and Cormac O'Cuind I know not; for the latter being of the second generation after the former, even though we should suppose them to have been contemporaries at any time, yet the one should needs have been so old and the other so young that there could not be supposed to have been any business whatever between them. My understanding is that the son of Conair II. was not at all contemporary with King Cormac O'Cuind.

Then, in regard to what is said as to some Irish Shannachies confirming Beda's testimony, I may say there is nothing to be confirmed in this case, excepting what all know to be so probable or so consonant with truth, as Pinkerton says, that they do not require any confirmation of it. What Beda says, however, as to Reuda leaves it very vague and indeterminate as to who his Reuda was.

In regard to what O'Connor says about the *eighth generation*, in which he doubtless spoke from other authority than the old Scottish list of Fordun, in which he appears to have had little or no confidence, I may say that I had, even from Fordun's list, and before I saw the list from the Book of Lecan, deduced that Righada must have been just the eighth ancestor of the son of Erc. However, I felt quite sure that the descent from Conair II., to Erc must have been through a different channel than as indicated in Fordun, in which appear before Fergus, only three names which are pretty well certified as being of the descent of Conair II. But to show how it was possible that Beda's Reuda might have referred

to a Reuda or Reuther, who had lived ten or eleven generations before Riada, let me place before you the following tabulation: —

The descent according to the old list  
of Fortun for this space

Aengus Tuirmac	
Fiachaidh Fermhara	
Olild Eraun	
Ferchard	
Fergus 1st	
Maen	
Arondel	
Reuther	
Josina	
Findan	
Durstus	
Dothan	
<hr/>	
Carran	Edar
Metellan	Ewan

I refer here to Reuther or Rudhri, the great grandson of Fergus 1st, who although an Albanian by birth, was, on the rise of a war there concerning the succession, compelled to leave the country; returning, however, after an absence of some time in Ireland, he succeeded in putting himself at the head of the government. This rebellion would appear to have been incited and carried on mainly by one Donald, governor of Gallo-way then called Brigantia, on the side of Reuther, and on the other side by one Ferchard, Governor of Argyle, son-in-law to King Nothatus (Nuadhat), who was brother to Arondel and reigned after him, and uncle to Reuther. This caused Reuther and his followers to leave the country, as I have said, to which they returned after a brief absence. “The year that Reuther returned thus into Albion was 216 B. C.” — “Reuther by Beda, in his ecclesiastical history of England, is named Reuda, who also supposes him to have been the first of the Scottic princes that set any foot in Britain, there to inhabit.” (Hollingshead’s Chronicle, vol. V., p. 49.) This Reuther had, as according to the history, a brother named Reuda, who reigned next after him, but of whom next to nothing is recorded; and the name may be here only a repetition of Reuther. Notwithstanding the idea of some of the old authors, who have thought concerning this in the way given in Hollingshead, Beda may have had either no idea or a very indistinct one as to the particular man named Reuda or Rudhri concerning whom the tradition was. Such traditions sometimes refer to persons or circumstances more remote in time than is suspected. Conair mor is in the old Latin and Scoto-Saxon histories called Caractacus and Caratake. From this and other considerations I deduce his name in the old Irish was

Cathair.\* But the historians are unanimous that the Ernaans are derived from Conair mor mac Edrscól; consequently this Conair must have been known among his people by the name-form Cathair, also, though he is entered on the records as Conair, thought, perhaps, the more classical form; really the genitive or diminutive of the other. This man lived at the beginning of the Christian era (say 60 B. C. to 10 A. D., O'Flaherty) and had to render all the assistance he could to the Scots of North Britain in their struggles against the Romans. He united his arms with the Britains themselves against the foreigners, and soon his fame spread over the world, until, betrayed by a woman into the hands of the enemy, he was taken to Rome, whence he afterwards returned and died in his own country, in his palace of Bruin da Derg, it is said. His chief residence in Alba was Carrick in Galloway, the name meaning a city (having also the idea of rock or fortress connected with it), perhaps called so after his own name Cathair, genitive Cathrach, from whence this particular Carrick might have derived its name.† Caratake is said, in the old chronicles, to have had a sister named Boada, who was married to Arviragus, a king of the Britons under the Romans, by whom she had two daughters and a son. One of those daughters was afterwards married to Marius, a Roman official in the Island, whom the Emperor Claudius made King of the Britains, under himself on the death of Arviragus, his wife's father, in about anno 73, A. D. This couple in due time had a son name Coill (his name having a peculiarly Gaelic physiognomy), who in his turn, on the death of

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\* Cathair, genitive, Chathrach or Chathrigh after mac, whence our name Harry, Chathanair genitive Chaneri, whence our name Henry. "The Ernaans of the Middle Munster," says Flaherty, "are descended from Cathair, the son of King Eadarscól, and the Southern Ernaans of Dun Kermna derive their origin from Dubhin, the son of this Cathair." (Ogygia, Vol. II., p. 149). "Cathair," says Vallancy, "means the God Mars;" but it may here be a variation for Cathan, the clan name of this man. Curi genitive or diminutive, Conri or Coneri, is, of course, but a variation of this, local or otherwise, and means the same.

† The old Saxon chronicles make Caractacus to have been son of Cadallan and grandson of Cadall, which is as far back as they take his genealogy in the male line. Cadall in those old authorities, who had little or no knowledge of the Gaelic, would doubtless be meant to signify a Gaedhal, pronounced Gael, and Cadallan would be diminutive of this or Gaedhalan. Beginning with Caractacus there has, I thought, appeared to me an attempt in Fordun's list to obscure the Annals of North Britain, as any one may see by looking into the list of Buchanan, for example, from number 18 to number 25, inclusive of these two extremes. They begin by seemingly attributing to Caratake an origin different from what he had. It did first appear to me as if some South British author by a glossing over with his Cadall, Cadalian and Caractacus name-forms, may have taken into his head to transfer the idea of Caratake's origin to Welsh Britain (South Britain was, of course, all Welsh at that time), or rather to Brigantia, which some claimed to be Welsh, but which was really Gaelic and is now called Galloway. It makes no difference whatever in my idea whether they allow that Caratake was born in North Britain or in Erin, it being pretty certain that he was the Conair mor mac Edrscól mic Eoghán of Tier nagh and the Irish Annals, and thus might have been, harmlessly enough to them, the Gaedhalan, son of Gaedhal, or in their own hard consonants, the Cadallan, son of Cadall of the old South British chronicles, he being, of course, a Gael, Gall, or Call, a real Scot. Mr. Beauford, in Vallancy, calls this Conair, 'son of Trenmor,' i.e., 'son of great strength,' and says he was the first who built the palace of Tara, which during his lifetime was partially destroyed; but he having rebuilt it, it afterwards suffered destruction by fire, with its builder, the incendiary being one 'blind Anell,' a general of Conair's with whom he had had a disagreement and who revenged himself in this manner.



his father Marius, in 125 A. D. (he appears to have lived long) became king of the Britains, and is said to have had a reign of fifty-four years.

The Irish Chronicles might seem to be very meagre in their accounts of their kings, but I have discovered that they have entered some of them under several names, and what may not appear concerning the man under one of the names may appear concerning him under another. Now, this Conair mor lived in the generation of the first entry of the Romans into Britain, and if we suppose him to have been not even monarch, but only a powerful provincial Governor of Erin, still, reflecting upon the universal claim of the Irish history that Caledonia, or a certain portion thereof, had been colonized by and was to a large degree dependent for its political existence upon Erin, he would have to regard himself as a dastard indeed if he had continued to look quietly on and left his North British relations as well as his South British neighbors wholly at the mercy of their foreign foes during the progress of the invaders from South to North of Britain. It is therefore what we should reasonably expect to learn that Caratake would have conducted an army over sea to help these peoples in their struggles, and this he did. With the South British peoples he joined his arms, peoples who, from neighborliness, intermarriages, etc., were in a manner as dear to him as his own Gaels; but even the combined forces had eventually to retreat northwards, when it happened to Caratake as I said. Let it never be imagined by any sane man that the monarch of Erin looked calmly on, seated in his Western isle, as indifferent as we might suppose a barnacle on a rock to be, and did not cross the channel in conduct of his forces and assist all he could in the prolonged endeavor to expel the invader from the British soil.

Tiernach gives to Conair mor a reign of eighty years, O'Flaherty sixty, and Keating only thirty. I think most of the authorities agree upon a reign for him of not less than sixty years. But contemporarily with him I find they have several other names to succeed each other, his whole reign overlapping these several. Now, as it is nonsensical to think there could have been two or more contemporary monarchs of Erin, so it is not unreasonable to conclude that at least some of those who appear to be contemporary monarchs were merely other names by which he himself was entered in the histories. Although under his own name he is not said to have gone abroad, yet it is reasonably understood that it is he whose foreign expeditions are spoken of under the name of Crimthan.

O'Flaherty speaks of Crimthan's foreign expedition, in which he had obtained a very rich booty. Among which was a golden chariot; a pair of tables studded with three hundred brilliant gems; a quilt of singular texture worked with a variety of colors and figures; a cloak interwoven with threads of gold, such as Virgil mentions" (Caratake may have got that when he was at Rome); "a sword engraved with various figures of serpents, which were of the purest gold; a shield embossed with refulgent

silver studs; a spear which always gave an incurable wound; a sling so unerring that it never missed; two hounds coupled with a chain, which was worth three hundred cows; with other valuable rarities."

Those whose reigns are fairly overlapped by that of Conair mor, and which follow his name (that of Lughaidh Riabh n Dearg properly preceding his) are Crimthán and Carbri Cathán. These two represent himself under different forms. The Concobar Abradh Ruadh, which is here, does not belong under this head. He is misplaced, belonging to the position Cathair mor occupies, while the latter belongs five generations further on.

After the last of these names, *i.e.*, of Carbri Cathán, comes Feredhach Finn Feetnach, whose proper name was Muiredhach, *i.e.*, he was called Morand, which is Morehand, Gaelic Muiredhach, for which Feredhach. He was called son of Carbri Cathán, *i.e.*, of Crimthán or Conair mor, and has the reputation of having been a very just man.

To Feredhach succeeded his son Fiachaidh Findalaidh, who is the Carbri of the other list, the grandson of Conair mor; to whom succeeded his son Tuathal Techtmhar, who is the Moghallamh of the other list, the great-grandson of Conair mor. And to him succeeded his son Feidhlimidh Rechtmhar, who is the Conair II., the great-great-grandson of Conair mor of the other list.

So, when we precede Conair mor in time, Lughaidh, the father of Crimthán of the one list is the Eadarscol, the father of Conair mor, of the other; and so each corresponds to the other in those two lists as you go back, until you arrive at the identification of Labhradh Lore, the last given of that line, with Eramhan, and he with Olild Eron.

After reviewing what had been published concerning the colonization of North Britain by Carbri Righada Pinkerton says: "This account of the matter is so consonant with probability that it would almost support itself independently of all the ancient authorities which are united in its favor."

Again, "It may be thought that Kennedy and O'Connor, writers of this, *i.e.*, the 18th, century, are but poor supporters of Beda's authority. But it must be reflected that concerning the origin of the Dalreudini of Ireland, all the Irish writers, Keating, Usher, O'Flaherty, etc., etc., are accordant and say, the name sprung from Carbri Riada.

"This Carbri, or as they call him, Eochaidh Riada, appears in the old genealogy of the Scottish Kings, repeated at the coronation of Alexander III. and is preserved by Diceto, Fordun and many others."

But why may not an old tradition, referring to one of the same line of descent, who had lived ten or eleven generations before have been referred also to this Carbri?

In his survey of the number of generations between the son of Erc and

the father of Carbri Riada Pinkerton says in referring to the number eight, as given for that space in O'Connor and in the Book of Lecan, *which is surely the truth.*" Now, how did Mr. Pinkerton know that eight generations was here "surely the truth?" Simply by taking pains to trace up and compare all the authorities concerning it and then deducing as I did, before I saw the list from the Book of Lecan that this conclusion must be correct.

In some genealogical lists we must allow it possible that a name, say which belonged to the original may have been at some time accidentally omitted in the process of transcription, while in another case a name which did not belong to the list may have crept in; but that any number of names, which had belonged to the body of a list, should have disappeared from it or which did not belong to the body of a list should come to appear in it I would decide most likely to have been the effect of design, and not of accident.

O'Flaherty, in giving the genealogic list of MacConn, monarch of Ireland, where 25 generations were present in the list, remarks that there are 23 generations wanting; for that on the part of MacConn's mother, whom he represents to have been daughter of Conn Ced-Cathach there were 23 generations more in her list on the side of her father. I have not yet learned who the Conn Ced-Cathach was, who could have been father-in-law to King MacConn; but the fact appears to be that the Conn Ced-Cathach, who had been monarch of Ireland before him, was the father of MacConn. Conn and MacConn are here but honorary titles pertaining to these families. One of those lists was doubtless inflated.

Andrew de Wyntoun, Pryor of Loch Leveu, the latter part of the 14th century, has the same number of names between Eramhon, their first Scottic king of Ireland, and Simeon Bree, as has Keating; but the forms of the names are not always strictly the same, as he wrote in the Scotch-Saxon and in metre. Between Simeon Bree and his Aengus Tuirmac, de Wyntoun has six names more in his list than has either of the other Irish lists, that is between Aengus Tuirmac, and his father, as according to them, he has inserted six name forms in his list.

In order to make a close approximation to the time of Fergus, the son of Erc, we must take into consideration what the old chroniclers and Buchanan have said that he was killed in war with the Romans in about the year 420 A. D. According to Bede (vol. II., complete wks.), "from 385 to 416 the Picts and Scots ravage South Britain, when the Romans who had already evacuated the island, upon earnest request of the Britons sent thither to their assistance a legion, who having worsted the Picts and Scots in battle return to Rome." — "On this," *i.e.*, on the advice of the Romans, "the Britons built a sod wall across the island (A. D. 416), which, however, did not avail to keep out the northern hordes."

Upon the invitation of the Britons the Angles and Saxons came into the island, commencing 447 to 449 A. D.”

Now, while it is possible that there may be a mistake in saying that Fergus was killed in war with the Romans on British soil and in saying that he and his brothers returned from exile just at the time here stated, still I have not the least doubt that with respect to the time of the sons of Erc coming to recover their patrimony at the head of an army the old authorities may be very much nearer to chronological correctness than the modern ones, who have put the date altogether too late. This last class of chronologers appear to have carried out their plan by somewhat inflating the genealogical list between Fergus and Carbri Riada and somewhat abridging the number of reigns which actually were between Fergus and Aedhan. By an inspection of the old list and a comparison with theirs it will be found that they omit four names or reigns in that old list between Fergus, son of Erc and Aedhan, son of Gawran, and they have added to their list, between said Fergus and Conair, son of Moghall, two names more than what I find properly belongs to it. The names they have rejected from the old list for the space aforesaid are as follows with their times: —

Eugenius II.,	son of Fergus II.	420–452 A. D.
Constantine I.,	son of Dongard	457–479 A. D.
Eugenius III.,	son of Comgall	535–558 A. D.
Kinatellus	son of Comgall	569–570 A. D.

The time here represented amounts, as you see, to 78 years, which, perhaps, would represent the difference between the true time of the return of Fergus and his brothers from exile to their patrimony and the time which the new chronologers have put down for it. Thus 503, the time they have put down as that of the invasion of Fergus and his brothers, minus 78, leaves 425 A. D. for the time of the return of the children of Erc from their exile. If this be correct, then the length of the life of Fergus, after his return, let that have been of a long or short duration, leaves the time of his death to have been correspondingly different from the time set down for his death in the old chronicles.

The two names which those new chronologers added to the list between the son of Erc and Carbri Riada, and which are additional to what appear in the list in the Book of Lecan, are Ciongai and Guari, the first of which appears to be a repetition of Cintai in a blotched form, and the second, doubtless, an epithet applied to him in his day or in MSS. after he had died.

I do, on the whole, favor the keeping pretty close to the date set down in the old chronicles as that of the return of Fergus, son of Erc, from his exile, that is, the keeping rather closer to it than possibly allowing ones' self to deviate from it farther than I have indicated. The time, in this



case, is in the neighborhood of what Buchanan and the old chronicles have given for it without any doubt. What follows will make my reasons for this more clear.

Roderic O'Flaherty who wrote his *Ogygia* about 1684 tells us considerable about Loarn, or rather about his daughters. He relates how Erca, Loarn's daughter, was married to Muiredhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, by whom she had a son Murchertach, called Mac Erca after the name of his mother, who became in his time monarch of Ireland and reigned according to him from 513 to 534, but according to Keating from 497 to 527 A. D.

Keating, who wrote his history of Ireland about 1600 A. D., says: "It was twenty years after the battle of Ochan that the six sons of Ere, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, passed over to Alba. They were named the two Anguses, the two Loarns and the two Ferguses.

"Three hundred and seven years had passed from the time of Conchobar, son of Nessa to that of Cormac son of Art; two hundred and four years from the time of Cormac until the battle of Ochan was fought; and it was twenty years after that event when the sons of Ere emigrated to Alba." (Keating's *Hist. of Ir.* p. 420.) The date of the battle of Ochan he sets down for 483 A. D., and consequently the sons of Ere, he speaks of here, could not have gone to Alba before 503, which is the date Keating, O'Flaherty, Drs. Geo. Chalmers, Jas. Brown and all that class of the new chronology have decided upon for the invasion, as they call it, of the sons of Ere. But this either refers to another emigration, possibly of some of the children of Erca, that is, Loarn's grandchildren, or it is certainly nearly one century later than the return from exile of the children of Ere properly so understood.

That there was a tradition of an invasion of Scotland having taken place at about the beginning of the fifth century is certain; for in his work on the 'Topography of Ireland' Giraldus Cambrensis, a Norman ecclesiastic, whose mother was Welsh, and who accompanied the Anglo-Norman expedition to Ireland in 1185 A. D., at which time he wrote, says: "When Niall enjoyed the sovereignty of Ireland the six sons of Muiredhach, king of Ulster, having equipped a large fleet, made themselves masters of the north of Britain and the descendants of that people, especially called Scots, inhabit that corner to this day." This writer confounds Muiredhach Muindearg, the provincial king of Ulster in the time of Niall, with Muiredhach the grandson of Niall, by his son Eoghan, of two generations later.

Speaking in his preface (p. xxv.) in controverting the statements of this Cambrensis and Campion, Keating says: "This Murchertach sent his six brothers into Scotland and one of them Fergus mor mac Erca was the first king of the Scottish race in Alba." Now, you perceive the evident mistake here of Dr Keating; for, Murchertach being on his mother's side a grandson of Loarn, could not possibly have been a brother of the Loarn

who had been his grandfather, nor a brother of the Fergus who was that Loarn's brother. Secondly, it is a great mistake for any one to say in the face of the ancient Scottish records themselves that Fergus, the son of Erc, was the first king of the Scottish race in Alba.

Dr. Keating distinguishes the different invasions of Alba by the Scots in order as they took place from age to age as follows: First, that under Aengus Oll-Buadhach, son of Fiachaidh Labhrann: Second, that of Rech-taidh Righ-dearg: Third, that of Carbri Riada: Fourth that of Mac Conn: Fifth, that of Fothadh Conan, son of MacConn: Sixth, that of Colla Uais and his brothers: Seventh, that of Crimthan mac Fidhach: Eighth, that of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, son of Aegus Feart, one of the descendants of Carbri Riada: They are his descendants who are called the Cinel Gabhran of Alba; and the Cinel Lodhairn; Cinel Comhghaill; 'Cinel Aengusa; and Cinel Conchreechie of the isles: Ninth, that of Mani Leamhna and his brother, the ancestors of the dukes of Lennox and the Eugeni-ans of the Mearns; and he adds that it was after the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages that these (that is, referring to those under the ninth head) went to make settlements in Alba; 'Tenth, that of the sons of Muiredhach the son of Eoghan, the son of Niall of the nine Hostages, who were known as the two Loarns, the two Aenguses and the two Ferguses.'

This tenth in order enumerated he appears to understand as the last Scottish invasion of Alba. It will be noticed too that he distinguishes this from that of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, which he has put under the eighth head. His translator, in a foot-note, says, that 'it was a mistake of Keating to say that these were the six sons of Muiredhach; that they were the sons of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, as Keating himself had stated on the 420th page of his history,' where he said that 'it was twenty years after the battle of Ochan when the six sons of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, migrated to Alba.'

It would not look at all strange here if it were intended to be said that several of the children of Erca, daughter of Loarn by Muiredhach, the grandson of Niall Naei Ghiall, had emigrated to Alba, as private citizens, in 503 A. D., or thereabouts; but if Dr. Keating, Roderic O'Flaherty or any other writer ancient or modern has intended or does intend to say that the invasion of the sons of Erc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, took place in 503 A. D., or near thereabouts, he makes a mistake of about one century.

I have said before that the going to Alba by Fergus 1st is not represented as an invasion by him of that country but as undergone quietly at the solicitation of the Scots already there. It is no wonder, therefore, that he is not noticed in the historical enumeration of the invasions. But, I consider, that under his third head would have been the proper place for Keating to have noticed the invasion by the Rudher or Rudhri, above mentioned; and then Carbri Riada properly under the fourth head.

The comparison of the numbers of successive generations, within a considerably long period, is a great help towards the determination of the true dates. That the date 503 was the time of the grandchildren of Loarn or Fergus or both and corresponded to the time of Murchertach mor Mac Erca, King of Ireland and to Gabhran and part of the time of Aedhan, son of Gabhran of the old list of Buchanan, at which time, as Skene says, 'the kingdom proper of Dalriada had its commencement' can be made as clear as that the most dull and stupid will apprehend it. But, although Skene says that the kingdom proper of Dalriada had its commencement with Aedhan, son of Gawran, it could only have received then some new life from Aedhan's successes in war, perhaps with some slight assistance to him from Ireland, for I do not find that there was any invasion of Alba at that time from any quarter. What Mr. Skene refers to is, I think, mainly that in the time of Aidhan, by the good offices of St. Colum Cille, who was a cousin to the then king of Ireland, the Albanic Dalriada became free from being tributary to the mother country, Ireland, which made it, in effect, an independent government. Aidhan accompanied St. Colum to the great council of Drumceat in Ireland, where this and much more was accomplished by St. Colum.

If Keating or any of those who referred to 503 as the date of a Scottish invasion of Alba had any distinct idea of what they referred to it can only be to a private immigration of the grandchildren of that Loarn who came into the country about one century before in return from exile. These children would also have been the great-grandchildren of Niall the great, by his grandson Muredhach, son of his son Eoghan; but of such a supposed private emigration I have found no historic evidence.

A good way to test the date of the invasion or return from exile of the sons of Ere arises from the following circumstance: St. Colum Cille was, for example, a contemporary of Congall son of Comgall and of Aidan son of Gawran, kings of Dalriada, who were third in male descent from Fergus mor, that is, his great-grandsons; and Colum Cille through Erca, his daughter, was third in descent from or great-grandson of Loarn. The descents are as follows:—

Neall Naei Ghiall	Ere		
	<hr/>		
Eoghan, mic.	Loarn, mic.	Fergus, mic.	
Muiredhach, mic.	Erca his daughter nigh.	Domangart, mic.	
	<hr/>		
Muirchertach, mac.	Feidhlimidh, mic.	Comgall, mic.	Gabhran, mic.
	Colum Cille, mac.	Congall, mac.	Aidhan, mac.

This, you see, is a plain exhibit so far. The second husband of Erca, daughter of Loarn, was Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naei

Ghiall. And, thus, it is seen that the sons of Ere were contemporaries of Conall Gulban, son of Niall and flourished in the latter part of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth when he did. But if the invasion of the sons of Ere were in 503, as the moderns have supposed it to have been then it would have corresponded in time to the place in this tabulation occupied by Comgall and Gabhran and Murchertach mac Erca, King of Ireland, and not two full generations back of that time, as it really did, as indicated by the place in the table of Loarn and Fergus.

Moreover, St. Adamnan was of the same family of St. Colum Cille, both being descended in the male line from Conall Gulban and in the female line from Loarn and his pedigree is given, which we may compare with that of Ferchar Fada, who was lineally descended in male line from Loarn. The death of Adamnan took place, according to Tiernach, in 704, and that of Ferchard Fada in 711; the steps are as follows:—

Niall Nali Ghiall died 404.	Ere.
Conall Gulban, mic.	Loarn, <i>i.e.</i> , Fergus, mic.
Fergus, mic.	Muredhach, mic.
Sedna, mic.	Eochaidh, mic.
Colum, mic.	Baedhan, mic.
Aedh, mic.	Colman, mic.
Tini, mic.	Sneachtain, mic.
Ronan, mic.	Fergus, mic.
Adaman died 704 mac.	Feredhach, mac.
	Ferchard died 711, mac.

This tabulation might indicate that Ere had been born say a third or half a generation before Niall Nael Ghiall, and this last supposition would be strengthened by the time put down in the old Scottish history, say Buchanan's, as that of the death of Fergus or 420 A. D., while the time of Niall's demise is put down by O'Flaherty for 405. They are both, of course, represented to have fallen in war, but if they both had lived to the limit of the length of the ordinary life of man in their country and age, they might, perhaps, have died at about the half length of a generation say fifteen or sixteen years apart. But it is seen that the difference is only fifteen or sixteen years between the times of the deaths of these two, as it did or may have happened, which may indicate that Ere had been born fifteen or twenty years before Niall.

Says O'Flaherty (Ogygia I. 236): "Erica, the daughter of King Loarn, was twice married, first to Muredhach, the grandson of Niall, the great, by his son Eugenius, by whom she had Murchertach, king of Ireland, Ferredhach, Tiernach, and Maen. Her second husband was Fergus, the son of Conall Gulban, first cousin to her former lord, by whom she had Sedna, the progenitor of nine Irish kings; Feidhlimidh, the father



of St. Columba, tutelar saint of Ireland and Scotland; Loarn and Brendan; concerning whom is extant the following ancient fragment.

Chethre mic la Muiredhach,  
 Fri h' Eaire, ba slocht Saor;  
 Feredhach agus Tiernach,  
 Muirchertach is Maon.  
 Chethre mic la Fearghus,  
 Go n' Eaire ccubha ccudna;  
 Breundan agus Lughadh,  
 Feidhlim agus Sedna.

Which is Anglicised as follows by Mr. Healy the translator of the *Ogygia*: —

“ Four brave sons had Muiredhach  
 By Erk, an offspring rare;  
 Feredhach and Tiernach,  
 Muirchert and Maen they were.”  
 “ Four brave sons great Fearghus had,  
 By Erk, same lovely fair;  
 They Brendan bright and Lughaidh,  
 Feidhlim and Sedna were.”

The word *ccudna* means ‘the same,’ referring to what has gone before. It was largely in metric composition that the Gaels preserved the history of their country and clans. These children, then, of Erca, the daughter of Loarn, referred to in those two stanzas, who would be called Mac Eare from their mother’s name, would be the persons who might have emigrated to Alba, if any such emigration took place, at the opening of the sixth century, as has been reported by the new style chronologers, for this was the time, in the main, of their mid life.

And it would be no cause of wonder to me if I were informed on good authority that the man Feredhach, which would likely be recorded in the history as Feargus mac Eare, and Lughaidh, which would of course be recorded as Loarn mac Eare, being brothers by the same mother, may, if they did emigrate at that time to Alba, as private citizens, have given rise to the tradition of the invasion of Alba, in the sixth century, by Loarn and Fearghus, the sons of Eare, which tradition would inevitably be confounded, with the tradition or history of the sons of Ere, the son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, who had returned from exile nearly a century previously.

But there is no necessity here for any confusion whatever in the idea as to the descent in the male line of Alpin, King of the Scots. The ancient account of the Scotch which they give of this descent in the male line from Ere mac Ethach Muinreamhair and from Conair II. is doubtless the one which was intended to be given, as that which indicates the channel of the descent; and as to whether this channel has sometimes hitherto

been made to overflow its banks by an inflated list or in parts to run dry by a name being left out is a matter which reason would pronounce as of only secondary importance.

In regard to the list I give, I may explain that the Clan Duff, which embraces it from Eochaidh Muinreamhar to Lughaidh mac Gilla Comgan, these two inclusive, we have from the Books of Ballymote, Lecan and Leinster and from the Gaelic authorities in the Advocate's Library, Edinburg.

From Eochaidh Muinreamhar to Conair II., these two inclusive, the list which appears in the Book of Lecan I have compared and revised by the Scotch list. As to the list from Conair II. to Conair 1st, I compare and revise the Irish list by the Scotch. As to the number of links in this space I find O'Flaherty to be correct, where he calls Conair II. "great-great grandson of Conair 1st," that is judging from the chronology and the history of Fordun for this space. I have also found it to be correct by a collateral evidence, even if it should be a matter of surprise to any one that in the process of my investigation into this subject I may be found to have identified our Conair II., so-called, with the so-called monarch Mac Conn. With the genealogy given of him in Keating and O'Flaherty, our list will be found to agree as to numbers, from Conair II. to and including Hugony mor. If, as would appear to be the case, the two lists represent the same line of men for this space, all that is to be said about it is that some of the families descended from this stem may in the later ages have taken the liberty of giving to the names such forms as they judged the changes of the language, even in the pre-Christian ages justified. There are usually reckoned about  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years for an average length of generation, that is, on the average three successive generations to a century; but in the British Isles I think the average length of human life may be longer than in most other nations and one may perhaps reckon 34 or 35 years as the average length of a generation. Now, Fergus, the son of Erc, died in 420 A. D., and back of him there are 34 generations, which multiplied by 34 equals 736 B. C. for the time of the 75th. (34 generations multiplied by 34 years for each equals 1,156, diminished by 420 years after the Christian era, leaves 736 B. C.)

"According to the Irish history," says Vallancy, "this colony (*i.e.*, the Gaedalian), arrived here in 3260 A. M., that is, in 738 B. C. The Liber Lecan says this happened in the reign of Belesis, who is Nabonassar, and his era began in 747 B. C., and he died in 714 B. C." He was succeeded by his son Nabocollassar, that is, by the great Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. The Irish annalists may be right and there is great reason to think that this is the first colony that settled in Ireland, and that the great Milesian expedition was in the time of Nebuchadnezzar."

Now, although I think it uncalled for in me to extend my list in the main line in the British Isles beyond Hugony, I yet consider it quite non-

sensical in Vallancy to say that this was probably the first colony which settled in Ireland; for there were doubtless colonies of different stocks and some of the same stock as this which settled in it previously. Even the Liber Lecan confirms this, which in one place says that the Milesians invaded Ireland in the year of the world 2736, which if this date were correct would have been 1264 B. C. Vol. II., p. 1., O'Halloran's History of Ireland.

Vallancy continues: "The Reim Roighree or Book of Kings places their (*i.e.*, the Firbolgs) arrival in Ireland, in 3266 A. M., but the Liber Lecan says some of them came in the reign of Ballaster, that king who saw the handwriting on the wall, and from whom Cyrus, son of Darius, took Babylon; and that they landed in the northwest of Connaught, at a place called Inbher Domhnan, from these Fir D'Omnán or men of Oman." Vall. Coll. de Reb. Hib. Vol. IV. p. 139. This would leave the time of this invasion to have been 734 B. C.

In the preface to page XII of this same volume, this author says: "I showed the mistake of Keating and the bards he had copied from in making the Firbolg and the Tuatha de Danaan colonies. They were only the names of the different orders of priests that arrived with the colonies."\* But Vallancy must certainly have known that the Firbolg were not only the priests that accompanied the expedition of the Milesians, but the

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\* "An old author says the Firbolg came to Ireland when Ballaster (Baalstassar) was king, he, who saw the magic handwriting, the words Mane, Tethel, Phareas, and, he proceeds: Cyrus son of Darius soon after took Babylon."

"Now, Firbolg signifies Augurs, Fir, a man, bolg of letters, learning and erudition. Fear-bolg *i.e.*, maíneacha or maíachane, *vet. gloss.* Mr Shaw in his Gaelic Lexicon, thus explains maíachan, *viz.* 'the young of sprites in Scotland called Brownie, it is a good-natured being and renders good offices to favorites.' Thus, the Rev. Mr. Shaw."

"Arab, baligh, reaching the highest perfection in learning. Pers, belagh, any vocable implying excellence as purity, virtue. Belaghet, eloquence, fluency of words. Beleigh, eloquent, (Richardson)." "In the Slavonian dialect blog is an interpreter, a lexicon." "But Castells proves that the Chaldees had an order of priests named Belgæ *ab hoc*, *ordo ille sacerdotum*, *cujus observatores Belgitæ dicti*; and the ancient Irish glossarists fully explain our Firbolg were in holy orders, *viz.* Bolgeard, *i.e.*, Neas; that is, the profession of a Bolg is Neas, *i.e.*, divination, in Heb. Naash."

"In another ancient glossary I find bolg or builg explained by druehd run, that is, the mystery of the dead, or of raising up the dead, by which I understand conversing with the Manes."

"So that the Irish fir-bolg means no more than the Augurs or Druids, the Dadananai left behind when they journeyed to Pelasgian Greece, to improve themselves in some new doctrine then broached, and such masters of the magic art were they now become, the poet tells us, that on their return they threw a cloud over the firbolg for three days and nights, till they had made good footing on the shore. The meaning of the whole is that the Druids not approving of the new doctrine brought in by the Dadananai opposed it then, and, we are told that in the space of twenty-seven years, they had two noted battles, one at Magh Tuire-deas, and another at Magh-Tuire-Tuagh; that is at the plains of the South tower and of the north tower; but at length they got the better of the Firbolg." The translator and fabulous interpolator of Keating's History of Ireland has brought our Dadananai from Greece to Denmark and Norway, and made them instructors of the young Danes in the magic art. I have carefully perused Keating in the original Irish, and the ancient poems on which he forms that part of his history, where I find not a syllable of Danes or Norwegians, but a plain description of Etruscan, &c." Vol. III. Vall. civ, cv, cvi. — The Spear of Lughaidh, the Tuatha de Danan, was called Gai Bulg the Sorcerer's Spear.

great body of those Milesians or Scots themselves under an old name by which they used to be known. The author of the *Recherches sur l'origine et le progres des Acts de la Grece* observes: "that the name Scolati (*i.e.* Celts) is anterior to that of Seythai and that of Sacae must have preceded that of Scolati, since the prince that bore it was born of the Sacae. The name of this people so ancient, has never been changed, or at least, has received so little variation as to be discovered, not only in China and Japan, but also in every country they originally inhabited. The Usbeck Tartars, a division of the Mongols call themselves Zagais; and their country of which Samarcande is the capital, is called Zagathaia, or Zagaia, which is the same as Sacaa." In connection with this I may add, that the learned Prof. Bayer observes that the word Scythae was unknown to the most ancient Greek writers and that it is not of Grecian origin; and, he adds, it was not the name the Scythians called themselves. He discovers that they called themselves Bolgi, anteriorly to their being known by the name of Scuthai; Bolgi means Hidemen, because their vessels were made of hides (See Keating's Hist., p 129; Bolg, a leather vessel, bag, etc.), and the Greeks consequently called them Skuthai, *i.e.*, Hidemen Coriarii. It was not, however, from the idea of the hides, strictly speaking, that those people got the name of Scuthai, but from this name Scoth, Sgoth or Scuth, that is, small branches interwoven (Arabice Sachut, Virgas) into the form of a skiff or ship; the name being applied to the wicker-work from their use. With these primitive boats, whose frame was made of wicker-work, and this covered over with ox and buffalo skins, they were accustomed to navigate the Caspian and Euxine Seas, and then ventured with them on to the ocean and transmigrated to distant countries. You can here also call to mind the Scripture term Succath, that is, booths or shielings constructed out of the boughs of trees plaited or woven together into a kind of house. This is also a Scuth or a Buth. Although the terms Bolg and Scuth came to be used for each other they were to each other primitively, strictly speaking, as the frame or roof proper of a house is to the thatch or shingling. When these Bolgi had mixed with the Dedanites and had traded to Babylon, they then took on them the name of Scothi or Scuthi; the Chaldean name for a ship; and by this name they were known on the Red Sea, where they sailed the Egyptain ships. Hence, some think, arose the Allegory that their chief, Milesius, was married to Scota, a daughter of Pharaoh; as Erythrus or Hercules was said to be married to Erytha, *i.e.*, a ship. In such manner we shall find Niul was married to the *Skeita* or fleet of the Egyptains,\* at the time Moses was conducting the Israelites out of Egypt.

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\* The Greek word corresponding to Bolgi is *σκήθαι* *i.e.*, Coriarii, Hideman, whence Stephanns justly derives the name Scythae and *σχυθοπολις* Coriarii Urbs, the city of the Hidemen, *i.e.*, Scythopolis. Scythian and Irish Scuth, Scudh, a ship; Egyptian Sceitha, Anglo-Saxon Sceith, a ship made of hides, etc.



In a very ancient Manuscript of the Seabright collection is the passage of which the following is the translation from the Irish: "The Fomharaigh" (*i.e.* Seamen, the ancestors of the Norwegian Pirates) "came to Ireland and imposed very heavy taxes upon the inhabitants, viz., two thirds of the produce of the soil, of their kine and their children for slaves; and moreover one ounce of gold annually on every head. But Luch-Lambfhada arrived for the help of the Irish; he came from the land of Croton, *i.e.*, Emania Felix (lit. Emania of the Apples) in the country of Tairge (Tarcon); and with him came certain youthful sorcerers, called Tuatha Dadanan, who had the power of metamorphosing stones and trees into fighting men." etc. Id. p. xiii.

Keating supposed the Tuatha de Danaan, Ferbolgs, etc., to have been different as to nationality from each other and from the Scots. They were, however, all the same at the start; only the progress of ages made a perceptible differentiation in the characters of those people, say not only in North Britain and Erin, but in the provinces of Erin itself. Referring to the Tuatha de Danaan, he says, "It was this nation that vanquished the Fomorians in the battle of North Magh Turedh and which had previously vanquished the Ferbolgs in the battle of South Magh Turedh." Lughaidh Lambfhada or the Longhanded is in the tale said to have been a son of a daughter of the king of the Fomharaigh and to have killed his grandfather, in the battle of North Magh Turedh by a stone he threw at him from a sling. In this battle, also, Kethlen, the wife of Balor, is said to have fought with cool and determined valor and to have succeeded in wounding the Daghdá, *i.e.* the chief priest of the Danaans. Nuadhat Argiod Lamh, *i.e.*, Nuadhat with the Silver hand and several other Danaans of prominence were laid hors du combat on that hard fought field.

But notwithstanding the interweaving of some such fiction in the narrative, the two battles here spoken of would appear to have been of a real nature, the opposing forces being respectively the Fomhorian invaders and the native defenders. The field of South Magh Turedh is said to have been in the county of Mayo and that of North Magh Turedh in the County of Sligo; while Beauford has them respectively in Galway and Roscommon.

"Fomharaigh Afric," says Vallancy, "is a general name in Irish history for the Carthaginians, the name signifying Marine Heroes, Princes," etc.; but here I take the name to imply that body of Persians, who, according to the Punic Annals given us by Sallust, did not quit Africa with the great body of the Nemedians, but settled towards the ocean. These people would naturally endeavour to share the benefits of the lucrative trade carried on by the colony settled at Gadiz, and being as expert mariners as their brethern, would endeavor also to pursue them to the British isles, wherein a lucrative trade had been established by the Spanish colonies. This conjecture corresponds with the subjoined account, which is from Major Tisdal, who received it, on his part, from Capt. Logie, the English consul at Morocco about anno 1780.

"An MSS. of very ancient date is now in the possession of the emperor of Morocco, describing the people of the province of Soudan and South Barbary. Their features, complexion and language differ totally from those of any other people on this continent. Although this MSS. is old its description corresponds exactly with that of the present inhabitants of that country. It relates that a part of that people, being once oppressed by their prince, crossed the Mediterranean into Spain; from thence they traveled north and found means to provide vessels from those shores, in which they embarked and landed in a mountainous part of some of the British isles. At this present the people of Soudan always speak their own language, unless in their intercourse with the Moors, and this language has a great affinity with the Irish and Welsh dialect.

"They are red haired, freckled and in all respects a stronger bodied and more enterprising people than the Moors. Their language is called Shiloagh; they wear a checked, woollen covering, put on in the same manner as the Highlanders usually wear the kilt.

"They are the greatest travelers and most daring people of the Morocco dominions and conduct all the caravans." Vall. Coll. de Reb. Hib. Vol. IV.

The Irish history states that their ancestors for nine successive generations had their abode in a country called by them variously Gothia, Guthia, and Gaethluigh, Latin, Gaetulia, situated on the African side of the Mediterranean, not far from the Carthaginian's possessions on the one side, nor from Crete, Sicily, Italy and the coast of Spain on the other. My understanding is, however, that those from whom sprung their line of ancestors did not live in Gaetulia during those nine successive generations, but during that interval, were born and lived in different countries, called European and Asiatic, situated upon the Mediterranean in Europe in Asia or elsewhere. The names they give in nineteen successive places, that is between Breogan and Phenius Pharsaidh, do not all represent the names those men were called by, whether or not they fairly represent the number of generations, at least back to Gaedhal or Niul.

From Fenius Farsaidh, or the Persian, came Niul, who was the first of the race they say, who settled in Egypt, and which name some have very ingeniously supposed to represent a race, say some Egyptian dynasty, whether of the Shepherd kings or others; just as they suppose Fenius, his father, to have represented the Persian—Phoenician \* race; and

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\* Of the Phoenicians Herodotus says: "This nation, according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythraean Sea, but crossing thence fixed themselves on the sea coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria and all the region extending from hence to Egypt is known by the name of Palestine." Rawlinson's Herod. Bk. VII. 89.

Phoenius was according to Sanchoniatho, son of Chna, *i.e.* Chanaan; "a bold etymologist," says Rawlinson, "might add that Phoenix is a mere translation of Chna, which is the name of the red dye so admired by the Orientals." (*Id.* Appendix pp. 338-9. See note 1 on Bk. II. p. 49, as to the settlement of Phoenicians in Bactria.) But Phoenix represented a man and a race, the Phoenician. The Gaedhalians must have been understood as offsprings of the Phoenicians, consequently the same by propagation. In the Hebrew and Phoenician, Gaedel means great applying to largeness also, as Gaedel Mare the 'Great sea,' the Mediterranean.

Gaedel, his supposed son, to have represented the Gaedalic race, the race bordering upon the Great or Gaedalic or Mediterranean Sea.

“Keating, MacCurtin and the MacFirbeshes, authors of the *Liber Lecanus*, all confirm the arrival of the Fomharaigh in Ireland at several periods; that they introduced the art of building with stone and lime, the science of astronomy, etc., that they adored certain stars which they supposed to have power from the god of the sea, either to guide or mislead the ships; that at length they overran the country, and made a complete conquest, drove out the Nemedians and laid the country under tribute.” “Spencer allows that the Irish received letters from the Phoenicians and asserts that a colony of Africans (*i.e.* of the Carthaginian kind) settled in the western part of Ireland.” Vall. Coll. II., 252.

These people, before their advent to Ireland, appear to have had settlements all round in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, for we have seen that Luigh Lamhfhada came with his host of Tuath Dadanan sorcerers to the assistance of the Irish from the harbor of Croton in Italy.

‘The country about Croton was called Maeoni or Eamonia; there was also the city of Eamonia, the vica Maeoni and the planum Maeoni in Etruria. Now, as there was Eamonia in the inland parts and Eamonia on the sea coast, in which stood Croton, our Irish historian most properly distinguishes Croton to be the maritime Croton or Maeonia, ‘Croton na Cuan,’ that is, ‘of the harbors.’ Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the change of name into Cothornia, and the Cruthni or Picti of Ulster were, according to Colgan, called Cetherni.” Vall. Coll. IV., Preface, xiv.

“Herodotus places the Pactyae and Crethoti in Thracia — Chersonesus-Thrace, Samos and Crete had been peopled by Phoenicians, Pelasgians and Etruscans.” “To this let us add that the first Etruscan king after the fabulous time of the Etruscans was Melcus, rex Etruscarum totae Italiae imperavit. He consequently was the leader of the Pelasgian colony to Spina and afterwards to Spain, where Herodotus finds him under the name of Melesi-genes and thinks it was Homer.” Vall. Coll. IV., Pref. vi.

Herodotus, in representing his ‘Miledh of Spain’ to have been a contemporary of Homer (of course he was too sensible a man to think him to have been Homer himself) has doubtless hit upon the ‘Miledh of Spain’ of the Irish history, as the chronology of Homer would, perhaps, exactly fit into the time of Ith or his father. In regard to the local name, Aemonia or Maeonia, as connected with Croton in Italy, Vallancy considers the name Ereamhion to mean ‘an Aemonian chieftain,’ seemingly compounded of Er, great, noble, a chieftain, and Eamoin or Eamonia or Aemhoin. ‘I think,’ says he, ‘the name points out the origin of the Pelasgian Irish from Eamonia, or, as they write the name, Eamhain.’”

Speaking in reference to various historic evidences he again says: “This shows the origin of the Irish history, and although I believe that part of the Irish records not to be true in every particular of the detail,

still there is good authority to say that such a colony did arrive from Spain." — "In short, the history of the ancient Pelasgi and Etrusci is the same as that of the ancient Irish." — Id.

Again: — "But a stronger evidence of the arrival of this colony cannot be given than the name of Aemhain or Eamhain, that was given to the capital and royal residence in Ulster: Cruthni to the country and people of Dalriada: Aemhain to Inch Colum Cille on the coast of Scotland; and of Aemhain, Eubonea, and Euboea to the isle of Mann." — Id.

At the founding of the city of Emhain, in the reign of Hugony, Tier-nach of Cluanmac Noise commences his Annals, with the statement that 'all the historic records of the Scots preceding the time of Kimbaeth are uncertain.' The coming of the Picts to Ireland under their King Gud in the time of Eremon, as according to the Irish Annals, must not be understood in the literal way it would appear to bear; for the people called the Cruthni or Picti were evidently the same people as the Scots, which is proved by the identity of the Gaelic with the language spoken by the Picts in the seventh century. In the course of the ages the dialects of North Britain and Erin differentiated by use, but not so much as might be expected; for St. Colum was able to preach to the Picts in his own native tongue, without the aid of an interpreter. There is only one instance recorded by Adamnan in his life of St. Colum, in which we can suspect the aid of an interpreter had to be called in, and in that instance it is likely the old Pictish chief may have had peculiarities, one of which might have been that he could hear but imperfectly. In his Celtic Scotland Mr. Skene also proves the identity as to origin and language of those two peoples from the ancient topographical nomenclature of North Britain and Ireland.

If the name Eremhon would mean Western people, as according to Beauford, an interpretation, which is doubtless easily explainable, it would, as we have seen, also mean the chieftain of Ewania, while the man's name by which he was known in his day might have been of some other form than Ereamhon. However, I would regard it as not at all unlikely that Eremhon was the proper name of a man after which in future times his race was designated Heremonians and that he may have lived in a later praeChristian age than that which has been assigned to Heremon by the Irish historians. The antiquity of that Heremon, whose name appears away back in the line of 'MacConn,' might be deemed what is called respectable; viz., Conair mor, A. D. 1, or say, B. C. 50 years. Then 12 generations back from him to and including Heremon in the line of 'MacConn's' ancestors makes 433 years. ( $33\frac{1}{2} \times 12 = 400 + 33 = 433$ .) After that there are 9 generations in that list, which represents at the same computation 300 years; for  $33\frac{1}{2} \times 9$  equals 300; and 300 added to 430 equals 730 B. C.

But we must keep in mind that the praeChristian dates are comparatively uncertain and this in regard to all the historic nations. In Rawlinson's



"Great Monarchies," as well as other such ancient historic works, the dates preceding the Greek empire in Asia can be only regarded as generally approximative to correctness. That the Irish records leave a wide field for speculation as to the true dates for the founding of their Milesian kingdom the following data together with what I have given will show. Philip O'Sullivan in his work dedicated to the King of Spain, says that they arrived in Ireland 1342 years B. C., which up to his (O'Sullivan's) time, 1627 A. D., makes 2969 years. See "O'Donovan's 4 Masters." The Irish historian, bishop and prince, namely, Cormac Mac-Culinan, the compiler of the Psalter of Cashel in the 9th century, A. D., as well as the Book of Conquests states that the Gaels arrived in Ireland about 1300 years B. C. The Polychronicon agrees with them in this computation in stating: "There are about 1800 years from the arrival of the Hibernenses until the death of St. Patrick, which is the same as to say that they arrived in Ireland over 1300 years B. C. The Book of Conquests asserts that "it was at the end of 283 years from the 'Exodus' that the Scots arrived in Ireland;" which, if the incoming of the Scots was in the early part of the fourteenth century, would leave the exodus to have taken place sometime in the sixteenth century B. C. It is difficult to divine the reason that during the prevalence of state Christianity, the tendency of fashion has been to abolish all antiquity — either there was no praeChristian world or if men then lived they were all fools! Away with such squeamishness as is prepared to say that every human fossil, which comes to sight, must needs have pertained to some Indian, the evident and general characteristic of fickle imitators, the mistaken object of whose life seems to be to please somebody or something at the expense of principle, of manhood, of womanhood.

If, however, the Irish records go to show that there may have been an invasion of the country or that a foreign colony settled in it at about the time indicated, they do also go to show, as evinced before from the Book of Lecan and from what follows, drawn from the same source and others, that there were other colonies which settled in the country or other invasions of it much later than the time above set down, that is, than the fourteenth century B. C.

"The Book of Lecan, fol. 13, says that some of the Tuatha Dadan came to Ireland in the first year of Cambaath, *i.e.*, Cambyzes, son of Cir, *i.e.*, Cyrus; and that some of the Milesians came in the 5th year of Alexander's reign, that Alexander that fought Daire Mor; that is, Darius, the Great; and that these Milesians brought with them an account of the divisions of Alexander's army among his generals. Others came to Ireland in the very year in which Alexander defeated Daire Mor." Vall. Coll. IV. 322 note.

When Nebuchadnezzar II., the king of Babylon, besieged Tyre in 586 B. C., the governor of that city at the time was Ith or Eth-baal. The

city held out for 13 years, and when it was taken in 573 the people had left for Spain and for the islands of the Mediterranean. When, however, Nebuchadnezzar had set everything in order in the regime of his government and had prepared a fleet he embarked a large army and followed the exiled Phoenicians into Spain, where, it is said, he remained 13 years, until there was not a Phoenician left in that country. It is thought by some respectable authors that the Ith here mentioned was that one who invaded Ireland and settled his people therein: for that this would, in his emergency, have been most likely to have been the country he would have selected as a permanent and quiet home for his people, out of the reach of Nebuchadnezzar or any other ambitious conqueror, who might arise in the east. But this is their conjecture, no one having spoken definitely with respect to it. Supposing, however, for the sake of illustration, this to have been the man of that name, who established the colony in Ireland, then he must have been well advanced in years, having his grandchildren grown up around him, when he left Tyre for the west: for, according to our reckoning of three generations, on the average, for a century he would have been in mid life about the year 700 B. C. But reckoning the average length of the generation back from the Christian era in the line of 'Mac Conn' to have been 30 years instead of 33½, this man would have been in the prime of life about the year 600 B. C.; or, at 24 years for the average length of the generation for the same period, he would have been in the prime of life about 580 B. C.

"We only learn from Berossus," says Vallancy, "that Nabocollassar (or Gularz, *i.e.*, Nebuchadnezzar 1st.), whose reign commenced in 626 B. C., was master of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Cælo-Syria." It is seen that the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon are not included in this list of conquests, and consequently Nebuchadnezzar II., on coming to the throne, set about earnestly the capture of those cities. Referring to this whole period of the Nebuchadnezzars, Vallancy says:—

"At this period I am of opinion the great Milesian expedition as it is called, took place from Spain to Ireland; other parties would naturally follow, when Nebuchadnezzar II. reached Spain, where, it is said he did not leave one Phoenician in the whole kingdom, spending no less than nine years in driving them out." "Again: As our Scythians mixed with the Tyrians and became one people and shared their fate there is great reason to think that this is the first colony that settled in Ireland, and that the great Milesian expedition took place in the time of Nebuchadnezzar."

"There is a great reason to think our Ith (*i.e.*, that one of the name who invaded Ireland) was the Ith-baal or Eth-baal of the Scriptures, *i.e.*, Dominus Ith." Vall. Coll. vol. iv.

An expression of the history of Hugony mor as given in the four Masters is translated literally as follows: "After Ugain mor had been king of Eireann and of the west of the west for forty years he was slain by

Badhbhchadh;” which is translated as follows by the Irish historians: “After Hugony, the Great, had reigned forty years over Ireland and the western isles of Europe, he was slain,” etc. Vallancy takes Eireann here to mean not Ireland, but Iran in Persia, and the expression the ‘west of the west’ to mean that Hugony and his people were still situated to the east of the Mediterranean. In fact he, with many others, maintain that all the names in the so called Irish historic list not only preceding Hugony’s, but for some space of the list after that, are merely transferred from Iran or Eireann in Asia to the isle of the west and that what is said of them is merely what had happened to the real men in Asia. They go on, too, and give such historical and philological illustration of their position on this subject as they consider makes their assumption amount at least to probability, which suppose it does and more. Yet, on the other hand, it is replied that, with respect merely to the genealogical bearing of the subject, if the names appearing in the Irish lists represent real men and in the relation of son to father right along as they are represented in the lists to have been, then it makes no difference, at least considered in this relation, whether they lived to the east or to the west of the Mediterranean in their day, provided they were the ancestors of those who claim them as such. In the PræChristian as well as in the Christian ages men used their privilege of changing occasionally their local habitations; and of sometimes, doubtless oftener than was necessary, making a new habitation for themselves and their families by force of arms. It is, therefore, seen from this that a man whose name appears in a genealogical list as an ancestor might be of a country far distant and a language much different from that of his grandfather or grandson, whose name may appear in its proper place in the same list. But, really, if this assumption of Vallancy and that class of men referred to as being of his opinion be correct, namely, that at the time of Hugony nor the Gaels were yet settled to the eastward of, on the borders of and in the islands of the Mediterranean, then it might be thought difficult for us to go to work in the list which contains the names of Ughain and his ancestors and descendants and pick out the name of the man who was the leader of that expedition into Ireland. We see, however, that the investigators incline to the name Ith or Ethbaal in their idea of the leadership of that expedition and consequently we have to look for the Gaelic list which contains in its first place or in effect in its first place the name Ith. This list we recognize in the genealogy given of MacConn, king of Ireland, which list we recognize as the main line of the ancient Irish monarchy. Whether or not then we are to recognize in Ith the leader of an invasion of the country, my understanding is there must have been an invasion of it about in his time. I would not be disposed to refer to Ireland the story related of Labhradh Longsech, as from criticisms I have seen on it I would think that story might be justly referable to the Eastern Eireann, *i.e.*, in Persia: But

allow me to suggest the tenth name in the list, namely, Eramhan or Olild Eron, as a native of the country, who by means of the forces at his command within the country and drawn from his own territories in North Britain, took possession of the government of the island which remained in the hands of his descendants (if we are not to except the few kings of the house of Rudhri?) down to the last half of the twelfth century A. D.

Some historians have represented this conquest, such as it was, by Olild Erawn, to have been that of the Tuatha da Danan, as they make that of his ninth ancestor to have been the conquest of the country by the Firbolgs; but this is, in a sense, a multiplication of words without the necessary explanation being given for the conveyance of the proper knowledge: for they were the same people, namely, what they called Milesians or Scots; but in the progress of six generations a large body of them appear to have changed their religion from the tenets of the Firbolg sect to those of the Tuatha De Danans and to have become hostile towards each other on this account: And so we find that it is not alone in the Christian times that religious differences have existed in Ireland.

Some of the authorities make Ith to have been grandson of Bratha and others grandson of Milesius, which is supposed to be because this Bratha was the leader (Miledh) of their Gaelic expedition from Gaethluigh into Spain. The historians, however, represent their Ith as the first of their men who went into Ireland; for that as being a very intelligent man and well versed in the languages they had sent him before them to make observations of the country and learn what he could of it, for their information, before they had set out from Spain on their expedition. It is, therefore, not unreasonable on the whole to conclude that a Milesian expedition may have taken place into Erin in the time of Ith, although such expedition may not now have attempted a conquest of the country by force, nor may they have found it necessary to attempt such a thing by reason of the friendly reception they met with from the natives and the existing authorities.

Now, I suppose the list given us of the ancestors of king MacConn to contain all the links which properly belong to it, I mean intermediately of Lughaidh Mac Conn and Ith; and that it does so I regard as proved to a nicety by the parallel list of the royal line, so called, of Leinster, that is, supposing our Ughain to be only another name for Ith. And this being so it is evident that this list measures to a close approximation by means of the number of its generations the length of time which has passed since the Scots made their celebrated invasion of Ireland.

In regard to the expedition of King Nebuchadnezzar II. into Spain the very learned Count Gebelin observes that ‘many learned men had doubted of this expedition, particularly Bochart, who, for reasons not worthy of himself, treats it as a fable.’ He then shows that the Phoenicians had the



use of the compass and navigated to the Western Ocean, and finally he combats the opponents of this part of the history and proves the criticisms of Bochart to be full of errors.

Referring to this juncture of the history Vallancy says: "The vanity of the ancient Irish Sennachies had formed this connection between their ancestor and the heroic governor of Tyre. The Liber Lecan flatly contradicts this genealogy. At folio 119 it says: "The race of Ith were neither Milesians, Domnans, Bolgai nor Nemedians, but far superior to all these, *i.e.*, they were Fomaraigh. Mac Conn descended from Ith and extended his arms to the British Isles and to Gaul." Now, if any ancient Irish historians meant to say that their Ithians were descended from Ith, the governor of Tyre, I do not see how this account of the Book of Lecan can contradict it as said by Vallancy. In fact, common sense shows that the Tyrians were compelled by the circumstances of their case, when deprived of their own homes by Nebuchadnezzar II., to become for the time Fomaraigh and either by persuasion or force obtain a home for their people. Now, where would the Tyrians, a sea-faring people, having at their command at the time an abundance of sea craft and wealth, have been likely to have gone with their wealth and their families? Not into the center of Africa, wherein they would be likely to have to abandon or partially abandon their ships on the coast; no, but they would be likely to have abode for a time on some islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, whence having reconnoitered Ireland by agency of some of their competent men and judged things there to be generally favorable for their invasion and settlement they would have gone there and settled down after such arrangement as they found necessary as preliminary to such settlement. It would seem to me also that this account of the the Book of Lecan, which says that the descendants of Ith are not Milesians may possibly have been intended to imply their descent from this Ith, who had been governor of Tyre in Phoenicia when that city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar II.; but as to whether or not this Ith was grandson to the Bratha or Milesius, mentioned above, through his son Breogan is something which perhaps the authors or compilers of the Book of Lecan did not take sufficiently into consideration? In reference to this historic juncture Vallancy says: "This strongly marks the intercourse and mixture of the Southern Scythians with the Tyrians." Bratha, the grandfather of their Ith, was, according to the Irish historians, a celebrated conqueror (Miledh, leader), who conducted his expedition "from Guthia near Crete, and Sicily, into Spain;" he landed in that portion of the peninsula now called Portugall or 'the port of the Galls,' and conquered the province, called after him, Bragantia now Braganza in Portugal. His son Breogan conquered a large portion of Spain proper; founded the city of Brigantia near Corunna and was the ancestor of the celebrated peoples called

Brigantes in North and South Britain. Is it then unlikely that the grandson of this Miledh, whatever his proper name was, the son of this Breogan as being descended of such renowned warriors, and being himself so brave, intelligent and accomplished a person, should have been selected by the Tyrians in their emergency as their governor to defend them from the power of the then all conquering Babylonians, even supposing the governorship were not understood to have pertained to him by right, say through marriage or otherwise? Would not this also be likely to have been the man selected by a council entrusted with the public defense and with the provision for the public safety and maintenance to send on a mission to reconnoiter a country which they had partially concluded would be a good country for them to emigrate to or to invade, if necessary; for a home they must provide for their people to go to when forced from their own habitations?

That the Fomaraigh were the actual invaders of Ireland in what is variously called the Gadelian, Milesian and Scottic expedition there can be no doubt, that is, that the Gaels, Milesians or Scots were the same people they called the Fomaraigh, notwithstanding O'Flaherty might be thought by his language to imply the Fomaraigh to have been aboriginals and those he calls Scots or Gaels or Milesians to have been a different race of people and the invaders.

"The Fomaraigh," says he, "the primitive inhabitants of those islands were giants." And in speaking of his Milesian invasion he says, "which was the fifth from the deluge except the Fomorians or natives."

But in the same manner the Gadelians were called giants and aborigines. "These Gaduli or giants," says Vallancy, "were in possession of the Brittainic isles when the Cymmerii or Walsh repossessed themselves of Britain, for they were the primitive inhabitants. In commemoration of their expulsion of those Gaduli or tall men they annually burnt a giant figure of wicker work. From that time the Gaeduli remained inhabiting Ireland, Mann and the north of Scotland." Coll. Vol. IV.

In his Ogygia, vol. I, p. 7, O'Flaherty has as follows: "The first adventurers who arrived in Ireland after the deluge were Partholan and his followers. Some write that he found it planted with inhabitants, but they came here soon after him. Our historians call them Fomharaigh or as we call them in English Fomorians, which name the antiquarians give to all those foreign invaders, who have made descents into Ireland in opposition to the first inhabitants; and they tell us they were all the offsprings of Cham from Africa, except the Fomorians or first colonists to whom they assign no other settlement or origin than Ireland.

The Latins have termed such people Aborigines or natives, because their origin cannot be traced any higher and the Greeks call them Gigantes or giants (*γίγαντες*, earth-born), that is born of the earth, because they came

from no other country, but like trees and herbs were first produced from the earth by vegetation, of whom Virgil:

*Haec Nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebrant  
Gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata.*

“The native Fauns and Nymphs these groves possessed,  
And a race of men sprung from trunks of trees  
And the stout oak.”

And Juvenal:

*Qui rupto robore nati,  
Compositique luto nullos habuere parentes.*

“Who sprung from the shattered oak  
And formed of clay, no other parents had.”

“Nor indeed,” he continues, “does the name import any extraordinary stature of body. We read nowhere that men were taller before the deluge than they are at present; there have been men in all ages of a monstrous and gigantic stature, but very few. The long and happy life which the patriarchs and men who lived in the infancy of the world were blessed with added nothing to their stature. The raven, as is obvious, by many years surpasseth a man in length of life; nor does it necessarily follow that he should have as large a body, from whence we may infer that giants in Scripture should not be understood as men of an uncommon magnitude; but are taken as tyrants, and the first inhabitants or natives; so much for the etymology of the word.

Nemedh, the third in descent from Taith, the brother of Partholan, being impelled and actuated by similar motives to fame and glory, was the second after the flood that immigrated to this kingdom. The third and fourth colonies were the Fírbolg and the Tuatha Dadanan, that is, a people who adored and enrolled mother Danan with her three sons as gods.

Fifthly, the Milesians from Spain succeeded them, a Scottic colony of Scythian origin, who possessed and governed this nation longer than any other invaders.” “The chieftains of those four colonies are said to have been descended equally alike as the Milesians from the same father Magog; the grandson of Noah by Japhet and to have all spoken the Scottic language.”

Now, first, supposing all those different colonies to have spoken, as he has said, the same Scottic language, this language from its name is Scythic. It, however, could not possibly have been the Scythic of Western, or Northern Asia, for, as a matter of fact, we find the Irish to have hardly any perceptible kinship to those languages. Nine out of ten Irish words are, according to Vallancy and the profoundest investigators into this subject, either Chaldaic, Arabic, Syriac or Hindostanic; consequently the Irish is of

that class of languages which belongs to the Scythic of Central and Southern Asia. It is the language of the ancient founders of Babylon and Nineveh, and of those Persians settled in early times on the eastern side of the Erythrian Sea towards India and of the Peninsula of Arabia and the Sabaeans towards the straits of Babel Mandeb. By some philologers all this class of languages have been called Cushite: for the word the Persians call Cus and also Sus and Cis, as in their name of country Cisiana or Susiana, the Chaldaeans and Syrians call Cuth which is the veritable Scuth, Scyth and Scot. This race of Scuths has been very renowned on the earth and may be reasonably supposed in the course of the ages to have had a dynasty or dynasties of their own on the ancient throne of Egypt, perhaps other dynasties besides the Shepherd kings: and they may also be supposed to have dominated in ancient Ethiopia, especially in its kingdom of Meroë, situated among the rivers, the African Mesopotamea, near the sources of the Nile?

To make the distinction between the Northern and Southern Scythians as plain as is necessary let us have the following:—

The Persians say that the Tourani or Northern Scythians were so called from Tour, a son of Feridoun a King of Persia of the first dynasty, named Pish-dadians; that Tour had an elder brother named Irag, who had Persia for his inheritance; and Tour was obliged to pass the Gihon or Oxus and to reign in the Transoxane Provinces. Much has been written in this strain, but the learned d'Herbelot clearly proves that neither was Turquestan named from Tour nor Iran from Irag, as the Persians fabulously relate.

The Arabians, Persians and Turks have, however, always distinguished the Northern from the Southern Scythians. "By the names Jaguige and Maguige, Gog and Magog, says d'Herbelot, they understand the same as they do by Gin and Magin or Tchin and Matchin, that is the Northern Chinese and Southern Chinese."

For ages the Southern Scythians or Persians had been at war with the Northern Scythians, representing them as demons and always respecting them as barbarians.

"The Persians," says Vallancy, "were Scythians descended from Mount Caucasus; they first settled about the Caspian Sea; then in Armenia and finally in Persia. The ancient history of the Persians is the history of those Southern Scythians, the ancestors of the Irish."

Iran *i.e.*, Persia. Iran and Touran, *i.e.*, Southern and Northern Scythia.

If, then, we suppose the people of any of those invasions of Ireland, above enumerated, to have come into the country speaking a language different from that spoken by the great body of the inhabitants, are we to suppose them to have adopted the language of the country or to have imposed their own upon it?



As to the Fomorians a person would be apt to think O'Flaherty not quite consistent in his narrative ; for he now appears to call them the first inhabitants or aborigines and then says ' they came soon after the first inhabitants.' He then goes back again and implies them to have been aborigines ; I suppose fearing from the start that if he fell completely in with the idea that his Scots, Milesians or Gaels were the Fomorians he would have fallen into the trap of those who had fixed the descent of the Fomorians from Cham or Sham instead of Japheth Gadul (as this last is written in the old MSS.), the son of Noah. He may not possibly have been actuated by this thought, but he seems to have beaten round the business a good deal, perhaps in a way quite natural to him.

Gadul means a merchant, Canaanite, etc., and the Fomoraigh were eminently engaged in the sea-faring business. Is it more likely then they were descended from Japheth Gadel than from Cham, not because I consider it of any importance to know which of those names that son of Noah, they say was their ancestor, bore, but because the history or tradition of the Scots traces back to Japheth and the Fomaraigh were the people he has under his fifth head and whom he calls Scots?

Some profound ethnological and philological investigators have found great difficulty to distinguish among the races the people called Shemites. They seemed to me by the tone they adopted before they had finished with the subject as if they somehow understood the Cushites and Shemites to have been the same people if not the latter to have been, so to speak, the genus which included the former, somewhat as a species, and the form Shem, anciently pronounced Sham, to have been but a verbal variation of Cham?

It appears now plain from a consideration of the whole mythico-historic exhibit that the people called Fomorians were the only people whom the Irish histories allow to have effectually conquered the country at the time their great Milesian invasion is said to have taken place ; and consequently the Fomorians must have been identical with the Scots.

Speaking in the *Ogygia* Vol. II. 194, O'Flaherty says : " I find this Scal, the father-in-law of Tuathal (Techtmhar) called king of Fomoir, by which I conclude he was king of Finland and that those northern inhabitants (now the Danes, Swedes, Iothians, and the people of Finland), were anciently known to us by the appellation of Fomaraigh, that is, Fomorians, whom we have called Lochlanians, from their piractical depredations, because they were remarkable, since the eighth century for their invasions and piracies ; and by others they were denominated Normans from their situation."

According to the *Book of Lecan* their Ith was a Fomhorian and according to the general Irish history their Ith was one of the Scottie family which conquered the country ; consequently the Scots or Milesians who conquered the country in that celebrated Gadelian expedition were Fomhorians.

The distinction in the Gaelic mind between the Fomhorians who were the aborigines of a country and the Fomorian who were the sea rovers must have arisen in the popular mind after Christianity had been introduced or after they had come to know from the Bible that there had been a deluge. It was then conceived that after that catastrophe had taken place there were no aborigines of the race of Adam left in any country and that those who in the after ages, came to be deemed the aborigines in contradistinction to all others must need have themselves arisen from those who had been at some time colonists and were of the stock of Noah. These were Fomharaigh in a good sense, being however, in the idea, of a rather inferior grade to the Scots. But the idea entertained of the Fomharaigh, considered as invaders, must have been akin to that afterwards, entertained by the inhabitants of the coasts and islands of Great Britain and Ireland of the terrible Scandanavian Sea Rovers who for a long course of ages brought so much sorrow and destruction to those people. In this sense Fomharaigh would mean literally 'foes of the sea,' or enemies whom the sea might bring to them at any time and unexpectedly.

If it be a correct opinion that the Scots or Phoenicians of the earlier ages followed in their sea-faring life for the most part trade and did not incline to invasion or conquest unless in very rare cases in which they absolutely found they would have to provide homes for their people, and as to the early ages to which we refer there appears nothing in the history to controvert it, we then might safely decide this ancient Fomhoraic people not to have been usually associated in the popular mind with such hatred and terror as were the Scandinavians of the Christian ages wont to be associated in the minds of the people upon whom they were accustomed to prey.

In the later ages, that is the ages of the Roman empire the ports and harbors of the Mediterranean were the rendezvous for swarms of piratical craft, which Pompey and other commanders, to the praise of their memory should it be said, took pains to clear from the sea, in so far as they were able to effect this.

With reference to the Firbolgs I may say that this Bolg is by an elision of an *or* *ean* at the end for Bolgean or Belgian and means literally child of Baal. Of the great divinity of the ancient Phoenicians Baal was an appellation and therefore, Bolgae was for Bolgean or more fully Baal-gaéthan, *i.e.*, Baal-gotten. Mr. Beauford, in speaking of the ancient Milesians, says: "Whence in the most ancient Poems we find them distinguished as Siol m Bolgae and Sliocht m Bealidh or Sliocht Mileadh, that is, the race of the worshippers of Baal; an appellation which as universally distinguished the ancient inhabitants of Europe as that of Christians doth at present." "But when the Belgae are mentioned in the Irish Poems and history in contradistinction to the Milesians they signify the Plebeians or herdsmen, from Bol, horned cattle, whence Bolg or

Bolga, a herdsman or keeper of horned cattle, by reason that this species of animals was dedicated to Baal or Bol." Again: "Miledh Fene signifies a learned nobleman or druid." He then mentions as equivalents Baal, Beal, Beul, Bol, Henl. Ull and Oll. "Ull or the sun, which in this dialect was the same as Baal, whence Ullagh, the worshippers of the sun and their country Ulladh or Ullin," *i.e.*, Ulster, Vall. Coll. III. 290-2.

In reference to the form Baal or Bolg, appended to names, Vallancy says: "Baal is only an epithet in the Canaanitish tongue, like Arz in the Persian." As Ethbaal or Lihbaal; Gudarz, a proper name of Nebuchadnezzar, etc.

After Tiernach has begun his annals with the statement that the father of Ughan mor was then reigning, King of Erin at Tara and Cimbaeth ('or as others wrote Liccus') was king at Emhain and after stating, without specifying any as such, that thirty kings of the Lagenians had dominated over Ireland from the time of Labhradh Longsech to that of Cathair mor, the next king whom he gives specifically to Ireland is Duach Dalta Deaghaidh. He has placed him, too, where he appears to belong, namely, in the sixth generation before Conair mor, which is about the seventh before the Christian era. After that he has Eochaidh Areamh in his proper place, namely, about half distance between Duach and Conair mor. Eochaidh Feidhloch he placed just before the latter and in the old genealogies he is put down as his brother, whether or not that were so.

The sum of those whom Tiernach allowed to have been kings of Ireland of the race of Labhradh Longsech, down to and including his Cathair mor can be counted in the history and among them he appears to have included the few kings of the clan of Ruidhri, which were for this space, as if he understood said Ruidhri to have been of male descent from his Labhradh Longsech, whom he seems to have thought had introduced a dynasty in his person, whose descendants so long held the government of the country.

Before Conn Cead-Cathach Tiernach has seven kings of the Cruthui or Piets to have ruled Ireland, which to my mind is the same as to say that seven kings of the Scots ruled there. But he seems to have had in his mind some variety or class of the Scots; for those men he refers to were of the descent of Olild Aron and Duach Dalta Deagh, although he might have thought differently. My main tabulation will show the filiation of five of these; but the whole seven I take to be, as in his conception: Feidhlimidh Reichtmhar, son of Tuathal Teichtmhar, son of Fiachaidh Findalaidh, son of Feredhach Find Fectnach, son of Crimthan Nia Nair, son of Lughaidh Riabh-n-dearg with his grandfather Eochaidh Areamh. Whether or not Tiernach knew their male descent they were such Scots as the country produced and of a piece with those who had preceded them at Tara, of the dominating race which he has referred to.

But we are to remember in this case that the name of Cruthni sometimes became attached to a family in those ages through female descent and so should not be properly thought to have interfered with the line of the descent as ordinarily thought of.

Of those sorts of Cruthni we have a remarkable instance given in the genealogies in the appendix to Skene's Celtic Scotland. Here we are informed that through the marriage of Core, King of Munster, who was the sixth in male descent from Mogh Nuadhat, to the daughter of Feredhach, King of the Picts of Alban, his sons named Carbri Cruthnechan or the Piet and Mani Leamhna, when they came of age settled in Alban on their mother's inheritance and so became the ancestors of the peoples of the Lennox and of Magh Gherghin, or the Mearns, which afterwards, in the general mind, were of course, not distinguishable from the Picts of male descent. Another brother of theirs named Cronan, it is said, became ancestor of the Cruthni of the kingdom of Emhain. You see, therefore, any number of Picts, so called, might have arisen from Pictish mothers, and still they be in their father's line real Scots.

Moreover, Tiernach says that there were thirty kings from Leth Cuind from the time of Lughaidh-Riahb-n-dearg, the grandson of King Achy Areamh, which Lughaidh lived about 75 years B. C. to Diarmid, the son of Fergus Kerbeol, who died about 566 A. D. For this period, coming as it does within the properly historic times, this number can be arrived at as correct by a reckoning in the histories.

O'Flaherty calls Cathair Mor the last of the Lagenian line of kings on the throne of Ireland. By this we are to understand him as saying that Cathair Mor was the last king of Ireland of the race of Labradh Longsech. But I see no reason why the Lagenians should have now taken it into their heads to give up to others than their own race the throne of Tara, which they had held so long. Considering their past it might be thought an act of very remarkable self-denial on their part. He says that of Cathair's thirty sons there were only ten who left any descendants after them! In many respects the character of King Cathair resembled that of Ughan Mor. The latter had twenty-two sons and three daughters, and amongst those 25 children he had Ireland divided into equal parts! Upon the celebrated Will of Cathair Mor Vallancy, and the historical critics used to like to comment. I, for my part, have sometimes reflected that our Cathair Mor must needs have been as great and as real a monarch of Ireland as was our Ughan Mor before him! Some of the historians make our Cathair Mor to have been slain by the Lugenians of Tara; others by Conn Céd Cathach. The former are more likely to be correct than the latter; for Cathair Mor did not live in the time of King Conn, but was five generations later. They have doubtless, hit their mark better, who have connected Nuadhat Nect, Cathair's tenth ancestor, with Conair Mor, the 4th ancestor of Conn.



And, by the way, if you count up that genealogical list of Cathair Mor, from Nuadhat Nect to Ughan Mor, inclusive of those two, you will find it to contain just 21 names, the same number contained in the line of Conair Mor, from the latter to Ughan Mor, these two inclusive; and the same number exactly in the line of Mac Conn from Ferulni me Edholg, corresponding to Conair Mor, to Ith, these two inclusive. This is quite natural, you see, there seeming nothing forced or artificial about it.

Here are landmarks, for example: Conair Mor; Ferulin; Nuadhat Nect.

Now, between Conair Mor and Aengus Tuirmac there is just the same number as between Ferulin and Eosamhan in the other column; and as there are between Nuadhat Nect and Fergus Fortabhail in the other. Also between these last points mentioned and Ughan Mor there are just the same number in each.

By writing the name of Fiachaidh Findalaidh as Fiachaidh Find, occasionally giving the genitive for the nominative, as Fiathach Find, some early transcribers have availed to make in print, two men out of one, for these two varieties of form refer to the same man who was ancestor to the historical Dal Fiathach race of Ulster.

In a foot note to p. 118 of Keating's history of Ireland, put there by the translator, we get the geographical limits in Ireland, at least, of some of those tribes of kindred origin of which we have been speaking. It is as follows: "Dal Ariadhe (Daul Arree) was co-extensive with the present county of Down; and Dal Riada (*i.e.*, in Ireland), with the present county of Antrim." Whether or not this were so for any age or length of time it is seen the Dal Fiathach race is distinguishable from the Dal Araidh and from the Dal Riada. They were, of course, all of kindred origin, the Dal Araidh tracing back to Rudhri mor.

This Ruidhri whose name is seen in the left-hand column of the three I gave for illustration and comparison I do not understand to have been himself king of Ireland, but he was King of Ulster, or Ewania, and when the sovereignty of the island came into the hands of his family in the person of his sons that clan held it for several reigns at intervals before and after the Christian era. How the Degadians attained to power at the time they did in the face of the power of the clan of Ruidhri is perhaps to be explained by their superiority at the time in military strength.

The Ogygia, however, presents an item (II. 149) which perhaps may be taken into account in connection with the circumstances of this case. The words are as follows: "Queen Mesibocalla, the granddaughter of King Achy Areamh by his daughter Esa and Conchobar, King of Ulster, by his son, Cormac Conlingas, was the mother of Conair 1st, monarch of Ireland, by King Edarscol." Again: "Edania, the daughter of Eadar, lord of Eochraidh, after whom Bunn Edair, near Dublin was called, had a daughter by King Achy, named Esa, who marrying Cormac Conlingas, King of Ulster, had by him Mesibocalla, King Eadarscol's queen."

But the old Saxon Scotch Chronicles say that Caractacus was son to a daughter of Metellan, his father being named Cadallan, son to Cadall. And Mr. Beauford calls Conair mor, son of Trenmor, *i.e.*, son of great strength, instead of son to Eadarscol. But since that a comparison of Fordun and DeWyntoun's lists with those of the Irish histories evidently shows Caractacus and Conair mor to have been identical, those two accounts, since they represent the same thing, in somewhat different ways, must be plainly reconcilable.

As to Cadall and Cadallan I have explained above in a general way, why these forms may have come to have been introduced; but Caractacus or Caratake is not Cathair or Conair any more than Cadallan is Eadarscol or Cadall Eoghlan. Only back to Cadall, which implies his father's father, do the old chronicles take their Caractacus genealogy. But it is in the Gaelic we are to look for the explanation of those word-forms and not in the Welsh or Cambro-British in which the forms do not appear.

The Gaelic Cadal (note the *d* unaspirated in this case) means 'sleep,' Cadalan, diminutive of Cadal, a short sleep 'a nap.' Then we have the same word with the *d* aspirated, Cadhal, meaning Cail, cabbage, colewort; and the same word contracted into Cal, 'sleep,' slumber, Calain, a couch, bed; Call, a house, church, hood, veil. And then old Gaelic Cadall (*d* unaspirated) a battle, Cadallan, a little battle, a skirmish. As applied to a man these terms would mean respectively and literally a warrior, commander, with the diminutive or offspring of the first implied in the second case. Sleep would appear to me to be of the same ancient root as slap, *i.e.*, Saxon Sleep? And Slap implies battle, war. The root of sleep would also imply rest, a place to rest in or sleep; a lodge, hut, house.

The commonest word in the Gaelic for battle is Cath and the two forms Cathal or Cathmhail and Cathair or Cathfhair, being occasionally translated into our name Charles, shows that they were understood as equivalents in meaning, when used as a personal appellation, at least to some extent.

The Gaelic Sgealp (they have the combination Sg usually for Sc) means a slap with the palm of the hand, *i.e.*, our word Skelp, a smart stroke, then the sound of the blow given, a howl, squall, yell, etc. Sgalan means a stage, scaffold, hut. Sgail, a shade, shadow, spectre, ghost; a veil, covering, a pretense; a cloud.

One of the meanings of Neul or Nial is cloud, *i.e.*, something which obscures, renders dark, covers. Consequently De Wyntoun's Edarste-Nyl, for Eadar-Scol, would mean the Steidh-neil or stead-cover, *i.e.*, house cover or roof of Eadar; but as a personal appellation it would mean the 'chief man;' for Ste or Steid would be here for Saxon Stead, properly the wall, gall, inclosure and Nyl would mean the daemh, dome or covering of such inclosure. The appellation would also imply in it the idea of intelligence, the particle ed (here in the fuller form Edar), meaning wisdom, intelli-

gence, knowledge, being the root of our word teach and the first component in the older *Eidbolg*, which we identify with this, in the equivalent list of names of our ancestors.

Although they say the name *EadarScol* means an interpreter, being, as they suppose, from *Eadar*, interposition and *Sgoil* a school, whence *Sgoilear*, a Scholar, still I see no good reason why it should not be understood to have not only this but any of its root meanings also, in which it would stand as a historical equivalent for their *Cadallan*. And then their *Cadall*, *Cadhal*, *Cachal* or *Coll* would have to fit on to *Eoghan*, as well it might, seeing that *Eoghan* is occasionally spelled *Eachal* and *Eochan* as well as *Cathmhael* or *Cawill* means primitively 'leader.' Or, would the name *Eadarscol* have been assumed or given in this case consequent upon the man's marriage with the great-granddaughter of *Eadar* above mentioned? *Eadarscol* would thus mean the child, clan or kin of *Eadar*; or *Eadarste-Nyl*, the chief of the house of *Eadar*.

As to the man *Metellan*, whose daughter the chroniclers say was the mother of *Caratake*, I may say that I have met with no such form of name as *Metellan* either in the Gaelic or Welsh. But, considering the circumstances of this case a person might think it had been put down by mistake for *Maelaedhan*, *i.e.*, *Mil-edh-an*, being the diminutive of *Miledh* and meaning the son of a Milesian, Gael or Scot. It may, however, have been formed from the root *meiteal*, metal, so that *Metellan* would thus mean, as we would say, 'a man of metal,' meaning a spirited, courageous person. This *Metellan*, whatever may have been the form of the name he went by, is put down as ninth lineal descendant in the male line of *Fergus* 1st, so that he must have been understood as a Gael, and, therefore, the first explanation I have given of the form of name they have given him, although it might appear to some the most unlikely, would not be without probability in its favor, as conveying first the proper root idea, and secondly the idea intended to be conveyed by the appellation.

When the ancient Saxon Scotch Chronicles, in so far as they bear on our subject, are fully compared with those of the ancient Irish upon the same subject there will be really found to be no difference between them, as to the matter under consideration. Both lines of history have evidently been much mystified, but careful investigation and comparison throws off the veil.

The Scotch genealogical list of *Fergus*, the son of *Erc*, as given by *Andrew de Wyntoun*, serves as an indicator of the descent, in which a person would think the channel had been made so broad in places as to admit the sailing of other craft besides that of the line of *Fergus*; but still this is not so in fact, for although he gives 14 names from *Fergus* II. to *Conair* II., these two included instead of 10 which is the proper number; and 39 between *Fergus* and *Aengus Tuirmac*, these two included, instead of 27, the proper number, still, this filling up, as may be understood by a study

of the word-forms, in their connections was done by the putting into the list of epithets of these men, which perhaps were used to have been applied to them in addition to their real names, and which he employed to fill out his meter. In giving the three parallel columns of names to the extent of which I give them after our list proper I had in view other considerations besides the important one of the comparison of numbers of descents in periods, namely that they might serve to illustrate the subject, which in parts I had to explain in connection with my list; for, firstly, in reading over some Gaelic histories as concerning the origin of Fiachaidh Fermhara, who is represented as brother of Enna Aighneach and son of Aengus Tuirmac,\* I thought I had noticed some things which, at least, the modern mind would not be likely to pass over without some investigation and criticism. But as I have been able to find no variation in sentiment in the ancient authorities as to the fact of the descent in this case, I concluded that if there were found even some verbal differences as to it these must be reconcilable in some way. How this stands will appear as we proceed.

Secondly. I have thought that I had detected some variations in the ancient accounts in relation to the origin of the clan of Deaghaidh, through which in the male line the descent is reckoned; and, although I have been able to find no variation in the accounts as to the fact itself of the descent being from Aengus Tuirmac to Deaghaidh and from the latter to Conair II., still there appeared to me such variations in the history at this juncture that I deemed it absolutely necessary to make a general examination of it, and to give a general exposition concerning it here, in which as a result my conclusions will be plain.

As to the origin of the clan of Deaghaidh I found in O'Halloran's History of Ireland, under the head of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, as follows: "He had a younger brother called Deaghaidh, both of whom the Book of Munster declares to have been as gallant and intrepid heroes as Ireland then produced. The same authority acquaints us that consequent upon a dispute about the succession Duach had his brother's eyes put out. Hence Duach was called Dalta Deaghaidh or Blinder of Deaghaidh."

"O'Flaherty," he continues, "treats this as a fable, pretending that Duach had no brother, and that he got the epithet of Dalta Deaghaidh from the generous reception he gave to the exiled Deaghaidh and from his adopting him as his child. But neither the Psaltar of Cashel nor the Book

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\* Aengus Tuirmach Teambrach, i.e., Aengus Tuirmac of Tara, has been entered in the histories in Christian times under the form Enos:

The Annals of Cluan Maenoise speak of him as follows: "Enos succeeded and was a very good king. He left two goodly and noble sons, Enna Aighneach and Flagha Ferwara. The most part of the kings of Ireland descend of his son Enna, and the kings of Scotland, for the most part, descended of Flagha, so as the great houses of both kingdoms derive their pedigrees from them. He was of the Sept of Erewon and reigned 32 years," the four Masters say sixty, "and then died quietly in his bed at Taragh." Notwithstanding this he may not have been king of Ireland but his son was.



of Lecan, which he quotes on this occasion, justify his assertion. To the reverse, the first is my authority for what has been said."

O'Halloran appears here to err by misconception, for no history of which I have knowledge says that Duach adopted Deaghaidh; but, on the contrary, they give to understand that Duach had been called Dalta Deaghaidh because he himself had been adopted by Deaghaidh.

Let us hear O'Flaherty upon this subject: "Duach did not obtain the name of Dalta Deaghaidh, that is, the blinder of Deaghaidh, having had no brother, although some fabulously declare he had; but he obtained this appellation because he was the favorite of Deagh, the son of Sen of the Erainans. So the book of Lecan has extracted from the Munster Book; Gilla Caemhan and O'Duvedan's Books assert the same. But Fiach, the sailor, the son of King Aengus Tuirmac of the Heremonian descent, had a son, Olild Aron, who obtained lands in Ulster, from which surname his posterity were denominated Eranans, a different race from the more ancient Eranans of the Belgian origin, and afterwards distinguished into the Deaghads of Munster and the Dalfiatachians of Ulster. Therefore, Deagh, the descendant of Olild Aron, being expelled Ulster by the sons of Ruidhri, obtained a principality in Munster, while his foster son, Duach, had the sovereignty of Ireland, and after the death of Duach he was declared King of Munster; as his posterity have governed it after, both alternately and in conjunction with the Hiberians; the former governors of the North and the latter of the South of Munster." (Ogygia, vol. II, 142.)

One thing appears evident, namely, that at this time Duach (who he was will become more clear before we get through) by some combination of circumstances favorable to his side had won the sovereignty out of the hands of the Clanna Ruidhri, who had held it now for several reigns.

Speaking of the same Duach Keating says: "The reason why he was called Duach Dalta Deaghaidh was the following: Carbri Rosglethan had two sons, Duach and Deaghaidh were their names. There was a rivalry between them as to which of them should be King of Ireland; for they were both qualified to be candidates for the royalty in mien, person, achievements and valor. But Deaghaidh, who was the youngest of the two, sought to supplant Duach, his elder. When Duach had noticed this he sent a messenger for his brother, and Deagh thereupon came to the place where he was, and as soon as he had done so Duach had him seized and caused his eyes to be put out. Hence he got the cognomen of Dalta Deaghaidh or blinder of Deaghaidh. This Duach fell by the hands of Fectna Fathach, son of Cas," a descendant of Ruidhri. A very circumstantial story of Keating, it must be confessed, if eventually we find it to be mainly allegorical. But, on the other hand, under the head of Conair mor, Keating says: "The reader must now understand that the Eranaidhe tribes of Munster are of the posterity of this Conair, as are also those of the Dal Riada of Alba, and that it was at the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh that the Eranians of the North and the Eranians of the South of Ireland were separated."

haidh that the Eranaidhe came into Munster, whither, according to the Psaltar of Cormac, son of Culinan, they had been driven by the tribes of Ruidhri, who had vanquished them in eight battles. They afterwards acquired great power in Munster from the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh to that of Mogh Nuadhat; so that according to the Book of Munster, when the race of Ebhir gained the supremacy of that principality for themselves they drove the Eranans into the extreme territory of Ui Rathach, now Iveragh in Kerry, and the isles of West Munster, and thus they remained until the time of Mogh Nuadhat, by whom they were finally expelled."

These two quotations in connection with O'Halloran's assertion of the Book of Munster having been his authority for what he said might be taken to indicate the probability of Duach having had a brother named Deaghaidh and also that it was in the time of this Duach that the Erawnaidh of Ulster, of the line of Olild Erawn, emigrated to Munster, that is, provided that on the summing up of the whole evidence on the subject there should appear reasonable probability that said Duach had had a brother named Deaghaidh, whom he most selfishly and cruelly blinded in order to prevent him from supplanting him in the government; and the fair way then to decide upon it would be that there were two men named Deaghaidh connected with King Duach, the one being his brother and the other the then chief of the Erawnaidhe of Ulster, who with his people and their chattels, after they had assisted him to the sovereignty, had come and made their abode in Duach's quarters, namely, in Tuath-Mumham, *i.e.*, Thomond or North Munster, called after the Degadians, it is said, the province of Curo Mac Dairi, *i.e.*, of Cyrus, the son of Darius; for there appears in the Scottish genealogy of Fergus, the son of Ere, just at this place the name Deaghaidh, to whom they trace, in connection with the Irish list.

The Book of Munster, which is understood to be the same with the Psaltar of Cashel, is the principal authority given both by Keating and O'Flaherty for the emigration of the Erawnaidhe into Munster in the time of Duach and for the report of Duach's having blinded his brother. But O'Flaherty (the Book of Cluan Macnoise and the Annals of Donegal, quoting from Gilly Caeman's Poem, written in the twelfth century, being his authority), says as follows: "Deaghaidh, the son of Sen, the descendant of Olild Erawn and Aengus Tuirmac, King of Ireland, through his son Fiachaidh, of the race of Ereamhon, was beat into Munster from Ulster, from whom King Duach was designated the foster child of Deag." Ogygia, vol. 1, 172. Whether or not there was a historical foundation for the story of the emigration at this time from Ulster into Munster, either of a large or a small body of people, it would appear as altogether more probable that Duach, during his life never was given the appellation Dalta, although he may have had the appellation Deaghaidh, as a title of

honor and respect given to him in connection with his proper name Duach or Edamh or Daemh or Edhamhrach, all the same.

The translator of Keating's history, referring to the expression 'blinder of Deaghaidh,' used by Keating, says: "Dalta can scarcely admit of the forced meaning given to it in this case by our author. It is the common Irish word to express fosterling or *Alumnus*, and it is to be questioned if a single other instance can be shown from Irish writings in which it has any reference to blinding. O'Flaherty shows from the Book of Lecan, from O'Duvedan's Book, and from Gilla Caemhan's Poem, written in the twelfth century, that Duach had no brother named Deaghaidh, but that he was called Dalta Deaghaidh, because he was the *Alumnus* or foster son of Deaghaidh, son of Sen of the Ernaans of Ulster. See, also, O'Donovan's Notes on the Four Masters."

This gentleman's view will be found to be most consonant with reason, in so far as the word Dalta, in connection with the case, is concerned; when it is known that the Gaelic word for 'blind' is 'dall,' whose present participle is 'dalladh,' 'blinding.' 'Dalta,' 'diminutive,' 'daltan,' is their common word in use for 'foster-child.'

O'Flaherty starts out under the head of King Duach as follows: "Duach of the Heberian line, blind of an eye." And Keating, on page 141 of his history of Ireland, in giving "an enumeration of the most famous and noble persons of the Tuatha de Danaans," reckons among them Eochaidh Garbh, the son of Duach Dall; which tends to show that the Duach we have now under consideration was the one meant; for by looking in the middle column of the three parallel columns of names which I have given for comparison and illustration, you will find Eochaidh Garbh, whom I have identified with Ferulni, *i.e.*, "the man of the sun," *i.e.*, perhaps a priest of Baal, having, doubtless, this office united with his chieftaincy, set down as son of Deaghaidh Teamhrach.

In the same enumeration we find 'Begreo, the son of Carbri Cean-Chaith, the son of Tabharn;' but Carbri's father is set down generally in the histories as Dubhaedh or Dubhthach, and consequently we find Tabharan to equal Daebharchon or Dubharchan, and so Duverin to be the same with the old word Tarn, a lake, from which our word tarnish, to make dull, duff, dun, or of the color of water. But the list given of the ancestors of King Lughaidh 'Mac Conn' clears this subject from such ambiguity as might be otherwise thought to be connected with it, for in the exact place, tracing back in that list from our Conair II., we find 'Edhamhrach or Deaghaidh Teamhrach,' which plainly shows Deaghaidh to have been only an honorary appellation of Duach or Edhamhrach, in addition to his proper name, and this same man to have been monarch of Ireland and of male descent from Olild Erawon or Eramhan. The old lists represent this man's descent as being from one Ebher, a brother of Eramhan. But this latter form is made up of Er and amhan; and this Er is evidently but a contrac-

tion for Ebbir or Emhir; and the two names, as so understood, are most likely to be but variations of the same name, referred, in this case, at least, to the same man. For it is most likely that in the early ages Ebbir and Ebhiramhan, the one being the diminutive of the other, were wont to be used for each other. Iar, Iarr or Earp, which is the same, means the west, and many other things as a dwelling or city, Latin Urbs, root Earb; and this Earbh is a transposition of Ebhar, of which Er is a contraction, arising from the pronunciation, Ewar. Eramhan is for Ebharamhan and this the diminutive of Ebhar and used for it. Earp is Europe, the western country.

That Duach Dalta Deaghaidh was of male descent from Earamhon and Aengus Turmac implies the genealogical line of the Munster royal houses, so-called, to break at this Duach. In some places O'Flaherty mentions the difficulty he experienced in trying to find the steps in the Eberian descent; we can now perceive the reason, namely, the steps of the descent were not to be found in the line in which he sought them. Any one, therefore, can see the boon we possess in the list of the ancestors of Lughaidh Mac Conn, so called, monarch of Ireland, which shows in generations the exact time this family of Gaels has been in the British Isles.

By certain marks I have noticed in my progress in the Irish history I can (independently, I think, of the course taken by Vallancy, Beauford and that class of investigators), if not identify yet at least classify the Partholians and Nemedhians with the people they call the Heberians. For instance, Partholan and Ebbir are represented as having had each four sons of exactly the same names respectively, Er, Orba, Ferann and Fergna. As to the significations of these, Er, means head, chief; Orba, inheritance, patrimony; Fearann, land, a farm; Feargna, chieftainship, superiority; and Eargna, the same word, wanting the digamma, meaning knowledge. In commenting on this subject Mr. Skene has also remarked that we have a reproduction of two of the sons of Partholan in Ruidhri and Slangi, two of the leaders of the Ferbolgs.

Nemedha from Nomae or Momae and this from the old Celtic Mou or Nou, a country, and Mam or Mae maternal, whence Momae or Nomae, original people, aborigines; Mumha or Mumhau, Munster, the land of the Ebherians, the mother country. (See Beauford in Vall.) But I would consider it too narrow a view to be entertained that all the Scots of the British Isles must needs have sprung from Ith and Labhradh Longseach and Olild Erawn. The people of Ith appear to have been the conquerors of the country, in what they term the Milesian invasion, whose government they held in their own family till the invasion of the Anglo-Normans in the twelfth century A. D.

The so-called Ebherians need no more think in the partial way in which they have been accustomed to think concerning those matters; for if they be of the royal stock of Munster they are, thus, of the royal stock of Ire-



land; there being, in effect, only one royal line, that called of Earamhon, *i.e.*, Olild Erawn; and the house which held the sovereignty in succession with their very near kinsfolk in the male line were esteemed the royal kinnel of the island. Some people might look upon Brian, King of Ireland, who fell at Cluan Tarbh in 1014 A. D., as having introduced a new dynasty in his person; but he was not thus thought of by the Irish nation. He is entered in the genealogic list as 31st descendant in the male line of Duach Dalta Deagh, the list mentioning no intervening one of his line as king of Erin but many as kings of Munster. The story about Brian dethroning Melsechlan, becoming king of Erin himself and getting killed in battle in 1014 A. D., appears interesting. The Irish, however, defeated the Danes at Cluantarbh without the loss of their king, and Brian and Melsechlan ua Nial, in the same person, occupied Tara for several years after that battle.

The history represents Factna Fathach a descendant of Ruidhri, who appears in the history next after Duach, as the father of Concobhar Mac Nessa, King of Ulster. Some have thought this Conchobar to have been identical with Conair mor, but the chronology admits not of this, there being three or four generations between Factna, in range with Uar, son of Deaghaidh and Conair mor. This, too, makes the accounts of the Irish histories appear not the less reasonable, which have queen Mesibocalla, the wife of kind Edarscol and mother of Conair mor, to have been granddaughter of King Eochaidh Areamh by his daughter Esa and of Concobhar, king of Ulster, by his son Cormac Conlingas. For Factna, 'the wise,' would range in generation with Uar, son to Deaghaidh; Conchobhar, his son, would range in generation with Olild son of Uar; Cormac Conlingas, son of Conchobhar, would range in generation with Eoghan son to Olild; and Mesibocalla, daughter of Cormac Conlingas, would range in generation with Eadarscol and be of an age to be marriageable with him. This would clearly also indicate Conair mor to have been third in descent from Achy Areamh which although it might appear too distant, considering the collocation of the names and the chronological computations of Keating yet appears, reasonably to bear out the historic representations of the Irish historians, exhibiting, as it may be supposed fairly to do, the exact number of generations between Achy Areamh and Conair mor.

The age we are now contemplating was emphatically that of the Irish heroes. There doubtless is myth obscuring the history in places; but even in that preChristian age there must have been considerable intelligence not only in Ulster, as connected with Emania, but throughout Ireland; and so there may be supposed to be such a reasonable thread of history left apparent as will enable the unprejudiced investigator by close and patient application, and a comparison of a reasonably fair number of authorities on those periods, to separate the chaff from the wheat in the narration.

But as to the possibility of the name Conair being a form of Conchobhar or exchangeable with it I have made inquiry of a gentleman brought up

in the Irish language and a teacher thereof and he informed me there was no likelihood of the name-forms Conair and Conchobhar having been used or mistaken for each other; that they are understood as different names, the last being pronounced Crunacher and the other being related to the form Curi, genitive Conrigh or Conerj; a primitive form of which would be Cathair, whose component parts are Cath, battle and fear, a man; and that Cathair must be equivalent to Conair, which is compound of Cean or Cathan, pronounced Cawn and fear; being in effect the same. In these compounds the *f* being aspirated and quiescent does not appear.

With respect to the three columns of names, in their natural relation from father to son in each column, which I give for the purpose of illustration and comparison of the numbers of descents there may be in parallel lines of descent for the same period I may say that the number of ancestors, which are put down definitely in the histories for Ruidhri mor is ten, which makes the tenth, Ollamh Fodhla, to be of the same generation of Ughain mor. The appellation Ollamh Fodhla, signifying the philosopher or sage of Erin; and Carbri, the appellation given to his son, signifying merely a prince or king's son, and used, doubtless as a cover to his real name, might perhaps all be taken as pointing to the identity of Ollamh Fodhla and Ughan mor. If then Ollamh and Ughan were identical with our Ith, at what point of the Ithean line, which, as containing the oldest forms, we may consider the main line, are we to suppose the line of Ruidhri mor branched out? With respect to this, in consideration of the whole case, a reasonable supposition would be that the father of Ruidhri mor may have been either that Ereamhon, standing in the middle column, who is the Olild Aron or Ereamhon in the Scottish list of our ancestors, or a brother of this Erawn, namely, Irr; if we be allowed to suppose he had a brother of that name; for the Irish histories claim their Ruidhri mor to have been in male descent from one Irr, the brother of their Erawon. This, then, would give an independent line of descent to the Rudricians from the grandson of Aongus Tuirmac, which grandson lived in the twelfth generation before the Christian era.

This hypothesis regarding the parentage of Ruidhri, would of course, imply the identity of all the men represented by all the names in the left-hand column down to the father of Ruidhri, whom it supposes to have been a brother of Erawan rather than this man himself, with the men represented by their corresponding names in the middle column.

When Tiernach states that, in the time that Cimbaeth, son of Fintain reigned at Emhain, Eochaidh the father of Ughain reigned at Tara he says in two foot-notes in regard (1) to Cimbaeth, "By some Liccus is reported to have reigned" (at Emhain); and in regard to the father of Ughan (2) he says: "Praescripsinus Ollam ab Ugain regnasse," which last may perhaps, be translated as follows: "Ollamh, the father of Ughan has been reported to have reigned." Or if we have to follow the regular Latin

construction it would be: "By Ughan Ollamh has been reported to have reigned." Ab in the Gaelic means a father and Tiernach may or not have intended that meaning for it in this Latin sentence. In Latin Ab is usually the preposition 'by' with the ablative.

A farther attempt at identification of the left-hand list, therefore, with the main Ithean column is not to be looked for; and whenever that line of descent got a king of their men on the Irish throne after Ruidhri it simply indicates for that time their superiority in genius, persuasive language, but especially in military strength to the representatives of the main line of the monarchy, or descendants of Erawan. To the clans of Ruidhri pertained the kingdom of Emhania or Ulster.

Referring to the middle and right-hand column of the three parallel ones I may first, remark that supposing the name forms Ith and Ughan to represent the same man, then Ith as a personal appellation, would stand for Eth or Ethach, *i.e.* Eochaidh; and Ughan or Ewan was among the Gaels esteemed in effect the same name as Eochaidh, especially in the very early ages. De Wyntoun's tabulation of the names which I follow here marked 'Eochaidh of the bushy hair' father to Catan and then pushes his 'Usue mor' back six places farther; but his putting in those six names here between Aengus Tuirmac and his Eochaidh Altleten, which names or forms do not appear in any of the Irish lists, shows that he followed here a somewhat different course than they, for their part, seem to have had in view; and the system he followed shows that he had a distinct idea in his mind of what he was about and must have had good ground for his proceeding here.

However, comparing De Wyntoun's list in this part with the genealogical list of King MacConn and with the course of the events of the Irish history I would regard De Wyntoun's Eochaidh, the father of his Catan, as really the first of his list proper; and would consider that in his prefixing all the names he has prefixed to that proper list he may have given too much credit to the old lists he found before him and without having sufficient evidence of their real historical relation of natural descent of father to son in each case, as seemed represented in the list; and, therefore, that he may not have paid enough of attention to the remark made by Tiernach at the start of his history: *Omnia Monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta erant* — "All the historic records of the Scots to the time of Cimbaeth are uncertain." This Cimbaoth is put down as foster father of Ughan Mor and king of Emhain or Ulster; but the name Cimbaoth (which is the Persian name that the Greeks have rendered Cambyzes, and which I do not find again in the Irish history. I have thought indicated in this case a relation foreign to Ireland, more especially as Tiernach noticed in a footnote that some wrote it was one named Licus, who then reigned at Emhain instead of Cimbaeth. This does not prevent, however, that Cimbaeth, son of Fintain, may have then reigned at Ewain as one of a new dynasty, just established at Tara.

But as de Wyntoun has his Eochaidh to have been father to his Catan, occupying the exact place of Ughan in the Irish list, I would consider it natural to decide this Eochaidh to be for Ughan and this for Ith, and that as these three forms are but variations of each other they are likely intended to represent the same man.

As I have said, De Wyntoun has retained the Aengus Tuirmac of the Irish list, giving him six ancestors which do not appear in their list, and making his father, Eochaidh Foltlethen, as according to their list, to have been his seventh ancestor, thus putting him in the place of Ughan mor, back of whom Tiernach does not go. The word Ith, pronounced ü, signifies either a district or tribe or, as an adjective, good, answering to eo and originally was an appellation for water. It means also wheat and the goddess of the filling ears of corn, for whom among the Greeks, doubtless, Ceres. Iodh or Iodhan means a collar or a ring, as Iodhan Morain, the collar of Morann, son of Main. As a personal appellation the name in the old Gaelic was, doubtless, Aedh, which generally is translated Hugh; and, of course, Aedhan or Iodhan would be their Ughan.

Aedh means the sun and also fire, the holy fire of the Baalim or Zoroastrians. In the compound Ith or Ethbaal the first component of the word means the same as the second, as is usually found to be so in the Gaelic and Phoenician compound words. Either of these forms of name would signify a priest-king, a chief who united in his person the office also of a priest.

And now with respect to the six names down to Aengus Tuirmac, I will proceed to give such explanation of them in the two corresponding columns as I consider necessary.

First, by Catan, No. 74, de Wyntoun would likely have had reference, first, to the ancestor from whose name was derived the clan designation Cathan or Conn; and secondly, to the harbor or harbors (Cathan; Cuthan or Cuan) in which the Fomorian ancestors were accustomed to rendezvous with their fleets, or in which they were making preparation for some particular expedition he had in mind, say their great Milesian expedition, so called. Lughaidh, in the right-hand column, corresponding to Catan, means, for one thing, 'a sea chief.'

His Ture, No. 73, would point to the tower, Tur or Tor, of old called Tor-Inis, and now Tory Island on the northwest coast of Ireland, where the Fomorians had their headquarters for sometime, it appears, while dominating therefrom the island.

I will give from Keating the account of this so far as I judge it necessary:—

"Conaing, son of Faebair, from whom is called Tor-Conaing off the northern coast of Ireland and who kept a fleet and presided at Tor Conaing, now Tor-Inis or Tory Island, with More, the son of Daela, exacted the tribute of Ireland from the Nemédians. The amount of this tribute



was two-thirds of their children, corn and cattle, which had to be presented to those two chieftains every year on the eve of Samhain (All-hallows) upon the field of Magh Kedni, between Drobaeis and Erni. The place received the name of Magh-Kedni from the frequent usage of paying the tribute there. The Fomorians imposed still another tyrannical exaction on the children of Nemedh, namely, three measures of cream, flour and butter which were to be sent from every hearth to More and Conaing at Tor-Inis; and this tax was levied throughout Ireland by a female steward, named Liag," etc. — "At length anger and impatience seized the men of Eri, by reason of that tribute and taxation and they rose up to give battle to the Fomorians." — They then demolished the tower or fortress upon Tor-Inis and there Conaing fell with his children and kindred. However More, son of Dela, arrived soon afterwards at Tor-Inis, from Africa, with a force of sixty ships. Upon this the clans of Nemedh fought the Fomorians again upon the same ground. In this second battle they nearly all either fell by the hands of each other or were drowned; for they did not perceive the tide coming in upon them, such was the fierceness of the fight. More, son of Daela, escaped with a small portion of his people *and with them he took possession of the island.*"

He then goes on and relates how most of the Nemedians, *i.e.*, the natives, expatriated themselves, 'leaving ten warriors to rule the remnant of their people who staid behind under the thralldom of the Fomorians.' Whether or not this refers to the great Milesian conquest of Ireland so called, I must say that although it is not altogether free from a mythic coloring it gives, as far as I can find in the whole history of Ireland, the most definite statement as to a conquest of that country by foreigners.

As to the number of ships in the fleet of the sons of Milesius O'Flaherty gives that number at 120 sail, while Keating gives it at 30, and Pedro Mexia (in his History Imp.) gives it at 60, which is the number here said to have been brought in by More in his second fleet to Tor-Inis; so that there cannot be anything definitely determined from the number of ships they give to the fleet of the Milesians.

It might, however, be expedient for us to suppose that More (*i.e.*, Marach, Mariner), son of Dela with his fellow commander, Conaing, son of Faebhar, possessed 60 ships with which they carried on their first battle, in which they were defeated by the Nemethae or natives, and Conaing perhaps slain: That then More returned home with the remnant of the fleet, and returned, perhaps in some or many years after with 60 sail more well crewed and armed, with which he finally succeeded after strenuous and long battling in subjugating the island to his yoke: And that by the time the conquest was finally accomplished More may have had say 30 ships left fit for service, so that the varying accounts as to the number of the ships the Milesians brought to the conquest of Ireland might by some be thought thus reconcilable.

The form *Mal*, No. 73, corresponding to *Ture* in the other column signifies a soldier, a prince, a leader; a man who has to do about war on land.

*Fere-Elmael*, No. 72, would indicate chief-man. It is one of *DeWyn-toun*'s peculiar construction. Its place in the list makes *Edhamhan* or *Ewan*, the corresponding form in the other column, to have been with some likelihood the proper name of the man. From the accounts which have come down to us it is entirely preposterous to think that there should have existed contemporarily in the island for a long course of ages three or four royal houses, each of which had as good a right to the throne as any of the others and each of which supplied it in turn, as would appear to be represented in the history.

The procedure of this Gaelic monarchy, when it became fixed in the island, was, doubtless, according to established law and reason, as to the occupation of the throne; nor do I think that in this respect it could have been very much different in ancient Ireland than it is in such procedure in the old established monarchies of Europe in the modern ages.

Our *Fyere-Anroet*, No. 71, simply fills the place in the list of the man, whose proper name we suppose to be *Lughaidh*, as appearing in the other column.

In like manner *Fyere Roet*, No. 70, would fill the place in the list of the man whose proper name was *Mathsin*, the good chief, or priest.

And *Fere-Cataroet*, No. 69, would fill the place of him whose proper name may be supposed to have been *Sin*, the chief or the priest-king.

As to No. 68, *Aengus* and *Eosamhan* were forms, which in the early ages were used for each other. They mean alike good angel, or good cave, tomb, temple, or house. *Tuirmac*, 'son of the tower,' as connected with *Aengus*, again directs our attention to the tower. *Edhamhan*, No. 67, was also interchangable with those two foregoing forms, but is usually put into the form *Euna* or *Enna*. This was the same man they called *Fiach Fermhara*.

His son *Eramhan*, No. 66, who has the additional name of *Olild*, called *Olild Eramhan* in the other list, appears to have been a quite important figure. It was in the time of his children that the sons of *Ruidhri mor* attained to the monarchy.

Mr. Beauford states this *Olild Aron* to have been a conqueror of Ireland, having, as he said, led an army into the country from the Mull of Cantyre and Galloway in Western Caledonia. The way I would consider this explainable would be that he may have quietly led in an army from his territories in North Britain to enable him to accomplish a design he had formed of possessing himself of the home government of Erin; for there is no doubt that his family carried on a government of somewhat limited geographical extent in Western Caledonia, as the ancient name of Galloway in Southwestern Caledonia was *Brigantia*, called so after *Breogan*, the tenth ancestor of this *Eramhon*. He may have been acting as viceroy in

those countries, when he took it into his head to put himself at the head of affairs at home. His father's name being entered in some of the old lists as Fiach the Mariner may indicate that the old man had sailed about a good deal — perhaps not as a Fomharach — and that this Eramhan may have been born in Caledonia. He was of the twelfth generation before the Christian era, which would leave his time say  $12 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 400$  years, by which he would die, say about 375 or 380 B. C. This is about correct, too, for the Scotch historians inform us that his grandson, their Fergus 1st, came to the government of Scotland about 335 B. C.

It was the descendants in the male line of this man whom I find mainly to have held possession of the government of Erin until the partial conquest and occupation of it by the Anglo-Normans, in the last quarter of the twelfth century A. D.

As to our No. 65, it is seen that he whom Fordun and Buchanan has put down as Ferchard and the Irish Chronicles as Feredhach is entered in our list of MacConn as Lughaidh Feidhloch. The form Feidhloch is, of course, an epithet; and as to Lughaidh or Gaedhal and Feredhach they, doubtless, would coincide in the signification of leader or Toiseach, while, perhaps, both implying in their roots the idea of a priest.

I would think also that there might be implied in the forms Lachthna or Luchthain, No. 64, some sacerdotal meaning, if not rather that the form meant a mariner, *i.e.*, Lach-thain or Luch or Loch-thain, sea captain, as our Forga or Fergus 1st, to whom it answers in the list, was a great sailor, having gone back and forth from North Britain to Erin several times (which in the way navigation was carried on at that early period in those quarters and about those coasts and islands, must have been quite risky) until, as we are informed by the chronicles, he was finally drowned, his vessel having been wrecked on the coast of Ireland at a place called Carrick-Fergus, *i.e.*, the crag or rock of Fergus, after his name. So Fordun, Buchanan, et al.

The Irish form Forga or Fergo of DeWyntoun corresponds to the Gaelic Fear-ghae, *i.e.*, 'the sea,' or as a personal appellation, 'man of the sea;' and the form Fearghus of Fordun and Buchanan means, in all respects, the same, being compounded of Fear, a man, and the full form gaes, meaning here 'the sea.' This corresponds to Lachthna or Luchthani, as above. "Morghae, corruptly Fearghae, the ocean," Beauford.

The form Nuadhat, No. 63, which corresponds to Maen in our list means literally 'a sacred prominence' having reference, perhaps, principally to the 'high places' dedicated to Baal or the sun; but as a personal appellation it would mean a holy man or priest of Baal. This would be one of the meanings of Maen, which is Math-ghamhan, literally 'the good or sacred blacksmith,' having reference to the Phoenician Cabiri or sacred blacksmiths. This Cabiric or Phoenician religion was that of those countries for nearly eight centuries after the age we are now considering. The

Mathgamanai were the sacred blacksmiths, the priests of Vulcan (Baalgean), who had to do with the sacred fires, the Sun, in which it was conceived the Logh (Logos) chiefly dwelt. Mathghamhan, or Mathdhaemhan would also mean 'good house,' meaning church, temple. And Nuadhat equals Naemhaedh-at, meaning the heavenly place, *i.e.*, a temple, Naemh means heaven and also a ship, for the ark or ship was the ancient temple. The form Noah would, from its derivation mean the 'sacred ship,' *i.e.*, the ark or a church and also as applied to the man of the church, a priest.

Of course those foregoing, as personal appellations, mean also a chieftain as do Deargthini, No. 62, and Deagh Dearg, No. 61, corresponding in our list respectively with Arondel and Sen. Deargthini would mean for one thing 'red fire,' perhaps, as representing the sun; also the 'cave' or 'house of the fire,' doubtless, as representing a temple of the sun, whether a cave or a round tower, whether in a subterranean or on a 'high place.' As applied to the man of the temple it would signify a priest. Arondel would mean son or rather descendant, dal, of Eramhan. Deagh Dearg would signify good cave or house, meaning temple. Also, translating Dearg 'red' it would signify the 'red day,' meaning the sun. 'Dagh-dae among the Tuatha-Dadananus was an epithet of the Sun, the god of fire, the bonus deus.' The name Sen or Sin which we have in another column has generally reference to a military chief, Toiseach, leader. The form Sean or Seun means a charm for protection, and as a verb 'to defend by the power of enchantment.' Speaking of 'John, the forerunner of Christ,' Vallancy remarks: 'He was also called Sean, that is, the blessed; he who can defend from the power of heathen enchantments.' Of course, these different forms of name, as applied to the same man, might have been given as implying different ideas had of him without the idea intended to be conveyed that they were meant to be equivalents in meaning in all cases, although they are generally found to be so.

Any one moderately well acquainted with the ancient Gaelic literature will at once recognize the old pre-Christian form Edhamhrach, No. 60, as the equivalent of the Duach, or Dumhrach of the Christian ages. This man was also called Deaghaidh of Teamhrach, which indicates the supposed two men, Duach and Deaghaidh, to have been identical and the epithet "of Tara" would point to his kingship of Erin.

Uar, sometimes spelled Hiar, No. 59, which we have in the next place, corresponding to Ferulin, is for Ciar or rather Cuir, whose proper genitive would be Conair or Conari, Ferulni in connection with Eochaidh Garbh in another form is spelled Fer Ani, perhaps the pronunciation being about the same in both cases, both meaning 'man of the Sun' or a priest-king. The form Siar or Iar, sometimes appearing, means West



or back; which clearly corresponds to Culin 'back,' roof, chief, as in Ferulni, and is also a contraction for Garbh.

It may be kept in mind that we are now in the line of the very ancient kings of Munster, extending from Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, who was of the sixth generation, B. C., to and including Mogh Nuadhat, who was identic with the historic Conair II. It has been said that Munster, during this period of nine generations, was divided into two kingdoms of North and South Munster, the government of these portions alternating between three families called of Ith of Ebir and of Eramhan. But I do not find that any such condition of affairs had place here. There appears throughout this period, at least, to have been but one kingdom of Munster and but one line of kings for it in this space, who were in male descent from Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, king of Ireland; and these kings, it is seen, were of the stock and line of Eramhon, descended from Ith in male line; the former being the same with Emhir, so that you have the whole three families, comprised in one; and this family furnished the kings to Munster, which was integral under their government and also the kings to Erin.

You will understand, therefore, that for this space, the same men have been called in the histories by three different forms of name in order to accommodate the mythico-historic idea of the three lines of descent in Ireland, and especially in Munster for this time.

No doubt, the object of those who in Christian times arranged this plan of history for that country was, first, the promulgation of a more generally magnificent idea of the country both at home and abroad, more especially in regard to its greatness and its probable strength, in being unconquered by any foreign power during such a long antiquity; and, secondly, because they conceived that such a publication must tend to the civilization of the Irish people, north and south, east and west, and the unification in the people of all its sections of a friendly and co-operative disposition towards each other, in which the national idea should prevail in breasts glowing with patriotism for their ancient land, far above all sectionalism and clannal distinctions. The foundation plan of their scheme of history has, however, been based largely upon their ancient historic poems, which are to a considerable degree vague and indeterminate, and it is not impossible but that in the carrying out of their historical plan, there may have been too much assumed or taken for granted in places.

Olild and Sithbolg, No. 58, are the two next corresponding forms, meaning in each case, for one thing, 'the man of the high place,' and for another, 'a man of peace,' *i.e.*, a priest. Muredhach, Muchna, is in another column a correspondent to these forms, and would, doubtless, mean 'Muredhach the Pacificator,' with perhaps an allusion to some local idea entertained of the man, for which it is sometimes not easy to account.

It might be thought strange how it could happen that the forms *Daire* and *Eoghan*, No. 57, should correspond in meaning to each other. Well, *Daire* means for one thing 'an oak' and so does *Eo* or the large *Eo*, (*Ogygia* II., 208); *Eoghan* meaning for one thing, son of the oak, *i. e.*, a druid, which is one of the meanings of *Darius*. You see the two forms coincide in this meaning. The oak was sacred to the druids. In another column this man is called *Mogh Febis*, which would mean literally 'a man of superiority,' or 'goodness,' a good or excellent man.

The next corresponding forms, No. 56, are *Eadarscol* and *Edbolg*, each of which forms meant for one thing in ancient times 'an interpreter of Science.' In another column the corresponding form is *Loch mor*, which would mean here 'the great intelligence.' *Loch* has implied in it, with all the other ideas it contains, the cosmical one of order, setting in order, imparting intelligence.

Our No. 55 is *Conair* or *Cathair* and *Ferulin*, which we have met with before. In another column the correspondent appellation given is *Euna Munchaein*, *i. e.*, *Ewan Munchaein*. In the ancient times *Ewan* or *Eoghan* would have been deemed an equivalent for *Conn*, perhaps *Conan* and *Conair*. *Munchaein* would contain the meaning unexpressed in the foregoing forms 'of the gentle house' or 'of the house of mourning' or 'of the house of kindred' in which significations it would equal *Clan Craebh*.

Our next correspondent forms No. 54, *Daire* and *Dergthini* may have been sufficiently explained already. I will say, however, that *Dearg*, meaning an oak and those ideas therewith associated must have arisen from an inflection of *Daire*, *i. e.*, ordinary, modern genitive *darach*, whence, that is, from the ancient genitive form, arose *Dearg*, the literal meaning being 'of shade,' whence meaning a cave, a dark (*dearg*) shady place. *Dergthini* is then the name *Daire* with the addition of *tinne* 'of fire' or 'of the sun.'

In the process of mystification in the Christian ages they have represented the *Deargthinians*, so-called, as being of different origin than the so-called *Darinians*; but they were of the same descent, as must needs have been seen by the historical critics. "The *Deargthinians*," says O'Flaherty, 'the descendants of *Lughaidh*, the son of *Ith*.' (*Ogygia*, vol. II. 144); while at the same time they had laid down the *Darini*, as of the line of *Mac Conn*'s ancestors.

Our next form is *Carbri*, which in one of the three columns is represented by *Dearg*. I think that, as a personal appellation, *Daire* would mean a chief or leader rather than a king, which it is said by Vallancy to mean. *Dearg* must be here an equivalent for *Lughaidh* in its various senses of leader, priest of *Lugh* or the sun, etc. *Carbri* means a prince.

Our next correspondent forms, No. 52, are *Mogh Lamha*, or as the Scots write it *Moghallamh*, Latinized *Mogallus*, which might be translatable 'great chief,' and *MacNiadh*, translated 'son of the hero.' Doubt-

less the meaning of either form would have been understood of the other in a local sense. The corresponding form in another column is *Mogh Niadh*, that is, great hero. This man flourished about the year 75 A. D., nearly four centuries before Christianity was well introduced in that country, so that in attaining to the meaning of the names of those men one must think directly of the character of the religion and the social institutions amidst which they were. The form *Mogh*, *Mugh* or *Mag* had anciently the meaning of a priest or druid or magus, whether or not any such signification was understood of it in these connections.

The corresponding forms in No. 51 are *Conair* and *Conn*. The form *Conn* of this man's name arose from his proper name *Eoghan* after *Mac*, that is, *MacEoghan* is pronounced *MacCawn* or *MacEown*, written *MacConn*. In my exhibit thus far I have not had opportunity of showing who particularly the man was who was called *King MacConn*, from the fact that he is not in the line of the ancestors of the kings of North Britain. He is *Fiachaidh Suighdi*, brother of *Eochaidh Finn*, called otherwise, respectively, *Carbri Musg* and *Carbri Righada*. The way his name is expressed in the old lists has left one generation unexpressed in the genealogy as reckoned through him to *Ith*: For example, *Lughaidh McConn MacNiadh* is properly *Lughaidh*, son of *Eoghan*, son of *Eochaidh*, three generations where they usually express only two.

It is likely that Vallancy would have translated our *Moghallamb*, 'great Lama,' as he did *Lughaidh Lamhfhada*, 'Lughaidh, the tall Lama.' The Lama of Thibet, in Central Asia, corresponds, I believe, among his people, as to religious position and relation, somewhat to the Pope among the Europeans. We cannot fully represent to our minds the religious opinions and general social and political conditions of those ancient peoples. "Mogh Lamha, otherwise Eochaidh, King of Munster," says O'Flaherty; which shows Eochaidh and Eoghan to have been interchangeable forms in those early ages. And that the form *Conn* and *Mac Con* has arisen from the form Eochaidh is further proved by the Gaelic form *Muredhach* (*i.e.*, *Mur Eochaidh*), being our English *Morgann*, which I find the Gaels most generally to spell *Morcunn* or *Morchund*.

Says Keating in his History, p. 317, speaking in reference to this period: "Olild Olum, who had a reign of sixty years, is the first king of the line of Ebher, who is named in the *Reim Righraidh* (Royal Roll) as having ruled the two pentarchates of Munster; for previous to the banishment of Mac Conn by Olild the sovereignty of Munster was possessed by two races, namely, the tribe of Darini of the line of Lughaidh, son of Ith, from which sprung Mac Conn; and the tribe of Deargthini, of the blood of Ebher, of which came Olild Olum. And whenever the sovereignty of Munster was possessed by the tribe of Darini, the brehonship and tanistship was possessed by the tribe of Deargthini; and, again, when the kingly power was in the hands of the line of Deargthini, the tanistship and bre-

honship was the right of the former race. Thus it continued until Mac Conn's ambition ascended above the brehonship of Olild Olum."

This Olild Olum is said by Keating to have been son to Mogh Nuadhat and to have been, at first, named Aengus. His filiation is, doubtless, correctly given; and as to the form Aengus it was anciently spelled in such a way as that it may or not have been an equivalent for Eoghan and Eochaidh.

But to come to our point, it will be noticed that although Keating says at the start that Olild Olum was the first of his line who had been entered in the Royal Roll as having been King of all Munster, still his language afterwards definitely implies the integrity of that principality as to its political constitution, previously to Olild Olum, the only division noticed being on the one side, that of the brehonship or judgeship with the tanistship, and on the other side the sovereignty of the principality. And, according to the ordinary laws of those old monarchies, the tanistship was always supposed to belong to the oldest son of the actual sovereign, providing such son to exist, to be of age and competent; or, failing this, it pertained to a brother, a brother's son or the nearest of kin in the male line who was competent. It will be seen that Keating's language does not at all imply the division of Munster into two principalities of North and South Munster; nor does he mention the 'Degadians of the Heremhonian stock, for whose accommodation, as might seem implied in some writings, such a division had been made nine or ten generations previously. For, as I have quoted elsewhere, Keating, under the head of Conair mor, says: "It was in the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh that the Eranaidhe came into Munster, whither, according to the Psaltar of Cormac, son of Culinan, they had been driven by the tribes of Ruidhri, who had vanquished them in eight battles. They afterwards acquired great power in Munster, from the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh to that of Mogh Nuadhat, by whom they were finally expelled." This refers to the exact period of the nine or ten generations we are considering. But still this is very early, Mogh Nuadhat's death being put down for about say 125 to 150 A. D. The discovery, however, being made that the appellations Duach and Deaghaidh refer to the same man does away with the idea of two races, such as Ebherian and Eramhonian, in this case, as if pertaining to two ancient lines of Kings of Munster; that is, whether or not there may have been a remarkable immigration of people from Ulster to Munster in the time of said Duach Dalta Deaghaidh. For, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in the case of a member or leader of a very important tribe, having become elevated to the sovereignty of the island, he would be disposed to give all the advantages he could to his own tribe; and from the position of Duach in the line of the Kings, as given by Tiernach, I would judge him to have had perhaps a strong opponent to overcome in his attaining to the sovereignty, at that time in the house of Ruidhri. Other opponents of any note need not be thought of in the case.



Speaking under the head of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh O'Flaherty says, as before quoted, concerning this juncture: Therefore Deaghaidh, the descendant of Olild Aron, being expelled Ulster by the sons of Ruidhri, obtained a principality in Munster, while his foster-child Duach held the sovereignty of Ireland and after the death of Duach was declared king of Munster; as his posterity have governed it afterwards, both alternately and in conjunction with the Heberians, the former being governors of the North and the latter of the South of Munster." *Ogygia*, II. 142-3.

All this we have had before; but I thought it necessary to sum up all that might be thought of any weight bearing on this juncture of the subject.

It is noticeable, too, that when the men intervening between Deaghaidh and Conair II. are mentioned as kings of Munster, they are not entered usually as being of North or of South Munster but of Munster.

After the accession of Conn Cead-Cathach Tiernach, in his way of putting it, gives to the men of Munster 75 years in the government of Ireland at Taragh. This time was doubtless taken up in three reigns: that of Conair II. or Conn, that of his son and that of his grandson. I know not why Tiernach should class Conn among the men of Munster in particular, for there was really only one regular royal line at this time for Ireland, namely, the house of the descendants of Conair mor; but the history had evidently been systematized according to a certain plan, in the interval of nine or ten centuries between Conn and Tiernach; and the latter appears to have followed in his classification that regular plan or scheme laid down in the history.

When Mr. Beauford relates that it frequently happened "that when the same person was distinguished by several appellations," he adds, "our ancient historians, not properly attending to this, have committed great errors in relating the transactions of early periods by asserting the same action to have been performed by several different people, which in reality was performed by one only, thereby throwing their history and antiquities into too distant a period."

"A similar error has also been committed," says he, "by not fully considering the dignitary names of the chiefs, who, on their election to the government, constantly obtained the name appertaining to the clan over whom they presided."

"The only dignity hereditary among the ancient Irish," he continues, "and also with all the Celtic tribes was the kings of the several principalities; they were elected from the eldest dynasts or chiefs of the Cantreds and were solemnly inaugurated, according to the custom of the tribe. On their advancement to the kingly dignity or captainship of the sept they immediately adopted the general name of the tribe or people over whom they reigned, in the same manner as the dynasts did that of their several districts."

This will show why Feidhlemidh Rechtmar should have been called

Conair II. and several other names; and why Tuathal Techtmhar should have been called Moghallamh, and what not else.

Speaking of the Kingdom of Meath, he says: "This district was for several ages governed by the chief of the eldest sept or tribe of the Bolgai, inhabiting the present county of East Meath; in consequence of his seniority, he was not only denominated King of the Eremonii (*i.e.*, the inhabitants of Eremhan or the Province of Leinster), but monarch of the whole Island and from him all the subsequent Kings of Meath and monarchs of all Ireland were obliged to derive their origin to obtain the dignity." Vall Coll. III., 263.

Dr. Chs. O'Connor strongly controverted the position taken by Beauford in relation to a precedency for Leinster over the other provinces. He claimed that Beauford had no proof whatever for what he asserted in relation to this; and the sense of it which he himself would convey amounted to this, that the individual who for the time was monarch of Ireland understood himself as representing in his person the whole island and as in Tara not for the purpose of favoring or disfavoring any one province or person of the Kingdom at the expense of justice; but there as a minister of justice to give equal rights to all. This, of course, is the general idea, which is consonant with reason; but it is not unreasonable, on the other hand, to conclude that there may have been Kings who varied from the line of justice and pursued in their administration a partial, selfish and unjust course.

Mr. Beauford informs us that "Conair mor originally built the palace of Taragh," "called Bruighin Da Dearg, the habitation or Rath of the Caves, from its containing several caves under the platform." But I see not how this can be so; for there was doubtless a "palace and parliament house of some sort here from the first arrival of the Scots in the country; this monarch may have enlarged and systematized and fortified the premises according to a plan of his own, somewhat different from the previous arrangement. In saying that Conair mor was chief of a colony of Caledonians, he only told part of the story concerning him. He was, of course, chief of Caledonians, and so was his ancestor Olild Eramhon before him; but he united with this so-called Caledonian chieftaincy the regular and Orthodox Kingship of Erin. He was fifth in descent from Duach of Tara and great-great-grandfather of Feidhlimidh Rechtmar.

Besides Conn, Feidhlimidh is said to have had two sons, named respectively Eochaidh Finn and Fiachaidh Suighdi. If we allow two men for the three names it will be sufficient. In speaking of Fiachaidh, Keating remarks that "though he had acquired a territory in the district of Temhair he had never succeeded in making himself monarch," an assertion which was not true in regard to himself whether or not it was true in regard to his children and grandchildren. This Fiachaidh is said to have been ancestor to the tribes called the Deasies of Munster and his brother

Eochaidh to the tribes called the Fothartaigh of Leinster. Lines of descent from those two brothers to the extent of five generations down and pointing towards those Fothartagh and Deasies are given below:—

Feidhlimidh Reichtmhar, monarch of Eireann.

Eochaidh Finn mc.,

Fiachaidh Suighdi mc.

Fiachaidh mc.,

Aengus Meann mc.,

Fiachaidh Righfhada mc.

Eochaidh mc.,

Cormac mc.,

Fathadh mc.

Cruthluath mc.,

Carbri Niadh mc.,

Dubhin mc.

Fiachaidh mc.,

Art Corb mc.,

Dubhin mc.

Aengus mc.,

Fergus Tarbri mac.,

Diarmaid O'Duibhne mc.

The Genealogy of Mac-an-Pherson Vic Gillachathan Mor. Eochaidh Muinreamhar mc.,

*Duibhne Foghluinte mc.*

Eirc mc.,

*Duibhni Glic mc.*

Fergus mc.,

*Duibhne Gaisgeil mc.*

Muiredhach mc.,

Ferithar Uar mc.

Eochaidh mc.,

Duibhne mc.

Baedhan mc.,

*Duibhne Misneich moir mc.*

Colman mc.,

Arthur.

Sneachthain mc.,

Ferithar Ollamh mc.

Fergus mc.,

Duibhne Folt dhearg mc.

Feredhach mc.,

*Duibhne Diudhaidh mc.*

Ferchard III. mc.,

*Duibhne Boidheach mc.*

Ain Ceallach mc.,

Ferithar Fionuruadh mc.

Muiredhach mc.,

Duibhne Dearg mc.

Diarmaid mc.,

*Ferithar Fileanta mc.*

Galbraith mc.,

Duibhne Donn mc.

Gillachathan mor mc.,

Diarmaid MacDuin mc.

Neachthain mc.,

Duibhne Fiacal-Fhionn mc.

Teadh mc.,

*Ferithar Fionn mc.*

Suibhni mc.,

Malcolm mc.,

Muiredhach mc.,

Archibald mc.

Domnald mc., called

Duncan mc.

the Caimhghilla mc.,

Cathlain mc.

Malcolm mc.,

Archibald mc.

Gillachrist mc.,

Duncan mc.

Ferchard mc.,

Dougal mc.

Tseadh mc.,

Archibald mc.

Leoid mc.,

Cathlain mor mc.

Disiabh mc.,

Sir Neill mac., married to a

Suibhni mc.,

daughter of Robert Bruce,

Lacnlan mc.,

1350-1400 A. D.

Neill, A. D., 1467, mac.

In giving the genealogy of the house of Campbell of Argyle in this right-hand column I had to insert eight generations in intermediate places of the steps given in the genealogy of that family in Buchanan of Auchmar's *Book on Scottish Genealogies*. Wherever I inserted a name it was in effect the family surname, and this I put in italics. Buchanan was correct, doubtless, as to the genealogy of that family, which he gave his sanction to; and I believe that I have inserted the proper number of names and in their proper places for the generations which existed in the time represented within the extremes of the list given.

A daughter of King Cormac Ulfhada is said to have eloped from her husband, Finn Mac Camhail, the then chief of the militia of Erin, with Diarmaid O'Duibhne, he being esteemed in his day a very handsome man; but I see not how this could have happened; for he is in the sixth generation down in succession from Feidhlimidh Rechtmar, while Cormac is only third in succession from the same Feidhlimidh, so that the lady with whom he should have eloped must needs have been two generations his senior. Cormac Ulfhada, the same with Cormac, son of Aengus Meann of the list of the preceding page, was third in descent from Eochaidh Finn and is put down in Keating's history for a reign of forty years. Aengus, his father, is the same with him called Fergus dubh-dedhach, who succeeded the monarch Fiachaidh Suighdi (*i.e.*, MacConn). But Cormac evidently had a good deal of trouble during the time he reigned, arising from some members of his own clan of Eochaidh Finn; for it is noticed by Beaufort that Aengus, whom they represent to have been a son of Fiach Suighdi, but who was doubtless a grandson of Eochaidh Finn, and a cousin of Cormac, marched to Tara suddenly at the head of an effectual force, entered the palace and slew Kellach, the son of Cormac; and, aware that any corporeal defect incapacitated for the occupation of the Irish throne, deprived Cormac of an eye. It is more than probable that the length of Cormac's reign was considerably abridged by this accident and that he either became a voluntary exile or had to depart the country; for Ulfhada is interpreted "Ulster afar," but may mean "distant from Erin." Keating has it that it was consequent upon the safe conduct Aengus had given to a gentleman having been violated by Keallach that Aengus so acted in this case.

The posterity of Feidhlimidh Rechtmar, through his son, Eochaidh Finn, held the monarchy of Erin after said Eochaidh, excepting in the one case of MacConn and perhaps one or two others for short spaces.

Most if not all, too, which has been written concerning the marriages, intermarriages, etc., of the daughters of Conn Cead-Cathach must necessarily be fictitious. And, besides the subject of the genealogy has been rendered obscure by their confounding in the history two persons to whom the name of MacConn appears to have been given, and who appear to have been kings of Erin. But MacConn as well as Conair is simply the clan name which the chief assumed on his becoming king of Erin.

O'Flaherty represents Eoghan mor as having brought in an army from



Spain, by means of which he accomplished his purpose of acquiring all of the government of the country he could. Keating represents him as a Munster man who drew most of the army he needed for his purpose from Leinster, from his foster-father who resided there, and was son of Cathair Mor; but who, I may say, if he ever did live, could not have existed till about five or six generations after the time of said Eoghan mor. Neither of these historians appear to call Eoghan mor MacConn, nor to call him King of Erin. But I see from O'Flaherty (*Ogygia II.*, p. 357,) that he is entered King of Erin in some of the old historians; and I conclude he must have been entered for that office under his clan designation of Conair or MacConn. The MacConn who brought the foreign army into Erin was the son of Eoghan Mor, not himself. But some of his deeds are ascribed to his father as, in a contrary way, some Irish historians call Malcolm IV, king of Scotland, "Ceannor," although that title did not pertain to him but to his great-great-grandfather, Malcolm III. A consensus of the historical statements on the subject points to Eoghan Mor as the MacConn to whom the genealogies trace back and to Lughaidh Lagha (hero) "brother of Olild Olum" (Keating, p. 317, note; p. 324), as the "Lughaidh MacConn" (*i.e.*, Lughaidh, son of Eoghan), "King of Erin," who brought a foreign army into the country and conquered the government out of the power of his elder brother, Olild Olum. The sense is, too, that Feidhlimidh Rechtmar and his two sons, Eoch Finn and Fiach Suighdi, are respectively Eoghan Mor, Olild Olum and Lughaidh Lagha; or, respectively, Conair II, Carbri Righfhada and Carbri Musg.

The war represented as having been waged between Mogh Nuadhat and Conn Cead-Cathach hath an allegorical interpretation, rather than real, so far as pertaining to Ireland. It had, however, a real existence elsewhere, namely, in certain chains of events arising from political, but especially from religious differences, which had place in the very early pre-Christian ages between the Northern and Southern Scythians, or the Touranians and Persians, the ancestors of the Irish in Central Asia. In relation to those two great divisions of the Scythians, one author says:—

"Various causes contributed to split this great body into distinct nations. Commerce, conquest, and above all, innovations into their ancient established religion by the construction of Towers to contain their sacred fire," etc. In the Persian detail of the religious war they acknowledge the Scripture name of Magog instead of Tour or Turk. When Farasiab or Afrasiab, the Scythian King (whose name they translate Father of the Persians—Ab, father and Farsi, Persians), overran their country in consequence of this innovation of the Fire Towers, they tell you that when they had at length driven him back to Touran or Scythia, north of the Persian Empire, a wall or intrenchment was built between them called *Sad Jagioug' u Magioug*, *i.e.*, the Intrenchment of Gog and Magog. 'By *Jagiug* and *Magiug*, they mean,' says D'Herbelot, 'the North and South people of the same Nation.' 'Some Asiatic historians,' says the same author, 'carry this wall beyond the Caspian Sea, on the west; others so much towards the East, as to give room to think it is the same wall that separates China from the Moguls.'

"It was," says Vallancy, "evidently a division between the original *Mogh* or *Rad*, the Magi or fire worshipers in Towers. The same intrenchment is said to have been made in Ireland from Drogheda to Galway on the western ocean; it was named Esker \* Riada or the Magi's division, dividing the kingdom of Ireland into two equal parts; the Northern half was called *Leith Cuinn*, and the Southern half *Leith Mogh*, i.e., the Magi's portion; and most of the Fire Towers of Ireland were in the division of *Leith Mogh* or of the Magi's half."

The principal leader of the Tuatha da Danaans in their wanderings was the celebrated hero Mogh Nuadhat, usually styled Argiodlamh, i.e., of the Silver-hand. As applied to the ancient Irish king, Eoghan mor, this name could, of course, have only an allegoric application; but it is found to have a real reference to Zerdust, the first, or Zoroaster, whose name in his own language, the Persian, signifies Gold or Silver hand; whose doctrine of fire-worship early spread over a great part of Asia and whose time, according to Playfair, was about 600 B. C. This was seven centuries before our Eoghan mor.

Now, with regard to the Tuatha de Danaans, it can be made plain that this designation has reference not only to a religious sect of those ancient Gaels or Scots, but to the people themselves. It is, in fact, a very ancient title of those people, as we find the first Persian dynasty on the historic records entered as the Pish-dadian, whose duration is said to have been 2989 years, ending about 500 — 600 B. C. I think it must have reference to dynasties of priest-kings; for this dadian is evidently for the later form de dana-an, which means God Almoners, dana (Latin Dona), meaning gifts in the way of alms, and Pish, Puish or Paish, being for Budh, for which Tuath or Tuatha; that is the more modern form Tuatha de Danaan is for the ancient form Puish Dadians. Speaking in reference to this, Mr. O'Brien, the author of the 'Round Towers,' says as follows: "All oriental writers, when referring to Budha, who was born at Maghada in South Bahar, state that he was the son of Suad-dha-dana; and Suadh and Tuath were but disguises of each other and both resolvable into Budh. Tuath is but a modification of Budh, the final dh changed into th, 'and the initials b and t being always convertible.' The expressions De Danaans meaning God-Almoners, if we prefix to them severally Tuath and Pish they will become Tuatha de Danaans and Pish de Danaans, both fairly representative of each other, meaning God-Almoners, and, by convention, Magic-God-Almoners." "Pith is the usual method of pronouncing that term; nor is it except when followed by a d that it assumes the other garb. But as dh in the former instance was commuted into th, so th in the latter is still further into sh," etc.

This author is, doubtless, correct in the main as to what he here states and especially so in his saying that Pish and Tuath are used for each other as prefixes to Danaan; but I may say that the idea in the expression has

\* Easera, a rocky ridge; Read-aire, a priest; Persian Rad, a Magus.

especial reference to the ancient Holy Ship, the Ark, the Church; the Pish, Buddh or Tuath, etc., being to the Danaan in a like relation as you may conceive the mast to be to the ship; which perhaps our author did not have an entirely clear conception of.

Caïomurs or Cai-amrath, the chief of the Emirs, is put down as the first King of the Pish-dadian dynasties of the Persians; this man they represent as having been a great reformer and great-grandson of Noah. What has been said, however, is enough to show that Tuatha de Danaan was, as Bolgae, a very ancient national name of those Scythians or Scots and had not reference altogether to a religious division of this people, although in some of the late ages it was doubtless given some such specific reference.

Now, supposing for illustration, their Milesian expedition to have been about the time of Ughan mor, from the reckoning before given in generations we know pretty near what its leader's date was; and between their Niul, who was, according to their account in command of the fleet of Pharaoh at the time of the Israelites exodus from Egypt, they have (as I would understand from De Wyntoun's reckoning between Milesius and Breoghan) about twenty-four generations between their Milesius and their Niul, which might leave the exodus to have taken place at the time of the going out of the Hkshasu from Egypt, which was, say from 1500 to 1540 B. C. Bishop Usher reckons the time of the Israelitish Exodus at 1491 B. C., while Baron Bunsen seems inclined to the date of 1320 B. C. One of the earlier dates is of course better for historical purposes, as it may have historical reference to the departure of the Hkshasu in the time of Tuthmosis III.

Reckoning then from the Christian era to and including Niul (supposing their Niul for the purpose of the reckoning to have been an individual man) we have about 46 generations, which at the rate of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years for the average would leave the said exodus to have taken place or the said Niul to have lived in about 1533 B. C. ( $46 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 1533\frac{1}{3}$ ). This is an approximation and leaves out of the account the names given in the old Gaelic lists between Ughan mor and Miledh Eshain, which I will now exhibit and remark upon.

The following is the old list back from Aengus Tuirmac, by which you can reckon back from Ughan mor:

- |                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 68. Aengus Tuirmac mac.   | 84. Olild Olchaein mc.  |
| Eochaidh Foltlethen mc.   | Siorna Saeghalach mc.   |
| Olild Cas-Fiaclach mc.    | Dian mc.                |
| Conla Cruadh-Cealgach mc. | Demán mc.               |
| Iaran Gleo-Fathach mc.    | Rothechtach mc.         |
| Melgi Molbhthach mc.      | Maen mc.                |
| Cobhthach Cael Breagh mc. | Aengus Oll-Buadhach mc. |
| Iugani mor mc.            | Fiachaidh Labhranni mc. |
|                           |                         |
| 76. Eochaidh Buadhach mc. | 92. Smirgoll mc.        |

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 77. Duach Laghrach mc.  | 93. Enboth mc.            |
| Fiachaidh Tolgrach mc.  | Tighernmas mc.            |
| Muiredhach Bolgrach mc. | Follamhan mc.             |
| Simeon Breac mc.        | Ethrial mc.               |
| Aedhan Glas mc.         | Irial Faidh mc.           |
| Nuadhat Finn Fail mc.   | Erimhan mc.               |
| 83. Gialchaidh mc.      | Gallamh or Miledh Esbain. |

By reckoning up here you will find the number of names from Eochaidh, put down as father of Ughan mor, to Gallamh, these two included, to be 24, which is about the number between Ughan, considering him for illustration as Miledh Esbain, and Niul, these two included; that is, taking the reckoning of De Wyntoun between his Miledh Esbain and his Breogan, it is just the same. A person would think from this that the Milesians had come direct to Ireland from the exodus of the Israelites, at which their history says their ancestor, Niul, was present as admiral of the Egyptain fleet: but on such an assumption what is to be done with the other 24 generations, which, we see, they include in their reckoning back to that exodus? The general result of investigation would, perhaps justly, lead to the conclusion that the time of Ith or Ughan was that of the celebrated Milesian invasion and that the names given in the list back from Ughan, as pertaining to Ireland, were of men of the same race as pertaining to Asia, whether or not that list indicated a continuation of the chain of the ancestry in Asia. If, then, this list back from Ughan to Gallamh be accepted as the continuation of the chain of the ancestors, whether in Asia or in Ireland, that is, in the eastern or western Eirean, that list from Gallamh back to Niul will needs be rejected as superfluous, either one of the lists being fairly supposed to contain the number of generations which is sufficient to fill up the space. The ratio of three generations on the average for a century being pretty well established as sufficient for the Christian ages there is no good reason why it should not be deemed a fair average for the preChristian ages also.

The following is the list given as of those from Miledh Esbain to Niul, these two being supposed included in this list: —

- |                        |                                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                        | Gallamh or Miledh Espaine mac. |
|                        | Myli mc.                       |
|                        | Veande mc.                     |
| List<br>from<br>Miledh | Broge mc.                      |
|                        | Breoghan mc.                   |
|                        | Bratha mc.                     |
|                        | Deaghatha mc.                  |
|                        | Arcadh mc.                     |
|                        | Allod mc.                      |
|                        | Nuadha mc.                     |
|                        | Ninnuall mc.                   |
|                        | Febrie Glas mc.                |



of  
 Adnamhan mc.  
 Eber Glun Fionn mc.  
 Lamh Fionn mc.  
 Adnoin mc.  
 Tath mc.  
 Eochamhan mc.  
 Beoghamhan mc.  
 Eber Scot.  
 Sru mc.  
 Esru mc.  
 Gaedhal Glas mc.  
 Niul mc.

Phenius Pharsaidhe.

*Genealogies of Partholan, Nemedh, The Firbolg, and Tuatha de Danaan*

Fathacta, a descendant of Magog, son of Japhet Gadel.

Framant mc.

Esru mc.

Sru.

Sera mc.

Genealogy of Partholan.

Partholan mc. Tath mc.

Pamp mc.

Adhamhan mc.

Nemedh mc.

Genealogy of Nemedh.

Starn mc.

Beoan mc.

Erglan mc.

Simeon mc.

Ortheet mc.

Gostenn mc.

Otorb mc.

Tribuadh mc.

Tecta mc.

Loch mc.,

Daela mc.

Gennan mc.

Rindal mc.

Erondealbh mc.

Oris Eclonnach mc.

Lughni Liath Chean mc.

Tath Tedmennach mc.

Dithchon Uaridneach mc.

Ruidhri mc.

Dubhthach mc.

Carbri Ceanchaith mac.

The Genealogy of King Carbri Ceann Chaith of the Firbolg.

Genealogy of the Tuatha de Danaan.

Iarbanel the Prophet mc.

Beothach mc.

Ibaath mc.

Bathach mc.

Enna mc.,

Tabarn mc.

Tath mc.

Aldae mc.

Indae mc.

Ordan mc.

Edarlamh mc.

Echthach mc.

Nuadhat Argedlamh mac.

King Carbri Cean-Chaith corresponds in my general tabulation with King Crimthan, son of Lughaidh and father of Feredhach Findfectnach; and if you reckon back from Carbri you will find Starn (*i.e.*, Si-Tighearn, Sea-Chief) his ancestor, son of Nemedh, to correspond in generation with Ughan Mor and Ith.

Also, in the genealogy of the Tuatha-de Danaans you will find by tracing down from Iarbanel, their ancestor, son of Nemedh, who corresponds in generation with Ughan and Ith, that Nuadhat Argiodlamh, whom they enter as their king, corresponds in generation with our Nuadhat Argthech in the direct line of Ith. I have thought that Argthech may have been written for Argiodlamh, the latter meaning Nuadhat of the Silver Hand and the former the Silver or Monied Nuadhat.

Those people called Firbolg are also discovered to be Fomorians; I see that Gann and Genan, two of their chieftains, are classed under the latter designation where they fall fighting against the Nemedians at Ros Frae-chain. (Keating's *Histr.* p. 124.)

It is very clear, taken all together, if what is given in the histories indicate even with approximate correctness, that the peoples called Firbolg Fomorian, Scot, Milesian, Gadalian and Tuatha da Danaan are the same people, their commencement in the British isles being indicated by the place of Ith or Ughan in the list.

There is also enough given on the page last referred to to indicate the Nemedians to have been the natives, who had a government already established in the island and with whom the Fomorians had to wage war repeatedly before they succeeded in establishing themselves in the country.

But our Nemedh is here made father to Starn and Iarbanel, the ancestors respectively of the Firbolg and the Tuatha de Danaan, which may appear the same as to say that he was ancestor to our Milesian or Scot. The appellation Nemedh would mean the leader of a multitude, of a nomadic horde, such as pertain to those Eastern countries, whence those people had immigrated to the isles of the West.

Our Scots or Milesians, then, may have descended from some Nemedh far back, but who is placed here in the genealogy as the father of the Sea-Chief, Starn, Learmon, Ughan or Ith.

It is reasonable, however, to conclude from the indications given that those people here called Nemedians and Partholians may have pertained to the British isles for ages anterior to the time of our Ith and may have been of male descent from the same ancient Scythic stock as he. And while our Ith or Ughan indicates an influx of *foreigners* from the eastern countries to the isles of the West, the direction in which the genealogic index points backward would simply show that the island was then replenished with a robust and stirring body of inhabitants from the same old source which had furnished its former population.

The genealogy of the Tuatha de Danaan in the last table is from Keat-

ing, but there is another table in the Irish history which traces back this tribe to Chus, the son of Cham. It is as follows:—

Noah.	Starn Fiacla mc.
Cham mc.	Mercell mc.
Chus mc.	Larcogh mc.
Fedel mc.	Galamh mc.
Pelest mc.	Liburn mc.
Ephice mc.	Blosg or Plasg mc.
Uccat mc.	Ciolcadh mc.
Sadhial mc.	Niadh mc.
Siopurnach mc.	Eathlan mc.
	Breas mac.

The Reim Roighree informs us that the Tuatha de Danaans were of the family of Chus, the son of Cham; and from Bochart we collect that Dedan, son of Rhegma, son of Chus, settled in or about Oman, which is seen on the map situated on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. But there is recorded also a Dedan, descended of Abraham, whom some expositors report to have settled at Dedan in Idumaea and thought to have been the same mentioned in Jer. xxv:23, and in Gen. xxv:1-5. But I cannot at this day distinguish a Dedan settled in Oman, in that very primitive age, from a Dedan settled in Idumaea in a much later age. I, however, would consider it not improbable that the Dedanites may have given the old name to their new settlement in Phoenicia, when those people had migrated from the Persian Gulf to Palestine and Idumaea. For the apparently two pairs of brothers, named Sheba and Dedan, the first given being said to have been descended from Chus and the second from Abraham, the lines of descent are given as follows from the Bible:—

Noah.	x. Noah.
Shem, son of	Ch. Cham, son of
Arphaxed, son of	Chus, son of
Sala, son of	Raamah, son of
Eber, son of	Dedan and Sheba, sons of
Peleg, son of	
Reu, son of	
Serug, son of	
Nahor, son of	
Terah, son of	
Abraham, son of	
Jokshan, son of	
Dedan and Sheba, sons of	

In the one case Dedan is the twelfth in descent from Noah and in the other the fourth. But, as it says in connection with the Dedan, grandson of Abraham, that he was father of the Assyrians (Asshurim. Gen. xxv:3), who are said in Genesis, ch. x:6-12, to have descended of Chus; and in

Gen. x:22-24, these Assyrians as well as the Elamites or Persians, Lydians, etc., are said to have descended from Shem, I would think it looks very like as if the forms Shem and Cham were but variations of each other; and that Chus and Abram may have been but different names applied to the same person, the one, whichever that was, being given to him merely on paper, the other the real name of the man, applied to him during his life. I will remark, however, that in regard to the records of the ancient Egyptian monuments and literature Mr. Brugsch Bey has found the Jewish or Israelitish nation to be entirely undistinguishable from the Phœnician; while some of our very able and particular Biblical ethnologists have not been able, with so much distinctness as they wished, to locate our Arphaxed and his clan, put down in the ancestry of Abram. Some, doubtless, would like to know how many sons our investigators are ultimately going to allow the patriarch Noah to have had, whether one, two or, wholeheartedly, three.

As to our Breas the authorities state him to have been a Fomorian, and generally agree that he was the first king of the Tuatha de Danaans in Ireland. Blosg or Plasg being among his ancestors is said to indicate his descent from the Pelasgians, whom we know to have had a national existence in the later ages under the appellations of Greek, Italian, Etruscan, or Tuscan, etc. This they understand, also, from the words of Homer, whom they call a Pelasgian Greek writer, and from whom are the following words, as translated from his language: —

“Parent of gods and men, Pelasgian Jove,  
King of Dodona and its hallowed grove;  
King of Dodona, whose intemperate coast,  
Bleak winds infest and winter's chilling frost  
Round thy abodes thy priests with unwashed feet  
Lie on the naked earth.”

The Greek writers do not agree as to the location of the oracle of Dodona. Some will have it in Thessaly, some in Epirus, others in Thesprotia, Chaonia and Molossa, and some say that it was so called from Dodanim, the son of Javan and grandson of Japhet (Gen. x:4). But Dodanim is plural of Dodan and represents a nation, as Kittim, Tarshish and Elisha, in the same verse, represent each a nation, which, however, does not hinder, but that these nations may have been called so after, say, Daedan, Chith, Elisha and Tarshish, sons of Javan and grandsons of Noah. The few steps given of this descent are as follows: —

Noah  
Japhet, son of  
Javan, son of  
Daedan, son of.

Although Flaherty says that the Firbolg entered Ireland from South Britain, and the Tuatha de Danaan, in a long time after, from North Bri-



tain, still there is no need of our agreeing with him in this or of our supposing that they came to that country from Britain or that both of these names did not pertain to the same people of the one so-called Milesian invasion. In those opinions I do not find that he has any support from the original Poems on which he pretends to found and I think him to have had somehow confounded in his idea certain immigrations from South and North Britain to Erin, spoken of in the chronicle of Richard of Cirencester, with his invasions of that country by the Fírbolg and Tuatha de Danaans.

In the history of Armenia by Moses Choronenis we find the Bolgi or Bolo under the name of Acrad. This in Arabic is the plural of Curd, *i.e.*, the Curdi of Kurdistan; and in the Persian History they are said to have descended the Euphrates and Tigris and settled in Cutha or Nabatha of Babylon, that is, says de Herbelot, about the Nabathean Fens, and here they were distinguished by the name of Zohak. "Some," says the same author, "have thought they were originally Chaldaeans, the Cashdanim of the Hebrews and Arabs." The Nabathean Fens are said to have been called Cutha and an ancient king of Babylon is there said to have cut many taps or canals from the Euphrates into the Paludes, and from thence into the Tigris. In the Irish Cuth or Cuith is a canal, a ditch, foss, cut, or tap, and this Chaldaean and Irish Cuth is in the Arabic Cush. "Amraphel," says Dr. Hyde, Gen. Ch. xiv., "was king of Shinaar, not in Chaldaea or Babylon, but Shinaar of Mesopotamia," now written Sinjar, the Singara of Ptolemy. Here then we have a Shinaar in the Asiatic Mesopotamia, and a Shinaar in Meroë, the Æthiopic Mesopotamia, as well as a Shinaar in Chaldaea or Babylon.

The Armenians have been wont annually to celebrate their Mion, Armion or Breith, *i.e.*, their Covenant of God with mankind, and hence Ar-mion-ia, the name of their country, literally means the 'Country of the Mountain of the Covenant.'

Ararat is a Scythian name for the Mountain of the Ship, for Art or Aorth or Arth is a ship and Ar or Aurth a mountain. And so Arthur is for Arth-fhear and means a ship-man, a sailor, meaning thus the same as Feargus. The Irish have their king Cormac mac Art, the latter being for Arthur, which may or not have been the name by which the father of this Cormac was called; but I find him entered in the history as Fergus, although he is said to have had two brothers also named Fergus. The father of this Fergus is entered by Keating as Finchadh, by Flaherty as Imchadh, his grandfather's name, according to the latter, being Finchadh. As to the name of the father of Fergus, it is likely Keating was the more correct, for Finchadh might be regarded as a transposition of Eochaidh Finn, as well as Imchadh of that of the father of Eochaidh Finn, namely, Eochan, *i.e.*, Conn or Conair, called also Feidhlimidh Reichtmhar. And Oghamhan, put down by both as father of Finchadh is simply a slight

mystification of Eochaidh, the proper name of Moghallamh, the father of our Conair, and son of Fiachaidh Findalaidh. De Wyntoun appears in his Tabulation to have understood his Carbri Righada as the historical Conn Cead-Cathach as well as the Irish in their making Cormac, "grandson of Conn." I suppose the said Conn to have been father of Righada.

One author says that the Phoenecian Hercules was called Melicartus, *i.e.*, Melek-Arth, the king of the ship, the ship-master. It is thought probable that Ararat was originally Avrat, the letter Vau being mistaken by copyists for r, from its form in the Hebrew being nearly the same.

In ch. li. v, 27 of his Book, the Prophet Jeremiah records the Mountain of the Ark of the Covenant as follows: "Set up the standard in the land; blow the trumpet among the nations (Goin); prepare the nations against her; call together against her the Kingdoms of Ararat, Mini and Aschenaz." For the Heb. Mini the Chaldee has Har-Mini, the Mount of the Covenant. Referring to the Egyptian Monuments Brugsch Bey says: "The inscriptions do not mention one syllable about the Israelites." (Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. II. p. 99.) And at p. 210 of the same volume he says: "And as to the mention of the Fenekhe (Phoenicians) I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover their most intimate relationship with the Jews."

Extract from Richardson's dissertations on the languages, etc., of the Eastern Nations, p. 47:

"The reigning families of Persia, previous to the Arabian conquest, are comprehended, by their historians, under four dynasties or families; the the *Pishdadians*, the *Kaunians*, the *Askanians* and the *Sassanians*. The Persians, like other people, have assumed the privilege of romancing on the early periods of society. The first dynasty is, in consequence, embarrassed by fabling. Their most ancient princes are chiefly celebrated for their victories over the Demons and Genii, called Dives; and some have reigns assigned to them of 800 or 1000 years. Amidst such fictions, however, there is apparently some truth. Those monarchs probably did reign though poetic fancy may have ascribed to them ages and adventures, which the laws of nature reject. We dispute not the existence of our English Arthur though we believe not in the Giants and Magic of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Dives may have been savage neighbors conquered by the Pishdadian Kings and magnified by tradition as being of a supernatural species. The Gods, the Titans and the heroes of the Greeks; the Giants, the Savages and the monsters of Gothic romance, seem all to have originated from similar principles; from the wild irregularity of fancy and that admiration of the marvelous, which, in various degrees, runs through the legends of every darker period of the history of mankind. The longevity, at the same time, ascribed to this race of monarchs, may either have been founded on some imperfect antediluvian idea, or may be resolved by supposing families instead of individuals; and that the Caiumars, the Ghemshids and the Feridouns of the East were merely successions of princes,

bearing one common surname, like the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars of the West.

With the second dynasty a more probable system of history seems to commence; yet still the era of Kaicobad, the founder of this house, can not be precisely fixed. Though historians differ, however, with regard to the chronology of this prince in one point which may lead us to ascertain it with tolerable accuracy, they appear in general to be unanimous. Darab, the younger, dethroned by Alexander, is called the 9th sovereign of this line. He was assassinated about 300 years B. C. If 30 years are allowed, therefore, as the medium of each reign or 270 for the nine kings, Kaicobad's sovereignty may possibly have commenced about 600 years before our era, which will comprehend the whole of that period of Persian history for which we are indebted to the Greeks. Sir I. Newton, it may be objected, with other chronologists, have allowed but 20 years to a reign and made that the universal standard for all nations; but, with submission to those learned men, nothing carries with it a stronger tendency to unhinge all chronology than such an unmodified system.

The Kaianan dynasty being supposed then to commence nearly about 600 years before the birth of our Lord this brings us to the reign of that King of the Medo-Persians, called by the Greeks Cyaxeres, which, according to Sir I. Newton's conjecture is supposed to have begun in the year Nabonassar 137 (about 610 before Christ). From this period till the Macedonian conquest we have, therefore, the history of the Persians as given us by the Greeks; and the history of the Persians as written by themselves. Between those classes of writers we might naturally expect some difference of facts; but we should as naturally look for a few great lines, which might mark some similarity of story, yet from every research which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire. The names and numbers of their Kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the Great Cyrus nor of any King of Persia, who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Croesus, King of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. Smerdis Magus and the succession of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown as the numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battle of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Platea or Mycale; nor of that prodigious force which Xerxes led out of the Persian Empire to overwhelm the States of Greece. Minutely attentive as the Persian historians are to their numerous wars with the Kings of Touran or Scythia; and recording with the same impartiality whatever might tarnish as well as aggrandize the reputation of their country, we can,

with little pretense to reason, suppose that they should have been silent on events of such magnitude; had any record remained of their existence or the faintest tradition commemorated their consequences."

From this learned Orientalist's researches it is claimed we have two points established in favor of the Irish records, first that they were not copied by Irish monks, either from Greek or Latin authors, for no transaction of the Grecians at this period, as asserted by their writers, appear in the Irish history; secondly, it corresponds so much with the Persian history that it must have been brought with them from Asia and in point of time there is a great coincidence. We also learn from these researches that some writers of national history, in early times, made it a point not only to mystify, but to directly falsify in order to satisfy their national vanity: and that this custom of mystifying and falsifying history was not peculiar to any one nation, but was in a greater or less degree common to all. Those Irish annals inform us that Mogh Nuadhat or Nuadhar was the leader of this colony into Erin, which although we translate Ireland, some think refers to Iran or Persia; and they reckon this event to have taken place Anno Mundi 3303, or, as they think, about 705 years B. C. Whether this event be taken as referring to the real Milesian invasion of Ireland or to some invasion of the Asiatic Iran from Touran, the time given for it may be distantly approximative. Rome was founded about 747-753 B. C., which must have been close to the time of our Milesian invasion.

Gushtash, that is, the model Labradh Longsech, or horse-eared prince, is proved by Dr. Hyde to have been the Darius Hytaspes of the Greeks; and he concludes his time to have been about 519 B. C. A person would be apt to think, whether or not there were anything in it, that the mention of horse-eared prince in connection with Labhradh would have been designed to indicate his descent from the Asiatic Ethiopians, who inhabited the districts of Caramania and Gedrosia, on the East of the Erythrian Sea, as Herodotus states that those people were accustomed to adorn themselves with a horse's ears. They appear to have been the Scythians who in early times emigrated to India from Aria.

The Touranians are, in the Irish history, frequently called Frange or Farange. The Arabs always call them Faranagh. The English translator of Keating will have this to be France, whence he has his Labradh Longsech bring an army into Ireland. He confesses however, that some say the Frange, to which Labradh went, was Armenia.

"The Pelasgi (says the authors of *Histoire de l'origine des langues de cest Universe*) must be allowed to have been one of the most ancient nations in the world, and, as appears from their colonies in the earliest times, very numerous and powerful. With regard to their origin the learned are not agreed. Some make them the descendants of Peleg, who have very probable arguments on their side; others deduce them from the



Canaanites and Phoenicians and others suppose them to have been of a Celtic original."

But this all amounts to the same thing; for Peleg, which evidently is a form of Bealg or Bolg, is in the list of the ancestors of Abraham, who himself was of Chaldean origin, having emigrated from Ur of the Chaldees to Palestine. The Phoenicians (so-called by the Greeks) emigrated to Palestine from Chaldaea and from the coast of the Erythrian Sea and the name of the race in Palestine, as expressed in the Egyptian language, was Chal, Chaldaea being simply the *dae* or country of the Chal or so-called Phoenicians. Moreover, the Celtai were that branch of the Arians, called Scolotai, Sacai or Sythians from whom the Chaldaeans were descended. The place of Peleg in the list of the ancestors of Abraham would indicate a considerable antiquity.

In looking after the origin of the family name MacHeth, which I may say is an equivalent for MacDuff, I found the Gaelic name Seach, or Seachan or Seaghan or Seachlan to be for Alexander, *i.e.*, Al-Sheach-dhair. (See vol. III., Vall. Coll. Preface, p. xxxvii.) Persic Sikender, Alexander, Sikender Name, the Book of the life of Alexander, the Great. Aineh Iskender, Mirror of Alexander, which means the same. The name MacHeth, therefore, of which so many historians have sought the origin, arose from the Gaelic form of the name Alexander, as Aenghus MacSheagh or MacSheathagh, would be their Aeneas McHeth, pronounced MacHay or MacCay.

Usue, the form de Wyntoun gives for Ughan, in the case of Ughan Mor, causes me to think he may have had in mind for it the form Ith, which is for Iuth, a form which had as one of its significations in English "Use" or as a verb "to use," Latin Utor, root Ut, doubtless for Iudh or Aedh. (See Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*, in which he compares in parallel Lexicons the Ancient languages of the British Isles). I have no doubt this was the original form of the name Jute, of that race, for example, which came into South Britain with the Saxons from Northern Europe and settled in Kent (Latin Cantium, Gaelic Cann or Conn), a name which, perhaps, they gave to the country after their own clan's designation. (See Humphrey Lhuyd's *Cambria*). Iuth and Iuthan and Iughan are used for each other, as Iuchair for Eochair, a key, and Iughan for Eoghan, a man's name; Iudh for Aedh, a day, *i.e.*, the circle of the sun, the zodiac, the Sun; and so after Mac, Clan or the like, the an would generally be added as sign of the genitive and we would have MacIughan, or MacAedhan or MacEoghan, etc., all pronounced MacConn. The clan Ith is, thus, the clan Conn or Conair.

Speaking of the Irish Clan Mac Connmara, "of the line of Emhir," Keating (in Preface, p. xxxii.), says "the tribe name of that family is Aedh," and MacAedhan, would, as we see, be pronounced MacCun. Now, Connmara is another form for Morgann, or Morcunn, and I find in our history

that among the Scotch the Clan Morgann is Clan Aedh, and Morgann, No. 29 of our list, is turned by the historians into Constantine, which is proper. Conmhara is, perhaps, for an ancient genitive form of Emhir, *i.e.*, for Caenmharaigh or Cunmhara, genitive of nominative Caedhnuhir, which means chief of the sea, just as Morgann. Aedh, with C prefixed Caedh, is for Caedhan, Ceann or Conn.

According to the Irish list, as mentioned before, their Duach Dalta Deaghaidh descends from Emhir, brother of Eramhan, and is made ninth in descent from their Rechtaidh Righdhearg, whom they make contemporary of Ughan mor. It has been shown that the line of Rudhri mor is carried back in Keating just for ten generations, to Ughan mor. And in fact the lines of the Bolgai, the Tuatha de Danaans, etc., appear to have centered here, as shown above. The Irish historians may have had in mind that the line of the ancestors of their Duach centered here also. But that line of Emhir, so-called, tells its own story to any one who takes pains to examine it chronologically and by comparison with the line of MacConn, as mentioned before, in my speaking of O'Flaherty's difficulty with it.

The beginning of the investigation into the subject as to who that MacBeth was, who is mentioned in the history in connection with the death of Duncan, King of Scotland, would be apt to lead one to suppose that said MacBeth was MacBoidhe, son of Maelbrighdi, whose son, as we have noticed before from the Annals of Ulster, had been put to death by Malcolm II.; that is, the investigator would be apt to hastily conclude that said MacBoidhe had compassed or connived at the death of Duncan, the son of Malcolm, in retaliation for the death of his own son by the father of Duncan. But further investigation shows that such conclusion would not be justified by the circumstances of the case.

Andrew de Wyntoun, in his *Oryginale Cronykil of Scotland*, vol. I, p. 216, speaking of the MacBeth who slew Duncan in 1040 A. D., calls him "Syster Sowne"\* of Duncan; that is, his nephew, which shows that he did not have in mind, as that person, MacBoidhe, the son of Kenneth, who was Duncan's uncle. Speaking on the same page in relation to his MacBeth, he says:—

For til his eme he was rycht fals,  
Dat browcht him up rycht tenderly.

Which, translated, is:—

For to his uncle he proved right false,  
Who had brought him up right tenderly.

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\* This shows who Duncan was: If, as according to Fordun and the mystifiers, Duncan had been son to a sister of Thorfin's mother, *i.e.*, to another daughter of Malcolm II, by one Crinan then would Duncan and Thorfin have been first cousins.

This, therefore, in the mind of de Wyntoun, did not refer to an uncle of Duncan, as MacBoidhe, brother to Malcolm II. ; but to Duncan's nephew, namely, to Thorfin, the son of Bethach, daughter of Malcolm II., by Sigurd, the Norwegian earl of Orkney, who doubtless was called by the Scots, as an endearing appellation, MacBethaigh after his mother ; that is, his full name to the Scots would be Thorfin MacBethaigh, after the name of the Scottish princess, who was his mother, or Thorfin or even MacBethaigh Mac Finlaoich, that is, Thorfin the son of the Norwegian, as the Scots called Norway Finlochland, and, as a matter of course, a Norwegian would be with them Finlaoch. But by the Norwegians he would be called Thorfin, the son of Sigurd. It is not at all likely that MacBoidhe, the son of Malbrighdi, lived till 1057, his brother, Malcolm, having died in 1034, at which time Thorfin, his grandson by his daughter, was about 26 years of age, he having been born, as according to the deductions of Skene, in 1008-9, and been put into the hands of his maternal grandfather, to be brought up, upon the death of his father Sigurd in 1014.

"When Sigurd went on his expedition to Ireland," says Skene, "which ended so fatally for him, he had sent his son Thorfin by his second wife, the daughter of Malcolm, king of the Scots, to his grandfather; and, though he was only five years old at his father's death, the king of the Scots bestowed Caithness and Sutherland upon him with the title of Earl and gave him men to rule the domain along with him." This, which is the bringing up that de Wyntoun refers to, Skene gives in *Celt, Scot. I, 389*, as from the *Orkneyinga Saga* and *Collect. de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 340.

When Malcolm II. died and Duncan succeeded him, the latter "seems to have considered," says Skene, "that Thorfin, having become Earl of Orkney, he might resume possession of Caithness or, at least, demand tribute from it. Thorfin, on the other hand, considered that it was his inheritance from King Malcolm, through his mother, and that he had obtained it before Duncan inherited the kingdom. Thus, says the Saga, they became open enemies and made war on each other." In speaking of the issue of the final battle of this war, in p. 403 of the same vol., the Saga says: "King Duncan then brought forward his standard against Earl Thorfin and the fiercest struggle took place between the Scots and the Norwegians; but," says the Saga, "it ended in the flight of the king and some say he was slain. Earl Thorfin then drove the fugitives before

him through Scotland and laid the land subject to him wherever he went all the way south to Fife."

If it were true, as some have said according to the foregoing, that Duncan was slain in this battle or immediately consequent thereupon, then, all the circumstances considered, it is reasonable to charge his death to the account of his nephew, Thorfin, whether or not the latter was himself the slayer. It is evident that Duncan's death happened in or near the time of this battle. Thorfin having been the real king of Scotland for 17 years after this date, excepting that part of Scotland extending from the northern boundary of Fife to the English border, which remained, with Cumbria, in the possession of the children of Duncan, was, of course, the MacBethaigh, who reigned for that interval of 17 years, and who was conquered in 1057 by Malcolm Ceanmor, the son of Duncan, with the help of the Angles.

One authority, Marianus Scotus, tells us that in 1050 MacBethaigh visited Rome, paid his respects to the pope and distributed much money among the poor at Rome; but, according to the Saga (Anderson's edition, p. 43), Thorfin visited Rome in that same year "and saw the pope, from whom he obtained absolution for all his sins." "This," says Skene, "is either another instance of the confusion of Thorfin with MacBeth or they went to Rome together for the same purpose." *Celt. Scot. I*, p. 407, Note.

Under the head of grants made to religious institutions by King MacBethaigh, is the following in the Chronicle of Maibros, p. 114, etc.:—

"Cum summa veneratione et devotione Mackbeth rex contulit Deo et Sancto Servano de Lochlevyn et hermitis ibidem Deo Servientibus Bolgyne, filii Torfiny, cum omni libertate et sine onere exercitus regis et filii ejus, vel vicecomitis, et sine exactione alicujus sed caritatis intuitu et orationum suffragiis." of which the translation is as follows:—

"With the profoundest devotion and veneration King MacBeth bestowed upon God and St. Servanus of Lochlevin and upon the hermits now there serving God, Bolgyne, presently pertaining to the son of Thorfin, with all liberty and without burden from the army of the king and of his son or lieutenant, and without exaction of any kind; but for the purpose of the oversight of charity and religious instruction." The son of Thorfin being here named in the dominions of MacBeth, and seemingly as his viceroy in a cer-



tain district of the country, might fairly be understood as indicating that the same man was known by the two appellations of MacBethaigh and Thorfin.

“On the death of Alex. III., in 1285, Bruce and Baliol, descendants in the female line from David, a brother of Malcolm IV., appeared as competitors for the crown and supported on each side by a considerable party in the kingdom. Edward I. of England, being chosen umpire in the contest, arrogated to himself in that capacity the feudal sovereignty of Scotland, and compelled all of its thanes to swear allegiance to him as their feudal sovereign. This done he adjudged the crown to John Baliol, but as his own feudatory. Baliol, soon after, renouncing his allegiance, Edward again invaded Scotland and caused his abdication in favor of himself. Another defender of the country's liberties soon arose in the person of Wm. Wallace, who, though placed in difficult circumstances, gained many remarkable successes over Edward's forces until finally betrayed into the hands of Edward, he was put to death with great cruelty. Now, again, Bruce appeared as champion and made such headway against his enemies that he was eventually crowned king of Scotland in 1306 A. D. On his death in 1329, while his son David was a minor, Edward Baliol, the son of the above John, by the help of the English became king, but soon found himself displaced by young David Bruce, who, by the help of his friends in Scotland and France, attained to the throne. On his death in 1370, in 86 years after the death of Alex. III., the crown passed to Robert, the Steward.” Thus it is in the history which is largely allegorical. The name Steward at once suggests this. The histories make the office of the “great Steward of Scotland” to have been hereditary in the family of Robert II., the first of the house of Steward, so called, for several generations before his time. But it was hereditary in that family in the sense of their being the regular line of the kings of Scotland. The great Steward of Scotland was the King himself, and Robert II., the first of the house of Steward, so called, was son of Alexander III., so that it is only on paper the regular line of Gaelic kings ceases with Alexander III. That line was continued on in Scotland and governed England in the persons of its kings James I. and II., Charles I. and II., and its queen Ann. There may possibly at this period have been claims on the Scottish Kingdom by some Normans of South Britain, who were in descent from some of its kings; but if

at this time the throne of Scotland was occupied by any one who was not of the family of its legal line of kings it could only have been for a comparatively short period. The "King Robert Bruce" whose death, in his old age, is entered by the histories in 1329, is represented as grand-son of the Bruce, who in 1285 was contestant with Baliol for the crown. What a number of generations (names) in such a short time! The historical connection under the names Bruce, Baliol, etc., is largely allegorical, and this Robert II., the first of the so called Steward house, was the actual Bruce. De Bruis or "of the Brush," could only have been an epithet in addition to the real name of the man. Some might think Robert, called the second, but really the first, to have been grandson on his mother's side to old Bruce, "the claimant," but it is as likely he was in this manner grandson to MacDonald, "laird of the Isles," or to some other man, while being son to Alexander III. As to Robert III. Burton says: "John was the name given to him at his baptism,"—"but this appellation being in disrepute on account of having been borne by John Baliol he adopted the popular name Robert, which had been borne by Bruce." In the genealogies they give to James I., the name Gilchrist, *i.e.*, Servant of Christ. James II., they have Seach, which doubtless was his real name, as our Shaws of Sauchie are sprung from his son, James III., said in the history to have been killed in the battle of Sauchie Burn.

My researches since my last issue (it is now 1888 A. D.) have enabled me to give the *continuation* of the genealogical list, from Ith, No. 75, the point to which we got before. This will carry the line back to such a distance as to indicate clearly for a long period and from an early date the course of the history. And then I will give the line back from Ith so as to include James III., the last king of Scotland in the genealogy given, as confirmatory of the correctness of what I gave before and illustrative of other points. And in reference to this whole matter I may say that Ughan mor, otherwise called Ith, the first of this line of men who dominated in Erin, had a son Lughaidh or Laeghaidh, but whose name is put down in the list of kings as Laeghair; and that from this Lughaid Mac-Ughan, pronounced Luie or Laerie MacConn, have descended the kings of Erin whether under the name of Eremon (Leinster), of Ebher (for Munster and Connaught), or of Irr (for Ulster and Connaught); for all these were honorary names given in the histories to kings who were exactly of the same line of descent, there

being only one line for the island, father to son, etc., after the arrival of said Ith or Ughan.

2. In the 26th name of the list, counting down, beginning with Ughan mor, we meet with another Lughaidh MacUghan, called also Lughaidh MacConn; who is said to have wrested the government out of the power of his brother Eochaidh, called Carbri Righada, by means of a foreign force he introduced to the island and reigned for 30, or, as some say, for 50 years. The line of kings, however, who came after him, both for Erin and North Britain were of descent from his brother, Carbri Righada. It is to be borne in mind, then, that the list given of the line of the ancestors of this 2nd Lughaidh MacConn is the list proper of the kings of Erin before him; and that the list of the kings of Erin after him is in descent from his father Eoghan mor, *alias* Conn of the 100 battles, through his brother Eochaidh Finn, *alias* Carbri Righada.

3. From this Carbri Righfhada to Fergus, the son of Erc, these two exclusive, there are seven in succession, and from the latter to James III., the last king in the list given, in Scotland, inclusive, there are 30, in succession, more.

First of  
this  
family in  
Erin.

Ith, *i.e.*, Bili, *i.e.*, Inghan mor, *i.e.*, Miledh Espain, No.  
75, son of

2 kings in  
Spain.

Breoghan, son of, 76.  
Bratha, son of, 77.

6 kings of Gaethulia,  
now called Algeria.

Degatha, son of, 78.  
Arcadh, son of, 79.  
Allod, son of, 80.  
Nuadha, son of, 81.  
Ninual, son of, 82.  
Febrie Glas, son of, 83.

Seythian con-  
querors of  
Gaethulia.

Adnamhan Finn, son of, 84.  
Eber Glun Finn, son of, 85.  
Lamh Finn, son of, 86.

From these conquerors of Gaethulia  
are derived, in male line, the Goths,  
from whom, in the same way, are  
the Germans.

6 chiefs in Crete and in Scythia about the Black Sea and the Danube, the Don and the Volga, on the Caspian.

Adnoin, son of,	87.
Tath, son of,	88.
Eoghamhan, son of,	89.
Beoghamhan, son of,	90.
Eber Scot, son of,	91.
Sru, son of,	92.

2 chiefs of the district of Campaerion, near Helopolis, "Lower Egypt."

Esru, son of,	93.
Gaedhal, son of,	94.

In this section of twenty names, there are those of at least some kings of all Egypt, Upper and Lower.

Mernra, <i>i.e.</i> , Sethar, <i>i.e.</i> , Nial, son of,	95.
Sethos, son of,	96.
Amenophis, son of,	97.
Sesotris, son of,	98.
Schaighre, son of,	99.
Sesochris, son of,	100.
Nefercheres, son of,	101.
Cheres, son of,	102.
Sethenes, son of,	103.
Talas, son of,	104.
Binothris, son of,	105.
Kaiechos, son of,	106.
Bethus, son of,	107.
Semempsis, son of,	108.
Miebidos, son of,	109.
Usaphaidos, son of,	110.
Venephes, son of,	111.
Kenchenes, son of,	112.
Athotis, son of,	113.
Aahmes, <i>i.e.</i> , James, <i>i.e.</i> , Jacob, <i>i.e.</i> , Menes, son of,	114.

Up to this point the list is chronologically historical.

One or two less than the No. of places in this section, say 8 or 9, may represent the No. of generations of the Abrahamic or Auritic who dominated in Egypt prior to Menes.

Isaac,  
Abram,  
Terah,  
Nachor,  
Serug,  
Reu,  
Peleg,  
Eber or Abr-am,  
Salah,  
Arphaxed,

For seven places here between Salah and Isaac there are to be reckoned at least 47 ordinary generations; for, in the history of Babylon, the place of Nimrod, the son of Cush, corresponds to that of Salah, the son of Arpachshad, in this list. Between Nimrod,



Shepherds,  
Pastors, in  
Valleys,  
near  
Streams.

Schem,  
Noah,

Stem of the Israelitish  
Phœnician ancestry,  
made line. Asiatic;  
World-wide.

Lamech,  
Methuselah,  
Mehujael,  
Irad,  
Enoch,  
Cainan,  
Schaedhamh  
God.

whom they reckon their first king after the Flood, and the Median conquest of Babylon in 2234 B. C. (*i.e.*, about one century before Menes), there intervened 86 reigns, which, all reckoned at the average reign of 18 years, as, according to Sir I. Newton's deduction, gives 1566 years, and this number divided by  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years, the ordinary length of a generation, gives almost 47 generations. ( $87 \times 18 = 1566 \div 33\frac{1}{3} = 47$  almost.)

The foregoing statement is based upon the history of Babylon as connected with Gen. X, 7-10, in which last Nimrod might appear to be the sixth son of Cush. But some have thought it meant him to have been sixth in descent from Cush, a supposition which that list referred to before, that traces the genealogy of the Tuatha de Danaan back to Cush might be thought to support:

Gen. X, 7-10.

Noah  
Cham  
Chus  
{ Seba  
Havilah  
Sabtah  
Raamah  
Sabteckah  
Nimrod

An MS. vellum said to be  
800 years old at least and  
to be in the Library of  
Trinity College, Dublin.

Noah  
Cham  
Chus  
{ Fedel  
Pelest  
Ephice  
Uccat  
Sadhal  
Sopuirneach

If now, we may understand the five names enclosed in brackets in the two columns to be simply dialectic representations, if not variations of each other, that is, to stand for the same men respectively, then we shall hardly find the last name to present any difficulty to our identification of the two lists; for, in the old Gaelic, Sopuirneach (so, good, pui, a man, neach, a horse) means the mighty hunter, literally "the good horseman," the same which the word means also in the old Persian; and this is an epithet by which Nimrod was well known in sacred and profane history.

But the principal point here to observe is that this discovery

might seem fairly to imply that each name in the list from Jacob to Shem, both inclusive, represented on an average, seven successive generations. For, if we multiply the 86 generations by an average reign of 19 years, which my researches into ancient history makes at least as near the fact as Sir I. Newton's 18, we shall get 1634 years, which divided by  $33\frac{1}{3}$  gives a small fraction over 49 generations as a quotient; and we have seen above that the 86 reigns multiplied by an 18 years' average gives about 47 generations for seven names. Consequently the 12 names from Jacob to Shem the latter included, would, on this basis, equal 84 successive generations of men between Jacob and the Flood, ( $12 \times 7 = 84$ ). Would the patriarchs under consideration have lived on the average seven times the average length of human life, now? Moreover, and secondly, I may observe that the name Arphaxad, spelled Arpachshad, *i.e.*, Arpach-Scheth, in the original, is a name arising to the Cushites from local circumstances; for Cush is the Baylonian Cuth, which is Scuth or Scheth; and these people attained the name Arpach-Scheth from their inhabiting, in a very early age, before their invasion of the Nile's or even Euphrates' valley, the mountain of Arpachitis, situated in Kurdistan. Kurd is equivalent to the Gaelic Cadhair, a hero, a city. Cush, that is Cuth; that is Scuth; that is Scheth or Schaeth; that is Aeth,\* which means in Egyptian a *heart*, for which Latin Cor, root Cord, which is Kurd. The Cushites or Æthiopians are originally Asiatics, as implied in the Biblical story of the Flood, the Babel and the migrations thereafter, who in progress of time descended from their Scythic mountains and stepps, settled the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile, the two Mesopotamias of Asia and of Africa, built Nineveh, Babylon, Thebes, Memphis, Saba, in Ethiopa, afterwards called Meroë, etc.; they are the Shemites or Chemites.

In explanation of the connection I make with the line of kings of ancient Egypt, I may say there is no doubt in my mind that

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\* Aeria, Aethiopia and Aethia were formerly names of Egypt. In the old Egyptian, Ath or Aeth signified a heart and rib a pear, whence the Greeks likened that country to a  $\Delta$  (delta). Says Horus Apollo: Egyptiis *Aθ*, vel *ῥθ* est Cor; that is, in the language of the Egyptians Ath or Aeth is a word signifying a heart. The root of Cor is Cord, in which we see the form Curd for the name of the same people. By Ptolemies tables Athribis is in the centre of the nome of that name, whence it was called Athrib-is or the heart of the pear: Cor-pyri quia in medio pyri. Hence Leo Africanus writes the name Errif or Alribh, the l and r being the same in Egyptian; and in Scripture the name Rahab often occurs for Egypt.

their Nial, who in their lists generally is made to be son of Phenius, but in one very old list I have seen is put down as son of Nionnual, (*i.e.*, son of the child or children of Nial) is the celebrated Neilos of the Egyptian lists, whose name some histories connect with the taking of Troy, but who lived over a century prior to the capture of that city. Herodotus calls him Proteus and connects him in his story with the Tyrian quarters at Memphis. This man was great-grandson to Sesostris, which last died, according to Eratosthenes' reckoning, in 1461 B. C., which would leave his great-grandson to die about a century later. I, however, do not find that Old Tyre (Troy) was captured before 1262 B. C., which would be a century later still or two centuries after the death of Sesostris. In the time of this latter and his descendants down to the children of this man Egypt sent out many colonies. Of these the Athenians, the Lacedemonians or Spartans, the Colchians and Caphtorim of Palestine are not the least remarkable. Not only the Dorians and Ionians among the Greeks, but the Romans of the stock of Æneas are derived from the Egyptians, though, perhaps, not all from Sesostris. According to Rollin, Cecrops, an Egyptian, founded the kingdom of Athens in 1556 B. C., which, by Eratosthenes' reckoning, would be the 5th year of Sesostris, at which time he was carrying on his campaigns beyond the borders of Egypt. Would Cecrops (Sesar-ops) have been Sesostris or a kinsman of his whom he made his viceroy? Rollin also makes Gelanor, king of Argos in Peloponnessus, to have been dethroned and expelled his kingdom by Danaus, a brother of Sesostris; but he makes the successor of this last in 1474 B. C. to have been Lynceus, the son of Ægyptus, *i.e.*, Sesostris, which would indicate Danaus to have been only viceroy at Argos for his brother. There is no doubt Greece was conquered by Sesostris, that man of ships as well as cavalry, and that it was in his time well replenished with Egyptian colonists. That the Macedonian family of Alexander the Great were descended in the male line from the ancient Egyptian kings there is no doubt. This family attained to the sovereignty in Macedonia, according to Rollin, in 794 B. C. And from the son of that Neil we are treating of sprang the Goths.

Their Gaedhal, son of Nial, the Irish history might appear to confound with a Gaedhal, son of Etheor, *i.e.*, Sethir. But in doing this they are simply affecting to make two men on paper out of the one real man, for Nial is only another name for Etheor or Setheor,

as we know in the history of king Neilos, but is entered in my Egyptian list as Mernra, "the beloved of Ra," and moreover the river Nile is also called Sethar, pronounced Schehor.

In regard to the origination of the ancient Ogham Alphabet there are in an old book I have in my hand a series of questions and answers in the old Gaelic as follows: —

1. "Who gave the sounds to the letters?"

"The Chief of Thebes (Don Tebi). He studiously applied himself to the Gaelic dialect when he was a chief in the government with Fenius after he had left the school."

2. "Who continued to take care of the school?"

"Gaedhal, son of Ethor, son of Toe (Thoth) son of Barachain of Maratime (grecaibh) Scythia."

3. "Where was Gaedhal born?"

"In Egypt."

4. "In what place?"

"In the plain of Ucca, in the nome or division of Iare-Tair-righ, in the South of Ægypt (*i.e.*, in Thebais).

"In this way was this book begun, first by Fenius and afterwards by Maire, son of Nema continued by Gaedhal, son of Ethor, at the time all the children of Israel came into Egypt."

5. "Who explained the Ogham and why was it so called?"

"Ogham was so called from Ogham, who was also named Soim. He explained the Ogham."

Soim is Sem or Shem which signifying the Sun and being also the Scythian and Egyptian name of Hercules, much confusion has arisen from mistaking the philosopher for the God and vice versa; for Ogham is their Som with the Egyptian article, O, prefixed. This name was written Oughjom, Oudsom, etc., as the proper name Enephres was written by Eratosthenes Ouenephres, whence the Latins turned it into Venephres.

They tell us Ogham is derived from guam, wisdom, and is also called Soim, otherwise Ceann faela or head of the learned. The two first are Egyptian names of Hercules, the latter the name of the inventor of letters according to the Chinese: It is probable that Ceann, in the expression Ceann Faola, is a variation of the Egyptian Chan or Chun, a name of Hercules, written also Seona by the Gaels of the British isles. To Chan or Shonie they were accustomed to offer the first fruits of their produce.

The Egyptian name Ghjom is written with the letter Genga or



Giangia and is sometimes pronounced hard as our *g* before *a* and *u*; sometimes soft as *gh*, sometimes as *ds*, *dts*, and sometimes as *s*, whence Jablonsky conjectures *Ghjom* and *Som* to be the same word

Our Ogham or Soim is above called Don Thebi, lord or King of Thebes. The 26th King in Eratosthenes' list is called Semphrukates, *i.e.*, the strong King of Chem or Egypt: Our Nial or Mernra occupies the 26th place and is in some authorities called Seth necht, or the strong Schethir. Eusebius calls him "a very powerful man." Some of these may have been esteemed of great erudition, mighty in books, in the sciences and arts of their day, whence they would have given to them the name of Schem or Thoth? Som in the Hiberno-Scythian and giam in the Tibetan means wisdom, as Giam-jang, the God of Wisdom, the son of God.

Our Ogham is said to have taken to wife a woman named Lam, a name which implies a wicked, foolish woman. Hence, Euripides says Lamia was an infamous name, dreadful to mortals. She is said in the history to have been Sci-an Oghma, the helpmate of Ogham: Seean or Sekenet, assistant, whence the Egyptian Sehi and Schimi, a wife.


But this helpmate was named Lam or Lamia, which signifies a horrid monster; hence doubtless arose the Grecian story of Hercules having begotten Scythes, the progenitor of the Scythians, in connection with a monster, half woman, half serpent; a fable which, according to D'Ancarville (*Recherch sur l'origine des Arts de la Greece*) gained ground wherever the Scythians went from Scythia to Tartary, China and Japan. The passage is, of course, allegorical, the sense being that Ogham or Hercules, the God of eloquence, espoused Suchan, or Kulam, that is, eloquence. "In the Egyptian speech D-som, Som, or Chom, or Sem, *id est*, Hercules." Jablonsky, (*Panth. Egypt.* p. 186-7). The name Pammes, fifth in the list of Eratosthenes, read backward is put into the form Sem-phos. Jackson says that his name by interpretation is Herakleides, or a descendent of Hercules. He is also called Herakleides by Eratosthenes; and the 26th king before mentioned is called both by Eratosthenes and Jackson Hercules Harpokrates. This last form is equivalent to the Irish Aire-fo-creat, the first two parts signifying titles of dignity and honor, and creat signifies knowledge, science, wisdom, also a sieve, and writing, literary characters.

It is singular that in Horapollo the Egyptian symbol of wisdom, science and learning is a group of a sieve, a bull-rush (of which paper was made) and a stylus or pen: Creat, doubtless, had the same signification in Egyptian, but phach-rat in the latter language and pocrat or boc-ract in Irish signifies lame in the foot; and from the double meaning of the Egyptian word Jablonsky observes that Harpocrates is always represented lame. All this would indicate that Egypt was for some ages a home of the Scythians.

Under the 4th of the above questions we find our Gaedhal was born in Ucca, in Upper Egypt, that is, in the Thebaid. It is, doubtless, from this local designation that Uchoreus, the 15th successor of Menes, as according to Diodorus, derived his name. "It appears also," says Vallancy, "that Niul's proper name was Ethor, who was the son of Toe or Taith, who was Fenius or Thath as we have proved," V. 70. In the time of Jeremiah, 600 B. C., Thebais was called Pathros, and had then a portion of Israelites inhabiting it. "The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol and at Tahpanhes and at Noph and in the country of Pathros." Jer. lxi. 1. "Pathros, id est, in Thebaidem, quam præcipue afflixerat Nebuchadnezzar." Bochart Phal. p. 276.

Ucca signifies a ship and also a port, and so is a fair representative for Theba, a ship, and Taph, a port, whence Tahapanes. The Thebaid had many ports as well as Piha-Chiroth. The Irish history informs us that their ancestor Niul (one of the meanings of which name is a son) a son of Phenius, erected a school at Piha-Chiroth and during his residence there his wife brought forth a son whose name was called Gaedhal. Sir I. Newton thought the Uchoreus of Diodorus to have been Maeris. But I see not how Newton could have made such a mistake, for that author has Uchoreus to be the immediate predecessor of Ægyptus, after whom he makes Maeris to be 12th in succession. Uchoreus was the father of Ægyptus, that is, of Sesostri the Great, from whom Maeris was perhaps 5th generation in succession, but the 8th successor on the throne. I have, however, some reason to think the Maeris, or "beloved of Ra," who made the Lake of Maeris in the Fayoom, was the son and immediate successor of Sesostri, the No. 21 of my Egyptian list, and that he effected this vast work by means of the labor of prisoners of war. Under question 2 Gaedhal is called "Son of Ethor, Son of Thoth, Son of Barachain." This gives us

to understand that Sethos or Sethir, the grandfather of Gaedhal, was known as a wise man, Toth, which is Phenius=Kneph and gives his great-grandfather as Barachain, *i.e.*, Son of Achan, Chon or Sethos, which last was the name of Sesostris the Great. Barachain here refers to Amenophis, the son of Sesostris. Hence we have the following pairs of names equal to each other: —

Sesostris			
			
Barachain son of	=	Amenophis son of	
Toth son of	=	Sethos, <i>i.e.</i> , Phenius, son of	
Etheor son of	=	Mernra, <i>i.e.</i> , Neil, son of	
Gaedhal son of	=	Gaedhal son of	

So far as to the list upward; now we give it downward: —

- |  |   |   |                          |
|--|---|---|--------------------------|
| 75. Ughan mor,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Eochaidh,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Ith,                                    | <i>i.e.</i> , Ughan mor. |
| 74. Cobhthach,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Cathan,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Lughaidh,                               | <i>i.e.</i> , Laeghair.  |
| 73. Melgi,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Ture,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Mal,                                    | <i>i.e.</i> , Olild Ani. |
| 72. Ireo Gleo Fathach, <i>i.e.</i> , Fyre Elmael,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Edhamhan,   | <i>i.e.</i> , { Labhraidh-<br>Loingsach.              |                          |
| 71. Connla Cru Chelg, <i>i.e.</i> , Fyere Anroet,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Lughaidh.   |   |                          |
| 70. Olild Cas Fiac, <i>i.e.</i> , Fyere Roet,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Mathsin.  |   |                          |
| 69. Eochaid Foltlethan, <i>i.e.</i> , Fere Cataroet,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Sin.  |   |                          |
| 68. Aenghus Tuirmac, <i>i.e.</i> , Aengus Tuirmac, <i>i.e.</i> , Eosamhan, <i>i.e.</i> , Aengus Tuirmac. |   |   |                          |
| 67. Fiach Fermhara,  | etc.,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Edhamhan, <i>i.e.</i> , Euna Aighneach. |                          |
| 66. Olild Eron,  | as in   | <i>i.e.</i> , Eramhan, <i>i.e.</i> , Labhradh.        |                          |
| 65. Feredhach,   | left hand column.   | <i>i.e.</i> , Lughaidh, <i>i.e.</i> , Blathacta.      |                          |
| 64. Forga,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Fergus,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Luchthani, <i>i.e.</i> , Beothacta.     |                          |
| 63. Maen,  | <i>i.e.</i> ,   | Nuadhat Argthech, <i>i.e.</i> , Eosamhan.             |                          |
| 62. Arondel,   | <i>i.e.</i> ,   | Deargthini, <i>i.e.</i> , Rioghnan Ruadh.             |                          |
| 61. Sen,   | <i>i.e.</i> ,   | Deagh Dearg, <i>i.e.</i> , Finlogha.                  |                          |
| 60. Deaghaidh, <i>i.e.</i> , Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, <i>i.e.</i> , Deagh Teamrach, <i>i.e.</i> , Fintain. |   |   |                          |
| 59. Uar,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Eochaidh Garbh, <i>i.e.</i> , Fer Ului, <i>i.e.</i> , Finn.       |   |                          |
| 58. Olild,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Muredhach Muchna, <i>i.e.</i> , Sithbolg, <i>i.e.</i> , Eochaidh. |   |                          |
| 57. Eoghan,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Mogh Febis, <i>i.e.</i> , Daire, <i>i.e.</i> , Trifnevena.        |   |                          |
| 56. Edarscol,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Loch Mor, <i>i.e.</i> , Edhbolg, <i>i.e.</i> , Lughaidh.          |   |                          |
| 55. Conair,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Euna Munchaein, <i>i.e.</i> , Fer Ului, <i>i.e.</i> , Crimthan.   |   |                          |
| 54. Dairi,   | <i>i.e.</i> , Deargthini, <i>i.e.</i> , Daire, <i>i.e.</i> , Feredhach.         |   |                          |
| 53. Carbri,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Dearg, <i>i.e.</i> , Lughaidh, <i>i.e.</i> , Fiachaidh.           |   |                          |
| 52. Mogh Lamha,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Mogh Niadh, <i>i.e.</i> , Mac Niadh, <i>i.e.</i> , Tuathal.       |   |                          |
| 51. Conair,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Mogh Nuadhat, <i>i.e.</i> , Conn, <i>i.e.</i> , Feidhlimidh.      |   |                          |
| 50. Eochaidh,  | <i>i.e.</i> , Carbri Righfhada.   |   |                          |
49. Fiachaidh Cathmhail, son of  
 48. Eochaidh, son of  
 47. Cruthluath, son of  
 46. Fiachaid, son of  
 45. Aengus Feart, son of

Buchanan of Auchmar — Fictitious List.		44. Eochaidh Muinreamhair, son of	
		43. Erc, son of	
		42. Fergus mor, son of	
		41. Muiredhach, son of	
		40. Eochaidh, son of	
		39. Baedhan, son of	
		38. Colman, son of	
		37. Sneachthain, son of	
		36. Fergus, son of	
		35. Feredhach, son of	
		34. Ferchard III., son of	
		33. Ain Ceallach, son of	Sealbhach mc.
		32. Muiredhach, son of	Dungal mc.
	Kenneth II., i.e.,	31. Cathmhail, son of	Gregair mac.
	Gareth, i.e.,	30. Domnald, son of	
	Doire, i.e.,	29. Morgind, son of	
	Kenneth, i.e.,	28. Domnald, son of	
	Muredhach, i.e.,	27. Ruidhri, son of	
	Banquo, i.e.,	26. Maelbrighdi, son of	
	Fleance, i.e.,	25. Malcolm II., son of	Gillacomgain mc.
	Walter, i.e.,	24. Dunchadh, son of	Lughaidh mc.
	Allan, i.e.,	23. Malcolm III., son of	Maelsnechthain mac.
	Walter, i.e.,	22. Alexander I., son of	
	Allan, i.e.,	21. David I., son of	
	Walter, i.e.,	20. Henry, son of	
	Alexander, i.e.,	19. William, son of	
	James, i.e.,	18. Alexander, II., son of	
	Walter, i.e.,	17. Alexander III., son of	
	Robert II., i.e.,	16. Aengus, son of	
		15. John, son of	
		14. Gilchrist, son of	
		13. Shaw, son of	
		12. James, son of	
		11. Adam, son of	
		Etc. See p. 2.	

## THE SCYTHIANS.

The Irish distinguish two dialects in their language, the *bearla Pheni*, and the *bearla Thebi*. In the first of these dialects the Brehon laws were written: it was the dialect of the learned, as distinguished from the others, and contained many Arabic, Syrian and other foreign terms among its home words. I may remark that Mr. Bryant, in his "Mythology," in classing Sesostri among the mythical personages, cannot have sufficiently considered our Ægyptus, who was at least as real a personage as Mr. Bryant was, and also undeniably the great Sesostri. I will, however, quote him, at some length, in regard to the Scythian races in general, on whose origin and progress he bestowed more extensive and particu-



lar study than he did upon the history of Ægypt, which in its chronological order he must have found to be so exceedingly intricate and difficult to understand as to disgust him with the whole subject and to cause him to leave it with such a misapprehension of it as he may have thought was correct.

Extracts from Bryant's *Mythology* (vol. IV, p. 83, etc.) upon the ancient Scythians: —

“Scythia,” says this erudite author, “is an unlimited, undefined term under which Grecian ignorance sheltered itself; — whatever was unknown northward was called Scythian, whereas it is notorious that this vast tract of country, called ignorantly Scythia, was possessed by people essentially differing from one another. Mithridates had twenty languages spoken within his territories, most of which were ignorantly deemed Scythic. According to Timosthenes there were no less than three hundred, which had each their particular language; yet we speak of the Scythians collectively as of one family and one language and this the Titanian or Celtic. The true Scythai or Scythians were undoubtedly a very learned and intelligent people; but their origin is not to be looked for in the north of Asia and the desert of Tartary: their history was from another quarter; for how can we suppose one uniform language to have been propagated from a part of the world where there was no such variety? The greater part of *these* nations, commonly styled Scythic, were barbarous to the last degree; there are no monuments or writings remaining nor any upon record, which can afford us the least idea of their being liberal or learned.

“The Huns and Ovares were of these parts, who overran the empire in the fourth century; but their character had nothing in it favorable. Procopious says that they neither had letters nor would hear of them; so that their children had no instruction. In short all the Tartarian nations of old seem to have been remarkably rude; I say of old for there have been in later times remarkable instances to the contrary.

“As we have been for so many ages amused with accounts of Scythia; and several learned moderns, taking advantage of that obscurity in which its history is involved, have spoken of it in a most unwarrantable manner and extended it to an unlimited degree; it may not be unsatisfactory to inquire what the country was and from whence it received its name.

“It is necessary, first of all, to take notice that there were many

regions in different parts of the world so called. There was a province in Egypt\* and another in Syria† styled Scythia. There was also a Scythia in Asia Minor, upon the Thermodon above Galatia, where the Amazons were supposed to have resided. The country about Colchis and Iberia; also a great part of Thrace and Mœsia: and all the Tauric Chersonesus were styled Scythic. Lastly there was a country of this name *far in the east* of which little notice has been hitherto taken. It was situated in the great *Indic ocean*, and consisted of a widely extended region called SCYTHIA LYMRICA.‡

“But the Scythia spoken of by the ancient Greeks, and after them taken notice of by the Romans, consisted of those countries which lay upon the coast of the Euxine; and especially those upon the north and northeastern parts of that sea. In short it was the region of Colchis; and all that country at the foot of Mount Caucasus as well as that upon the palus Mæotis and the Borysthenes, was of old esteemed Scythia.§

“As the Greeks were ignorant of the part of the world which lay beyond, or had a very imperfect knowledge of it, they often comprehended this too under the same denomination. Many, however, did not extend their ideas so far; but looked upon the coast above specified to have been the boundary northward of the habitable world. Hence we read of *extremum Tanaim, ultimam Scythiam and Caucasus, the boundary of the world*. And although upon the return of the Greeks, who followed the fortunes of Cyrus, the younger, some insight might be supposed to have been gained into those parts; yet it amounted to little in the end, as no correspondence was kept up and the navigation of the Bosphorus was seldom attempted. Hence it happened that till the conquests of Lucullus

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\* *Σκυθιακή χώρα*, Ptolemy, L. 4, c. 5, called also Macaria, which signifies a fertile, arable soil.

† Arrian Peripl: It was in the district called Sacæa or the county of the Sacæ—not far from Bethsan or Scythopolis, near Jerusalem. There was another Scythopolis in Libya. Steph. ex Polyhistoire. Scythopolis in Palestine, which is said by some to have been situated eight miles from Jerusalem, the Jews called Beth-shan, which the Christian Fathers translate the house or city of the enemy, claiming that these people were enemies to the Jews. But the circumstances of the case being considered in connection with the obscurity of the subject of their origin from Egypt might suggest to some that those Scythians were the Jews themselves and that their city, Jerusalem, was Beth-shan, meaning the ancient house or city?

‡ Ptol. Geogr. L. 4, p. 121.

§ Acc. to the Scholiast in Pindar they were of the Cuthites, or Scuthai; descended from that body transplanted thither from Egypt by Sesostris.

and Pompeius magnus these countries were, to the northeast, the limits of geographical knowledge ; and even of these parts the accounts were very obscure and imperfect. Yet, however, unknown they had lain for ages, there was a time when the natives rendered themselves very respectable. For they carried on an extensive commerce *and were superior in science to all the nations in their neighborhood ; and this was long before the dawning of learning in Greece and before the constitution of many principalities into which the Hellenic state was divided.* They went under the names of the COLCHIANS, IBERIANS, CIMMERIANS, HYPERBORIANS, ALANI. They got footing in Paphlagonia upon the Thermodon, where they were called Amazonians and Alaronians ; also in Pieria and Sithonia near Mount Hæmus in Thrace. These were properly Scythic nations ; but the ancients, as I observed, often included under this name all that lay beyond them ; whatever was unknown even from the Cronian and Atlantic sea one way, to Mount Tabis and the Corean sea on the other. The ancient writers of Greece, says Strabo, used to include all the northern nations in general under the name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians.

“ In this they went too far ; yet the Scythic nations were widely extended and to be met with on very different parts of the globe. As they are represented of the highest antiquity and of great power and as they are said to have subdued mighty kingdoms and to have claimed precedency even of the Egyptians, it is worth while to inquire into the history of this wonderful people and to sift out the truth if possibly it might be attained. Let us then try to investigate the origin of the people denominated Scythians and explain the purport of their names :

The solution of this intricate problem will prove of the highest importance as we shall thereby be able to clear up many dark circumstances in antiquity.

“ To me then it appears very manifest that what was termed by the Greeks *Σκυθία, Σκυθία*, was originally Cutha, Cuthai, Cuthica and related to the family of Chus. He was called by the Babylonians, and Chaldaeans Cuth and his posterity Cuthites and Cutheans. The countries where they at times settled were uniformly denominated from them ; but what was properly styled Cutha, the Greeks expressed with a sigma prefixed ; which, however trifling it may appear, has been attended with fatal consequences.

“ As the Scythic colonies were widely dispersed I will take them

in their turn and show that they were all of them Cuthic; that the people upon the Indus were of the same origin as those upon the Phases and Thermodon; and that the natives of Boetica in Iberia were related to both. That the Bœotians and Athenians were in a great measure Cuthian I have endeavored already to prove, and what I term Cuthian was by them undoubtedly styled Scythian.

“ Epiphanius who has transmitted to us a most curious epitome of the whole Scythic history, gives them this appellation. Those nations, says he, which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other and are connected were universally styled Scythic, according to an appellation of long standing. They were of that family, who of old erected the great Tower (called Babel) and who built the city of Babylon,\* by which we learn that the Scythians were the Cuthites and come from Babylonia.

“ They were the Ellenic or Cuthite Shepherds who came into Egypt; many of them settled in Armenia and at Colchus and also upon the Palus Maeotis. Some of the fathers, from terms ill understood, divided the first ages into three or more epochs; and have distinguished them by as many characteristics: Barbarismus, which is supposed to have preceded the Flood: Scuthismus (of which I have been speaking) and Hellenismus or the Grecian period; writing the word *Ἑλληνισμός* or Hellenismus with an aspirate so making it relate to their own country.

But how was it possible for an Hellanic era to have existed before the name of Hellas was known or the nation in being?

“ Hesychius intimates that the name related to the fountain of day: and in a secondary sense to the fountain of wisdom. The people styled Hellenes are descendants of Hellen, son of Zeuth, and by this title are denoted people of intelligent and enlightened mind.

“ From Babylonia the Hellenes came into Egypt; and were the same as the Auritae or Cuthite Shepherds, who so long held the country in subjection. Hence, we read of Hellenic Shepherds and and Hellenic princes who reigned in the infancy of that nation.

“ The Cuthite Hellenes who came into Egypt introduced their arts and learning; by which that of Egypt was styled Hellenic and

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\* Epiphan. Advers. Haeres. L. 1. p. 6.



the ancient theology of the country was said to have been described in the Hellenic character and language. This had no relation to the Hellenes of Greece, being as I observed before far prior to that nation.

“The Grecians suppose that by the Hellenic tongue was meant the learning of Greece, and that the Hellenic characters were the letters of their own country. But these writings were in reality sculptors of great antiquity; and the language was the Cuthic, styled by Manethon the sacred language of Egypt.” Thus Mr. Bryant.

It seems plain, as intimated by Hesychius, that the Ellenes or Hellenes derived their names from an appellation of the Sun, which is that Phœnician or Hebrew name *El*, found in Sanchuniatho's history, and in the book of Genesis. The full primitive form of *El* would be *Gaedhal*, equivalent to *El-Gaedh*, the God or the Good. *El* is the *Chal* in the word *Chaldaea*, which sometimes has the form of *Baal*, *Bel* or *Bael*. In our word *Ball* it conveys the idea of roundness, the world being round. The Hebrew or Phœnician *El* conveys the idea of firmament, including sun, moon, stars, etc., all, as it were, set in a roof, as anciently conceived. In the old Saxon, *Hel* is a house, strictly a roof; *helan* to roof, cover over, which is the idea of (*Chal*, Ceiling) firmament. The word *hell* in our language has had a fearful meaning given it in theology; its literal meaning is, however, simply a covered, roofed place. Considering the first part of the original word the Greeks were correct in putting the initial rough breathing before *El*, which makes it equal to the *Chal* of the Babylonians or Hebrews. We have the idea of house in our word *Cell* and of something upraised in our word *Gallery*. Such is the meaning of the word *Chal* abbreviated *El*, and in the word *Chakdaea* the second part of the compound means the same as the first. The latter is in full the Gaelic *daemh* or *daebh*, often found abbreviated *dae*. It is the root of our word *day* and the root *de* of *deus*, God. It is an old name for the sun, so that the sun is another word for the day. It is also the original of our word *dome*, which we find in the Latin *domus*, a house, strictly a roof, and as applied to the celestial dome it takes in the whole firmament, sun, moon and stars, just as *Chal*, *El* or *Bel*.

Now, our word *Cuth* is properly *Gaedh* and *Chal* is, in full, *Gaedhal*; but the *dh* or *th* is sunk on account of its being silent and the *g* is the original of the *c*. Moreover, *Gaeth* is equivalent

to Schaeth or simply Seth, pronounced Scheth or Schah; and this Seth, so far as has been discovered by Rawlinson and others, is concluded to be the most ancient name for God among the Cushites. When, therefore, Hesychius or Bryant states Hellen to have been the son of Zeuth, *i.e.*, Gaeth or Cuth, and the Greeks state him to have been the son of Deucalion, it is seen from the foregoing to be more than probable that they both refer to the same man as being his father, the latter using the full classic form of his name, the former a well known variation of one of its components. Bryant says that Deucalion, Prometheus, Zeuth, (Gr. Zeus) and Xuth (Chuth) were the same person. But those different forms of name for the same person evidently arose in different ways from local differences in the use, or spelling of the name and from spelling of it backward or forward as coming from the hieroglyphs; for instance, the m, b and g being to a degree mutable we have daigh, daebh and daemh for Gaedh and so we have the God Dagon worshiped at Gath (Gaeth) whom Bryant finds to be not only the fish God but the same with Seth, the Sun, and Saidon to be the same as Dagon. Our author also discovers that one branch of the Cuthites were called Peresians from their worship of the Sun under the name of Pares or Perez and that these came to be called and are known as Persians; but it is not probable that they worshiped the sun in any other way than as symbolical or illustrative of the deity. And in the same way, speaking of Ham, he says that "being the Apollo of the east he was worshiped as the Sun and was also called Sham and Shem." "The author of the Chronicon Paschale speaks of Chus as of the line of Shem and Theophilus in his treatise to Autolyceus does the same by Mizraim. Others go farther and add Canaan to the number," etc. *Mythology*, vol. 1, p. 82. I cannot conceive how that Ham or Schem, the son of Noah, or Chus his grandson could have been worshiped in the sun in any other way than as symbolical of the deity. The sun, so glorious an object, was thought to represent the deity; the patriarch Scham, as to his moral and Herculean character, was analogously conceived to be a glorious object and this character symbolized by the Sun was a kind of an intermediary idea in their worship of the deity. They, doubtless, were accustomed to illustrate to their people the good character of the deity by the well known good character of the patriarch Schaem.

Of the various colonies and denominations of the Cuthites, we draw from Bryant again, Vol. V. 3, p. 175, as follows:—

“We may I think be assured that by the term *Scuthai* are to be understood *Cuthai*. They were the descendants of Chus, who seized upon the region of Babylonia and Chaldaea; and constituted the first kingdom upon the earth. They were called by other nations Cuseans, Arabians, Oreitae, Eruthraeans, Aethiopians, but among themselves their general patronymic was Cuth and their country Cutha. They were an ingenious and knowing people, as I have before observed; and at the same time very prolific. A large body invaded Egypt when as yet it was in its infant state, made up of little independent districts, artless and uninformed, without any rule or polity. They seized the whole country and held it for some ages in subjection and from their arrival the history of Egypt will be found to commence, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates, where they originally resided was styled the country of the Chasdim; but by the western nations, Chaldaea. It lay toward the lower part of the Tigris to the west and below the plain of *Shinar*. This country is said to have been also called *Scutha*; and the author of the Chronicon Paschale mentions *Scuthae* in those parts, who were so called even in his days. But he supposes that the name *Scutha* was given to the region on account of I know not what Scythians from the North. Josephus expresses it Cutha and speaks of a river Cutha, which is probably the same as the Choaspes.”

#### HYPERBOREANS.

“The northern Hyperboreans, who were the same as the Cimmerians, were once held in great repute for their knowledge. Anacharsis was of this family, who came into Greece and was much admired for his philosophy. There was an Hyperborean of great fame called Abaris.

“They were people of the same family who settled in Thrace, under the name of Scythae, Sithones, Paeonians, Pierians and Edonians. There must have been something mysterious in the term Hyperborean; it must have had a latent meaning, which related to the *science* and *religion* of the people so called. It did not relate to the north, as Herodotus conjectures, for Pythagoras, who had been in Egypt and Chaldaea, and who afterwards settled at Croton, was by the natives styled the Hyperborean Apollo.

Pindar manifestly makes them the same as the Atlantians and Amazonians of Afric; for he places them near the islands of the Blest; he speaks of them as a divine race.”

The composition of the name Hyperborean, viz., Hiber, west, and boreas, north, would point to the people, who were called by that name, as inhabiting a country to the northwest of Greece and Italy. At an early age Scandinavia, Ireland and other parts of Europe were inhabited by Scuthae, more especially the colonies of Iberia and Baetica in Spain, who went under the same name and had the same ancestral history as those we have mentioned before; those colonies were largely descended from the Scythic Egyptian kings of the line of Menes.

Pliny, Mela, Strabo, Tertullian and others mention some horrid practices of the Sacae and Scythians upon the Palus Maecotis and the Tauric Chersonesus, which, with their cruelty, greatly tarnished their character, otherwise to a great degree noble and good. They were, also, in their religious rites, remarkably brutal and cruel.

#### OF THE SACAE.

“We have shown that one of the most considerable colonies that went from Babylonia was that of the Indi or Sindi; they settled between the Indus and the Ganges, and one of their principal regions was Cuthaia or Cathaia. They traded in linen and other commodities and carried on an extensive commerce with the provinces of the South.

“A large body of them passed inland towards the north, under the name of Sacai and Sacaians; who ranged very high and got possession of Sogdiana and the regions about the Jaxartes. From thence they extended themselves eastward, quite to the ocean. They were of Scuthic race and represented as great archers; and their country was called Sacai\* and Cutha. Their chief city was Sacastan, the Sacastana of Isidorus Characenus. Of their inroads westward we have taken notice before; for they sent out large bodies into different parts; and many of the Tartarian nations are descended from them. They got possession of the upper part of China, which they denominated Cathaia; and there is reason to think that Japan was, in some degree, peopled by them. Colonies

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\* Steph. Byzant.



undoubtedly went into this country both from Sacaa and the Indus.

“The Chinese were the ancient Sinae and Seres, who were so famous for their silk. There is in Pausanias a very curious account of this people and of their manufactures. He then proceeds to give a minute but accurate account of the silk-worm and the manner of its spinning, which I omit: and concludes with telling us that the country from whence this commodity comes is an island named Seria, which lies in a recess of the Erythrean Sea. I have been told by some, says he, that it is not properly the Erythrian Sea but the river Sera, which incloses it and forms an island similar to the Delta in Egypt. In short some insist that it is not at all bounded by the sea. They say also that there is another island called Seria: and those who inhabit this as well as the islands Abasa and Sacaa in the neighborhood are of the Ethiopian race. Others affirm that they are of the Scythic family with a mixture of the Indic. The history is, in every part, true. Wherever this great family settled they were superior in science; and though they degenerated by degrees and were oftentimes overpowered by a barbarous enemy, which reduced them to a state of obscurity, yet some traces of their original superiority were in most places to be found. Thus the Turdetani, one of those Iberian nations upon the great western ocean, are to the last represented as a most intelligent people. They are well acquainted, says Strabo, with grammar and have many written records of high antiquity. They have also large collections of poetry; and even their laws are described in verse, which they say are of six thousand years' standing. Though their laws and annals may have fallen far short of that date, yet they were undoubtedly very curious and we must necessarily lament the want of curiosity in the Romans, who have not transmitted to us the least sample of these valuable remains. In Tatianus Assyrius and more especially in Clemens of Alexandria we have an account of those persons who were supposed to have blest the world with some invention: and upon examination almost all of them will be found to have been of Cuthite or Scythian original.”

“When these colonies came in aftertimes to be degenerated there were still some remains of their original sense and ingenuity here and there to be found. This was to be observed in the people of Baetica, as I have shown from Strabo, and in the character of Cotys, king of Thrace. The like is taken notice of by Curtius in

speaking of the Pontic Scythae. And the poet Chaerilus has given a curious history of the Sacae Scythae, of whose ancestors he speaks with great honor, when he is describing the expedition of Alexander the Great: —

Next marched the Sacae, fond of past'ral life,  
Sprung from the Scuthic Nomades, who liv'd  
Amid the plains of Asia, rich in grain.  
They from the Shepherd race derived their source,  
Those Shepherds who in ancient times were deem'd  
The justest of mankind, (apud Strabonem).

Yet we find that the Sacae by some have been represented as cannibals; from whence we may perceive that people of the same family often differ from one another.

Extracts from an inquiry into the origin and progress of the arts and sciences of Greece, by M. D'Ancarville: —

“ This author proves from history that a great Scythian empire did exist with the Assyrian, if not before it; that these Scythians extended their conquests to the Nile, and, returning from Egypt, employed fifteen years in conquering Asia, which they laid under tribute, even to the Eastern Ocean and Caspian Sea and Palus Malotis; and that they held this conquest and tribute for the space of 1500 years, till Ninus, the Assyrian king, found means to relieve his country from that impost. He then proves from Dionysius Perige, and his contemporaries, Trogus Pompeius and Diodorus that by the Oriental Ocean is meant the Indian Sea. This would seem to refer to the conquest of Asia by Sesostris, the Egyptian king; but it is quite certain that Asia was not at any period subject to Egypt for 1500 years; nor was it subject to any one government for that length of time. But the narrative continues: — Such an army as the Scythians employed in these conquests, laying a country under tribute for more than a thousand leagues, implies, says our author, that the Scythians must have had money and the knowledge of arithmetical figures; and, accordingly, we find Higinus gives the invention of money to the Scythians. “ An Indian king in Scythia invented the money which Erichthonius first brought to Athens.” It is supposed the word *Argentum* here has reference to money, proper, for the verb *invenire* is always used by Pliny to signify the discovery of an art. It can, however, be proved from history that Scythian money was in use before this time and that it was in the reign of Amphyction that Erichthonius

went into Scythia and learned that art. Amphyction was grandson to Deucalion, who was a Scythian, and hence the connection.

“The Scythians having at different times very remote possessed various parts of Asia, their colonies having frequently changed their names, many lost the remembrance of their origin. Masters of all the countries situated between Caucasus and Egypt, they extended to the Eastern ocean, on the borders of which are situated the *Chinese*; and Japan is the greatest island on its coasts.

“Scythopolis in Palestine was also called Scythica Nyssa. There was likewise a Nyssa in Caucasus and one in Arabia on the confines of Egypt: it appears, therefore, the Scythae gave this name of Nyssa (boundary) to those countries where they rested and left the use of money with whatever people they conquered. This may be proved by the tributes they imposed before the reign of Ninus; for those distant nations that could not furnish tribute in kind, were obliged to pay in money; the resemblance of the forms of the ancient coins of the Arabs, Japanese, Chinese and Greeks probably was given them by the Scythians.

“Money was in use in Arabia when the book of Job was written, of which Moses is supposed to have been the translator; for in Job mention is made of a species of money called Kesitah.\* The feminine termination of this word in Hebrew, according to Bochart, implies a female lamb; but he clearly shows it was a piece of money, as is proved also from other sources.

“The invention of coin, or the sort of money discovered by king Indus in Scythia must therefore have been prior to the Scythian conquest of Asia and 1500 years before the reign of Ninus, the beginning of which is commonly placed 2110 years before the Christian era; consequently the Scythian money was current in Asia 3610 years before the birth of Christ.

“The date to which this inquiry carries us back of the existence of money precedes the institution of an astronomical period of the Persians by four centuries only; and at the period here mentioned the Persian kings were tributary to the Scythians; that period commences 3209 years before the Christian era (M. Bailly, Hist. de l’Astrom.). Astronomy was almost as early known to the Chinese, who preserve the use of the obolar coin invented by the Scythians to this day.

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\* The word for money in the Persian is Keeseh; in the Irish Keesh, Keesta, or Keesda. It is supposed the root is Ceas, ore, or metal, whence Co-Ceas or Caucasus, remarkable for its mines.

“ Herodotus tells us that when Scolotis or Scythes was presented with a bow by his father, he also gave him a girdle, with a clasp, ornamented with a vase or phiala of gold.

“ This historical fact presented by so many Scythian nations, by people so very remote from each other, as some of them were, confirms the truth of the tradition. It is a demonstration that before the time of Scythes his countrymen were expert in the casting and working of metals and many other arts dependent thereon. History does not furnish another example of this kind at that period. The discoveries lately made by Mons. Pallus of golden ornaments, utensils and symbolical figures in those countries formerly inhabited by the Scythians, corroborates the assertion of Herodotus. With these phiala they made their libations to their Gods. Xerses used one, when he made his libation to the god of the waters, casting it into his bosom at the conclusion of the ceremony.

“ The serpent, the representative of the generative Being, was a remarkable symbol of the Scythians. Hence the story of Scythes being begotten by a god in connection with a woman half human, half serpent. This emblem they carried with them into China and Japan ; hence those monstrous figures of dragons and serpents we see on the Chinese paintings and on their edifices ; hence the Chinese story of Fo-hi or Fo-ki, their first founder, prince and legislator having been half human, half serpent.

“ In memory of their common origin all Scythian nations bore the serpent (which, according to Rabbi Moses, is the meaning of the word Yavah), as their ensign armorial. From them Arrian informs us the Romans borrowed it and gave to their Standard bearer the title Draconarius. Of this name we have formed dragoon, signifying a soldier who fights on horseback or on foot after the manner of the Scythians.

“ The Sacae or Scythians were a wise and politic people ; having conquered Asia they imposed a tribute, so light, that it was rather an acknowledgement of their conquest than an impost. Asia was then a fief depending on Scythia : It was the first state governed by this kind of constitution and here may be discovered the origin of the Feudal system, brought into Europe by the descendants of these very Sacae.

“ From these Sacae are descended the Japanese. They still preserve the name in Sakai, one of their principal cities. The towns



Nang-saki, Amanga-Saki, mark the origin of this nation ; as do the names of many mountains, rivers, provinces and etc.\*

The Sacae were the inventors of arms and military dress. The short sword called Sabs by the Saxons, signified the sword of the Sacae : as with us bayonet and pistolet denote the species of arms invented at Baionne and Pistoia. The Sacae, by some called Sagae, being the inventors of religious emblems and the first that offered horses in sacrifice, gave birth to the words *sacrum*, *sacrificium*, *sacerdos*. Hence the Greek *Σαγγί*, whence *Σαγμῶν*, the shield and the bag to carry it in, hence also *Σαγῶς*, Sagum, the name of a military dress with many nations ; hence Sagitta, a dart, an arrow ; hence Scythae, archers ; — Scythes, qui primus arcus, sagittarumque usum invenisse dicitur. (Pliny).

If as warriors the Sacae invented arms and military dress, so as Shepherds, at their leisure, they were the authors of music and musical instruments ; the *Σαζαδὼν* of the Greeks derives its name from them," and doubtless the Sacca-bouche or Sackbut of the Old Spaniards ; to which may be added the Clar-Seac, or harp of the ancient Irish. "But these Sacae, when they left Armenia, seem to have changed the mildness of their ancient manners ; they were no longer the upright and just people so celebrated by the poet Choerilus ; they now imitated the Treres and Cimmerians, who in the time of Midas, towards the 21st Olympiad ravaged Asia. These people of the same origin with the Sacae were the Scythae of the branch of Agathyrsus. These Sacae, following their example, descended from Armenia into Cappadocia and seized upon that part of Pontus nearest to the Euxine Sea (Strabo Geog.). Here they armed vessels and became pirates as their neighbors had done before.

"Our author then goes on to prove that the mythologies of the Egyptians, Brahmins, Chinese, Japanese and all other oriental nations had that of the Sacae as their basis."

#### THE SAXON CHRONICLE AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.

Well acquainted with the Britains after they had subdued them and become acquainted with their history, the Saxons, in their Chronicle assert that the first settlers of Britain came from Armenia ; and that they seated themselves in the southwest of the island. The same

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\* Scheuchrer's Hist. of Japan and Vall. Vindication of Irish Hist.

Chronicle speaks of Ireland as being settled by the Scotti about the same time. It next records the arrival of the South Scythians by Sea also, in long ships, whom the Armenian Scythians would not suffer to land and they then went to the Scotti in Ireland, who also declined receiving them, but advised their settling in North Britain, which they did; and afterwards the Scotti of Ireland intermarried with them, governed them and gave their name to Scotland; which is legendary and not historical.

The Chronicle brings the Bolgae from the continent to the British Isles and says it was this tribe who first gave Julius Cæsar information of those isles, which is so completely puerile as not to be worthy of notice. Julius Cæsar, as well as other intelligent Romans, was doubtless not only versed in the geography but in the internal affairs of those isles from boyhood up.

Lloyd considered it proved by the topographical nomenclature of South Britain that the Irish possessed that country at a time prior to its possession by the people called Britains, whom they call Armenian Scythians. But, independently of all other existing historic monuments the language and mythology of the ancient Irish sufficiently prove them to have descended from those Armenian Scythians who conquered and ruled in Egypt, on the Pontus Euxinus, &c., and in Spain whence they came to the British Isles.

*Le langue d'une nation est toujours la plus reconnoissable de ses monumens: par elle on apprend ses antiquitez, on decouvre son origine.* — (M. Fourmont, Mem. de literat.)

“The language of a people is always the most recognizable of its monuments: by this one apprehends its antiquity, one discovers its origin.” Such is the opinion of that great historian and linguist, Fourmont.

Father Georgi, during his residence in Thibet, finding their mythology was Egyptian and that the Thibetans were descended from the Southern Scythæ, accounts for it as follows: “Scythæ in Sacris Egyptiarum instructi ab exercitu Ramsis, qui jam annos ante Sesostriū circiter centum, Libya, Ethiopia, Medis, Persis, Bactris ac Scythiis politus dicitur.” “Scythians were instructed in the sacred things of the Egyptians by the army of Rameses, who already about one century prior to Sesostrius is said to have acquired possession of Libya, Ethiopia, the Medes, Persians, Bactrians and Scythians,” but lest objection should be made to this assertion he

adds: “ fuerunt Colchi Scythae, Egyptiorum coloni: ” “ the Colchians were Scythae, colonists from Egypt.” \*

# A BRIEF COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF SOME OF THE MOST ANCIENT LANGUAGES.

The Gaelic or Irish being one of the most ancient languages now extant in the world, I will in the following tables give an exhibit of some of its words, placed in juxtaposition with some of the same or of kindred meaning in other very ancient languages, which may, first, serve to indicate some lines of descent of that ancient people; and secondly, to show that the phenomena of the varieties of human speech presents no opposition to such idea of the unity of the human race as is given in the Bible.

“ The Pehlvi dialect of the Persians prevailed chiefly around the Caspian Sea and in the more mountainous dependencies of the empire; it continued to the reign of Behram Gur, in the fifth century, when it was prescribed in a formal edict, and soon after ceased to be a living language.” (Richardson’s Diss.)

“ There were three different dialects of the Chaldaic, according to Abulfarage. That of Mesopotamia, *i.e.*, Aram or exterior Syria; that of interior Syria, spoken at Damasc, and all that country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, called the Palestine dialect; and the third, the Nabathæan, spoken by the mountaineers of Assyria and the province of Irak or Chaldaea; and this was the most ancient, and that Abraham and his ancestors spoke, and in which the books of Zoroaster, named the Zend, Pazend and Avesta have been written with a mixture of the ancient Persian or Pehlvi.” (D’Herbelot.)

The following vocabulary of those Eastern languages is largely drawn originally from the collection made by Anquetil: —

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Eden-anm	edoun	eadhon	explanative.
Ede	asin	da, son	if
Eretzeste	jede-man	ed, to handle, mana, a hand.	hand
{ Erode }	{ nameh }	{ naemadh }	famous
{ Eoroud }	{ rad }	{ ruadh }	
Erem	bandeh	{ Urra, ara, ban- }	servant.
	bun	{ noir, bandsglabh }	slave.
Ezaede	hozod	bun	root, stock.
		{ Nasadh }	{ great. }
		{ Saoidh }	{ illustrious. }

\* Alphabetum Tibetanorum, p. 38.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ashtesch	ashté	aseth, osath	peace.
Asp	Sosia	asb	horse.
Eghé	Sareh	Eag, a neg- ative particle	bad.
Amerschen	Amargan	marthannach	immortal.
Eneko	peschanth	Sianisi, an aigh	front, face.
Evé	bala	nav-balach, a giant	high, tall.
Eoschtre	lab	liobar	lip
Esdé		Eadan	forehead.
	Cai	Ce, Cai, Cu, Cua	a king, a giant

This word Cai that signifies in the Pehlvi or ancient Persian a great King or giant is used by the Manx, or inhabitants of the isle Mann, as the title of their magistrates, as “the Cays.” It is the Arabic Cai, a prince; Chald. Ceh. Hence Caian, Caianides, the second dynasty of Kings of Persia properly speaking; for it is said on good authority that the Pishdadians, or those of the first dynasty, should rather be thought of as Kings of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Medes than Persians, according to the information conveyed to us by the Greeks about them. The Gaelic Cu has for its genitive Con; but the full form of the nominative is Caeth, pronounced Coi or Caw; and the diminutive or genitive form is Cathan, pronounced Cawn.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Abesta		beaschna	language.
Enghshé	dounia	domhan	the world.
Ehmaé	Zagh	{ Magh, Seagh, Seagh- } lan, a King.	great.
Bereeté	dadrounesche	beirt	carries.
Besch	dau	beith, do	two.
Bantoo	Vimar	baun	dead.
Bonem	bonn	bunn	foundation root.
Te	tou	tu, te	thou.
Tedjerem	Zari	Srai	flowing water.
Khroid	Kheroudj	Cruaidh	hard.
Kh-scheio	malhe	male, shah	King.
Kh-Schtoum	Schaschom	Seisamh	Sixteenth.
Kh-shouesch	Se Se	Se	Six
Khoré	Khouroun	Coire	a feast.
Deschmehe	dehom	deacma	tenth.
Neaesch	Neasch	naishch	prayer.
Eschné	eschne	easam	to make.
Vetche	gobeschné	{ gob, the tongue } { gobach, talking; } { beaschna, speech }	to speak.
Vesa	Vas	fas, moreover,	much.
Vohone	damma	damp, flann	blood.
Vatem	Vad	fath, bad	wind.
Hereté	Sodar	Suadhaire	a chief.
Hekel	pavan-aknin	achd	but.
Jezaé	jez-banom	geis, prayer,	I pray.
Jaré	sanat	{ errai, spring; } { sal, a year, }	a year.



ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Tchethro	tehahar	ceithre, ceathar,	four.
Pero	rouin	roimh, ria,	before, in front.
Pesano	sinéh	siné	the breast.
Ized	Ized	Sidh	good genii.
Afrin	Afrin	Atrín	office of prayer.
Ana	ana	ana	riches, money.
Aban	anigin	abhan, a river,	the Ized of water.
Ani		an, ano,	water.
Aug-jura		eang	a year.
Asp		asb, easb	a chief.
Aspal	a herbed	{ absdal, easbal a disciple or apos- tle. }	a priestly order. under a mobed.
Herbed		Urbaid	{ a priest who took care of the holy fire.
Gah	gah	guih	prayer.
Pothre	poser	pinthar	a son.
Nekah	nekah	nuacor, bride { or bridegroom }	nuptial bene- diction.
Néré	neeré	near	man.
Descheno	dasché	deas	right hand.
Dehmo	donm	duine	people.
Denghoo	danacha	dana, danach	learned.
Dkescho	din	deac, dm	law.
Drodjem	daroudj	draoidheacht	necromancy.
Reotchen	roschneh	rushin	light.
Rané	ran	urran	thigh.
Zeté	aszaed	saith, sath	sufficient.
Zesté	jede-man,	Ed, mad, mana.	hand.
Stree	Vakd	Stri-pach, a harlot.	female.
Streoved	Seroud	Sar, music; Sartonna a teacher of music	he sings.
Sperezé	seper	speir	the heavens.
Seoneschte	Soud Khesteh	Seod Kiste	a treasury.
Ghnao	vakdan	gean	woman.
Freeschté	ferest	foras	an index.
Freire	meh	fearr, manh	excellent.
Fshtane	pestan	paisde, a sucking infant.	a teat.
Keic, Ko	kedar	ci, ce,	who, which.
Gueosch }	gosch	gusham, to hear.	the ear.
Goschte }	zemestan	gim-rah	winter.
Gamé	as	{ mead, wine or honey; } as, drink, milk. }	wine.
Medo	nohom	naoieamh	ninth.
Neomehé	nim	neamh	part, half.
Neeman	{ vared }	farain, rain	it rains.
Vareeté	{ varan }	ab, dad	father.
Vero	pad	as-scath, muid	man.
Ab	mardom	tactaire, a messenger,	to run.
An-schoto	takhtar	nim, nimh	to do, to put.
Attonnaton	neham	coisbe	holy.
Anatounaton	aschai	uige	knowledge.
Ahlobor	agah	toiche, bud,	membrum.
Agas	tchouz	modh-freastar }	a servant.
Abodj	parastar	fean-freastail. }	speech.
Amotia	peigham	abarais, eloquent, seadham, to talk.	a saddle cloth.
Avres	djoulah	diall, a saddle,	dress.
Azdeman	perahen	Eide, chald, adah,	quiet, ease.
Eod-jert	asaieschne	beaschna, shiochain,	a house.
As-bachshne	khaneh	both, can, cai,	
Bitá			

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Bilai	tchah	bile, water,	a wall.
Banoi	banou	bean	a woman.
Bun		bun	race, family.
Papia	djameh	pape-lin	poplin.
Peidan	peigham	seadham	speech.
Toug	doud	doig, toit, teagh,	smoke.
Tabna	kah	taebhan, straw { cath, chaff }	straw.
Tin	andjr gruteman, the angel of death	tine Grudemán, the great judge of the grave.	a fig.
Denn		duine	people.
Djatoun	ized	sidh	a good genius.
Remane	anas	rimmon	a pomegranate.
Rekita	schagard	reachtaire	a disciple.
Tra	tra	tra	season.
Kad banou		cead bunai	chief of families.
Mreté		Marthudh	mortal.
Ather		Athar	perfume.
Calluane		laineach	rejoicing.
Deirim } Deirimher }	deirimher	deirim, drim, druim	a temple.
Damh		damb	an ox.
Fal	fal	fal	divination.
Os		Os, uas	elevated.
Oschan		Oishin	powerful.
Ereezem	del Shenascha	dil Seanacham	the good genius.
Thré	sé	tri, tre, si,	the heart.
Thrianm	sevin	trian, treas	to know.
Oue		Ua, O,	three.
Zour		Suir, a river,	third.
			male, son.
			holy water of the Zoroastrians.

Not only the Ganges but the Indus was by the Airyans, called Suir. "The river Indus," Pliny tells us, "was by the natives called Sandus; it is now called Seen-dhos, but, when swollen with all the rivers of the Penjab, flows majestically down to Talta, under the assumed name of Soar." (Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan.)

Sethar, pronounced Shur, Sehor or Shaur was another name of the Nile.

ZENDIC.	PEHLVI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ath-corono		cearanoch	a priest.
Alka	risch	Ulca	a beard.

End of the Zendic vocabulary. The following is a collection of the Pehlvi, Persian and Irish.

PEHLVI	PERSIAN	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Rouin	pesch	roim, sasach	before, in front.
Remeka	madian	maidhin	female.
Zazra	vehi	sar, sar-vai,	excellent.

PEHLVI.	PERSIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
{ Zakar }	ner	near, sca, ascath,	male.
{ Zakeo }			
Damia	khoun	damh, blood consan- guinity.	blood.
Sakina	kared	skian	a knife.
Schat-meta	naodan	scud, naoi	boat, vessel.
Scheg	djo	sheagal	barley
Kavid	bouz	gabhar, gabhar-bouc,	he goat.
Kosche	paresta	coisiche, giolla-coise	servant boy.
Kopa	palan	al, pal, copal,	a horse.
Kumra	kumra	comora, cumara	a sheepfold.
Goumeh	garimi	gorm	heat.
Lesan	zaban	lisan	tongue.
Malahi	remak	malach	salt.
Matour	meher	mithr	Mithra.
Akon		cean, can, acan;	chief.
Behist	{ dara behist }	naemh	felicity, heaven
	{ dara naemh }		Paradise.
	the house of felicity		

The following are a few words of the Brahminical as compared with the Irish in the same manner :

BRAHMINICAL.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ishwara	Aesthara	God.
Achar	Aesar	"
Budha }	Budh }	"
Xaca }	Seacha }	
Kesee	Ciseal	The Devil.
Oosana }	Uisean }	
or }	or }	The Fallen Angel.
Sookra }	Sochrai }	
Diarmitu, al }	Diarmat, Diarmitu	The God of Arms.
Dherma rajah }		
Bhabhani	Bhebhinn	Venus.
Gopia	Gubha	The Muses.
Callee	Caili	The Murdering Goddess.
Baran	Bhrain	Neptune.
Soma	Som, Some	Presiding over Trees and Plants.
Syon	Suan	Goddess of Sleep.
Guru	Grua	A Spiritual Guide.
Lukee	Lugh	Goddess of all kinds of corn. Her festival is kept in August. The same as Ith, i.e., Sith. Hence proper name Lughaidh = Sith- each or Seach.
Kartik	Creatach	The consecrated.
Sieb	Sab	The Angel of Death.
Arun	Aruthn, pron. Arun	Phæbus.
Surya	Soire	The rising sun preceded by Arun.
Daghdæ	Daghdæ	Of the burnt chariot.
Myn	Maoin	Cupid.
Crishna	Cris, crishin	Apollo, the Sun.
Birto	Beart	A sacrifice.

In Irish mythology Daghdæ sometimes means the Sun at others Apollo. In the Circassian Daga means the Sun. In Irish history he is named Crios and is said to be the brother of Ogmius. Nion means principally a daughter (nighean) but it also means a son and

children, as Nion Crios, the children of Crios or of Daghdæ. One of his daughters was Be-rightit, goddess of rhetoric; another Be-laighas, goddess of physic; another Dian-ceacht, goddess of grammar and letters. The daughter of Ceacht was Etan (Athena) be-cearda, the goddess of arts and manufactures; and others of them were the goddesses of Goba or Gubha, that is, the Muses. According to Ferdousi Zerdusht descended of the family of Daada, but in the Zerdusht Nameh his ancestor is called Daghdæ. The ancient Irish deity Daghdæ was called the wise governor; and also Cearo; in old Persian Cor in modern Khor, the Sun. From Cear the Sun and the Irish Iosta or Ista, a house, is Istakar, *i.e.*, Persepolis. "Ista," says Richardson, "denotes a place, station, or dwelling (from the Persian verb istaden, to stand, remain, dwell); Khur or Khar signifies the Sun; whence Istakhar, the place or temple of the Sun." "I think I have demonstrated that the Persian empire and the foundation of Persepolis ascend to 3209 years before Christ. Djemschid, who built the city, entered it and there established his empire, the *very day* when the Sun passes into the constellation of *Aries*. This day was made to begin the year; and it became the epoch of a period, which includes the knowledge of the solar year of 365 days 6 hours. Here we find astronomy coeval with the origin of the empire." (Bailly to Voltaire, Letter II). This must refer to an old foundation; for the Persepolis proper of the Greeks appears to have been built after the Persian conquest of Babylon.

Because in the following vocabulary of Hindu, Gypsy and Irish words the Gypsy agrees, to a large extent, with the Hindu, it must not on that account be concluded that the Gypsies speak either the Hindu or the Irish language. The Gypsies, however, appear to have arisen from the Indo-Scythians, long separation causing the differentiation which appears in their language as compared with what may be called their mother tongue. But speaking truthfully that called the Gypsy language is more fitly called a jargon; for from several translations I have seen of the Lord's Prayer from the Gypsy as derived from different countries in which those people dwelt, it appears to have no standard, differing so remarkably in the different countries.

Our Gypsy vocabulary here is from that of Cox, as collected in Hungary; that of Bryant and Marsden in England and that of Grellman in Germany. The Hindu vocabulary is mostly from Gilchrist's



Dictionary of the Hindoo language. As to the origin of the Gypsies Grellman mentions that 178 had written on that subject before him all differing in opinion as to it.

A.			
HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Banor	godocavan }		Ape.
Gudha	papinori }		Ass.
Howah. bao. puwan	millan		Air.
Bhan. hateh	yarrow, beval calo, prabal		Arm.
Upur. aopur. barh	moshee, mossin, mucia		Above.
Jugna, jugana	apra	uabhr, barr	To awake.
Rag, bowus. chahar, bhush	ionadass		Ashes.
Pawng. sjuw. seo	tschar, djiplo	duslach	Apple.
Klro. tschoutj. cheeoonta	paluj		An ant.
Potdjna. au. acurbul, joog	Kirja	kirog, a beetle	Age.
Kulhari. Kooharee. P. tubur	buda, purana	aos (age) aorde (youth)	Axe, bill.
Kufra. ahunkaree. ghumundee (naughty)	tower, tober	tuath	Arrogant.
	gojemen	bomanach	
B.			
Dala, bough	Cormali	Cora-mala	Bagpipe.
Ruti, roti. khana	bui	duile, leaf	
Lohu, roodhir. lalee, foorkhee	mauro, manru, maro, malum	naran, maran, roisteen	Bread.
Beer, bhatee, bhrata	ralt, rat	Ceara, gal, ruadh, rata lal	Blood.
Nala	pal	brathair	Brother.
Peetul	pashoo, pannee	alt, nalt	Brook.
Kaulhe, pootle	porcherie	prais, umha	Brass.
Neel	Cauliban, Calo, Kela, Caili		Black.
Cheereah, taer	Yack	Nial	Blue.
Pitch, pet	Chericloe, tschirikh, tschirkli	Tir, fairth	Bird.
Bozu	Per	pit	Abdomen.
Pool, दौरा	Lavannah	Lionn, leann	Beer.
Dumm, Sans	Pargee	Droohad	Bridge.
Kuman, Kumtha, दौरा	Beval, dako	Daugh, deaith	Breath.
Ketab, bed,	Casht	Caman	Bow.
Bhur, nouka	bill, buchos	bed	Book.
Piteh, peet	bara	baris, naoi	Boat.
Jou	domoe	drom	Back.
Dah, pinda, gat }	give, gib, arpa	arbhar	Barley or Corn.
Kaeca }	trupo, teschta	Con, trusil	Body.
Bhar, biz	birda, paro	beart	Burden.
Janueor, pusoo, mirg	telel	tlas, piast	Beast.
Soour, burah	bikerish, krohila		A boar.
Tschali, dhari, chilka	borka, tshjika		Bark.
Darhee, clumbook, ankree	tschor	an grean, angrinn	Beard.
Pich, hware	gew, buhl	ar gul	Behind.
Tchalti, heea, heera, hirda	Kelin	Chiabh	Breast.
Chokra, lounda, baluk	tschabe, tshaivo	luan, balac	Boy.
Mes, tukhta, pat	pal	pal, pal-maire	A board.
Sutlj, sitka, puttee	dori	dora, a cord	A band.
Mukhen	Kil	macan	Butter.
Genden, gundhuk	Kaudini	ruimh	Brimstone.
Ghunta, Chourase	Kambana		A Bell.
Nunga, Khoola	nango	nochdi, calbh	Bare, bald.
Choura, chukla	bulhaila	bulin, a loaf,	Broad.
Panee, jul, water,	janosal, copanee	bane, baine, gil	Bath, water.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	C.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
P. Puneer	Kal, Kiral, Kiras		binid	Cheese.
Koorkee, unga	Chokwan, Koro		Cota, guna	Coat.
Nugar, lok	Soroose		ngar	City.
Gou, gae, goroo	grove, gouvine, guruni		gabnach, gach, ga	Cow.
Teleea, puthur, Cala	Shill, jangar, angar		eual, gual	Coal.
Koela, ungara	vongur		mionn gual	Cinder.
Dood-dan, dood-kush	tophis, con		mucan	Chimney.
Lurka, baluch	tarno, tshorwo, tshabo		lorga, balach	Child.
Kuch-buch			Coicht	Children.
Koolah, chandee	peng, colah			Crown.
t, Hooddee, t, horhee, Shomni	Chumbo			Chin.
Tshasee, Kafu, piala	Corow, bechari		pheala, bochla	Cup.
Tamba	Carcoban		ban	Copper.
Surmana	iasa vallacai		Sallabhnachd	to command.
Khat			Cateach	A couch.
Khuree-muttee	gereta		Criath	Chalk, Clay.
Kobee, couve	Shash		Cabaisto	Cabbage.
Kheera, Kukree	boharka		Cucumar	Cucumbar.
Gal, Kupol	tshan		leath-cheann { sulba, mouth }	Cheek.
	shin		H, same, sainre	Colour.
Khansee, Kassee	ghas		Casach	Cough.
Shikar, uher	Shegari, sidah,		Sealg, Siodhan	{ Chase
Bubadoor, mirza	ritteri		rideri, a Knight	{ Venison.
surdar, Omura	jammadar		Emir al amhra	Cuirassiers.
Muzzizam, girja, Kulesa	Kangri		Cong, Ceall	Commander.
Ishba, Kothee	isba		iosda	Church.
Benka, bankdar, tera	baugo		bogha (bow)	Chamber.
Diw, diu, dewus	{ davies, devus, dewes }		dia	Crooked.
				Day.
Kosta, Kookur, Sug	Yacal, Shokel		{ Sag, a bitch ; } { Cealab, a dog }	Dog.
Peena, to drink	peola		{ bainc, water } { ola, drink }	to drink
Mua, mala, mot, mordanee	{ Moloo, miraban } { Moola, moulay }		mord, muath Caucasus ; mard, malat muah,	Death. Dead.
	rattle, rattigin		reaght	Dark.
Dooara, dur	Wooda		doras	Night.
Tallaw, Khace	tallo		Cuihe	Door.
Tub-butter	Shetshhlee		tovandei	Dike.
Guddee, nigur, gul	beng		gul, gulin	Dove.
Nala	rundo		neal, naul	Dragon.
Minet	Sik		Tacan (undiligent)	Devil.
Gehera	gor		. manad	District.
Sukka	Shuk-rohilo		gair	Diligence.
			sic	Deep.
				Dry.
E.				
{ Awk, ank, nyn, chukh } naka	havoura, aok, yaka, yok		nuc, nuc-ceph, } roamek }	Eye.
Kawn, gosh	po, aran, yakan		Can Kan	Ear.
Kubhee, suda, nit	Sawjaw		gush, gusham (to hear)	ever,
Zemin	phovee, bhu, pube		midhe, siodh-aire	forever.
Ar. Oogab	Sanwee, bishothilo		budh	the Earth.
			Seavoc }	Eagle.
			asalion }	

HINDU.	CTPST.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Bhoun	yoene, cœneue		Eye brows.
Khana	challow	Kaihim	to eat.
Khutt	Leil	Ceit, dubh-ceit	Epistle.
Summutscha-ghur	Ker, baul	goir, house, guirm } inn }	House.
Sara, sumocho	zelo	slan, sar, sair	Entire.

## F.

Bap, bab, pita	ming, dad } dade, dadi }	daid	Father.
Teem, lu	pratcheely, flammus	loo, uloo, ulah	Flame.
p, hool, jobun	rogee, rosee	bla	A flower.
Bunsee, banaree	scholl	Ceol, music } bunsa, a reed }	A flute.
Dur, turs, d, hak	tresh	Eagla, treas, adversity	Fear.
Jungel	vash	fasac	Forest, wood.
Ag	yog, yag, yajo	agh, daigh	Fire.
Paon, pir, pug	peroe, piro	pre	Foot.
Unglee, ungoosht	Valashtee, Kurzhilo } Guzdo, gush }		Finger.
b, hura, poor	perdo	borr, complete	Full.
Mukhee		muscin	A fly.
Lurahee	Campan	luireach, a coat of mail	To light.
Punkh, pur	por, for		A feather.
Lamisu	hawlaw	lamhasach, lamh, (hand)	Feeling.
Jhunda	decklo	deighl, deighl greine } Fingal's standard }	A flag.
Much, hlee, muchee	matchee, maishu, mulu	meas, maighre	Fish.
Kohassa, Ke, Kol	Kaeddo	Ceo	Fog.
Moiden	akra	acah, maidhneas	Field.
Peeshe	puzham, pushan		A flea.
Batsheru	deruagresch	greah, a horse } dear-groah, a filley }	Foal.
Ghost	Mas	maise, mauseach	Flesh.
Bukhtee, b, hag	baxt	faghar, bhfhaghar	Fortune.
Khana, ahar	gaben	airear	Food.
Juta	lashilo, wingro	leath-sealbh	False.
Bhura, poora	perdo	pruite, bruite	Full.

## G.

Lourkhee, bandee, Kunea	assegne, assoinee } tshe, tschaj }	lorg, offspring } Cahne, virgin } Coint woman } bean, female }	Girl.
Urta	Chatto	ur	Green.
Khoda, dawa	davila, dewa, dewal &c.	duile, dia, covde	God.
Sun	Subaike, sonnai, sonnikey	San, Sanarc	Gold, golden.
Burra	bootse, baro	borr	Great.
Dyunt, dano	borwardo	dana, bold, impetuous	Giant.
Gas	Char, wira	gas, sprouting up	Grass.
Hulla, loukee	dudum	Caul	Gourd.
Bokh, bukra	ye-ckingingri, ketsha	boe	Goat.
Kele, notsch	Kelli-pen, tschilli- man	Clei, Cleas	Game, Sport.
Bhula, bala	latsho	ba, bil	Good.
Ghur	gur, Kir	gur, gurm (an inn)	House.
Pyther, Kaja, puhuree, tougree	Cumbo, cumbee bar, dombo	pri, bri, coic	Hill.
Ser	Sharrou, shoro, cheru	Saor (prince)	Head.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Gorra, ghassi	gree, gre, Kray	greah	Horse.
Sitar	manchouro	Sitern	Harp.
Sivurg, nubh	rayoo, rayoos, } shweto tscheross }	neamh	Heaven.
Seenga	Shing	Sinn	Horn.
Bal	bullow, bal, pal, boleau	foit, pholt	Hair.
Tuput, ugin	tattoo	teth	Heat.
Shahed, mud	gwju, mescho	meadh	Honey.
Sassa-Kurr	Shoshi	gearr-fhiadh	A Hare.
Dil, mun, Chit	Sie, si	dil, croith	Heart.
Gibah	geb	giobach, full of holes	Hole.
Sheggar	wezheskro	Sealgaire	Huntsman.
Barri	bharahilo	beart (a burden)	Heavy.

## I.

Neaik, choudre	bauro	barr	Judge.
Louh	fashta, trasht	luaidh (lead)	Iron.
Deuw, moret	sino, wocklee, idol dew		Iodhal.
Yukh, burf	Yeko, paha	oighre	Ice.
Deep	wesh	dubha, (aquatic)	Island.
Rao, b, hoom-pal, raja	Crellis	re, righ, fal	King.
Shabee, kili	Clerin, Clidin		Key.
Gunga	shanga	glun	Knee.
Kissa	ona	Kis, (a purse, a bag)	Knapsack.
Tshintu	prinjerdo	ainte	Known.
Likha, burun	liecaw, shiwawa	bar, a learned man	Letters.
Jeeoora, atma, bolta, heea	gava, geeva, life		Life.
Jhooth	ochano	gaol or gaoith	Lie.
Jhootha Kuhna	gochoben		To lye.
Bagh, singh	varess, baroping, oroshana		A lion.
Bolee, banee, bat	romana	bearla	Language.
Huffua, hunfee, Khil- Khlana	fallaw, favva		To laugh.
Runchik, ulop, tenee	bauro, tood, dood	tana	Lightning.
Puttee, palo, dul	patrin	duile	Leaf.
Kar, teha, dhoon, kam	butin	duah, curam	Labour.
Aftara, langur, b, hungta	bango	bacach, lang (ankle)	Lame.
Mukset kurna, oobarna bucha, i. teagna	muk	treigim	To leave.
Letna, lugna, purna	deletshedoman	laidhm	To lie down.
Rag, rag rung	Cala, been	Ceol, bin, rinke (dancing)	Music.
Ma, mama, muhtaree	die, dai	mathais	Mother.
Manoosh, manookh	rome, giorgeo, } manusch gadze }	modh, mogh	Man.
Man's	mass	mann	Meat, food.
Dhud, doodh	boot, but	did, the pap or teat	Much.
Kul, bihan	milo		Mule.
Bhor, turke	feizrile	feascir, trogain	Morning.
Gustur, doul	goswro	geis	Manner.
Chand	moonah, shon, Shemut, marascha	Cann, Ease	Moon.
dudul, Kuchar	talo, panj, poshi	Currach	Morass.
Duldul, chuhia, Keechur	Schik		Mud.
Gorree	graschni	greah	Mare, horse.
Moouh, mookh, anun	Mus, moi	men	Mouth.
Soodh, chet	rikeweh		Memory.
Bohtat, burhao	but, behjr	buidhean	Multitude.
Peyssa	lowe	piosa, lua	Money.
Henben, Kuthoor	tshori, ropen		Miserable.
Beah, bhonree	luno	lanavnas	Marriage.



## N.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Nak, nasika	nock, nak		Nose.
Ginte, t, ho, adadah	boot, gin	eod, nead	Number.
Nuk, nukh	nie	ionga	Finger-nail.
Nya, nuween	nevo	nua	New.
Iat, burun, log	baurisoki	luchd	Nation.
Ratah, rat	rattie, rattigin	reaght	Night.
Gerden, gulla	pehenda	gre	Nut.
Ghar, ghench, munka	men	muin, muinke	Neck.

## O.

Purana, puratum	Cashtan, puro	Cais-giallach	Old.
Garna, budhee, byl	gurub, gurni	bol, bolan	Ox.
Tel	tedon, corat		Oil.
Dureeae, Sumoondur	bauro, panee	deire	Ocean.
Ar. boolot	balano, mako		Oak.

## P.

Ral	boyocrot	bioth	Pitch.
B, hugut		buidheach	Religious.
Gooroo, beas	rashee	iriseach (religious)	Priest.
Mangna, munana	moughem		To pray.
Tschan, tukra, tuk	jek, otter	toct	A piece.
Gerrah,	gere, wormo	gaireah	Pit.
Prohlo	brohl		A pear.
Miritz	peperi		Pepper.
Urrizi, urdas	mangwa	Oraid	Petition.
Raja	raja	righ, reis	Prince.
Bulee, bulera	Sorio	balach (a giant)	Powerful.
Derkarhuna	pral	drugaire (a slave)	Poor.

## R.

Birrsat	briskanoe, breechind bhfhras, bior		Rain.
Nud, nuddee, gung, P. dureea	doriobh, doriove	deire (sea) ab (water)	River.
Rut	lolo	ruadh	Red.
Puhar.	bar	barr	Rock, hill.
Arsee, angutri, bank	vannuistry	bang	Ring.
Ruputna, rumana	yangaustry, gulderin		To run.
Dugur, rahbat, duhar	prasthem		Road.
Luhna, jsnaf	drom. podrum	rabhad	Reward.
Issekta, manee	pleisserdum	luacht	Respectable.
Tuketa	Schoker	muintreach	Rich.
	barwello	toiceach	

## S.

Dechib, sagur, Kala, } panee, duh }	bawro, panee } docyave, Sero }	baine, water	Sea.
Kam, dumun	cham, Kam, O Kam	Samh	Sun.
J, hool	Coulce	Caile, black	Soot.
Guwena, luhukna	givellan, giuwawa	gavam	To Sing.
Pureea, put	bar, bare		Stone.
Dhoro, Krjs, furoha } oonaa }	harrow, bauro, goro } chadum, }	cearbh	Sword.
Poal, nalee	pul, pas		Straw.
Choora, bhoor		bior, tobhair	Spring.
Bhyna, chan	pan, pen	bean (female)	Sister.

HINDU.	GYPSY.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Mitha	gudlo	Mitheac	Sweet.
Rappa	roop, rup		Silver.
Nag, sanp, surp	Sup Sep	nag	Serpent.
Duah	tooph, thu	deatach	Smoke.
Joota, chumaoon	chawan	Cuaran	Shoes.
Jee, Sut	lesco, thee		Soul.
Bheree-hara, palee	baucoringro	pal, aodhair	Shepherd.
Soogh, drisht	dicken	deacam, to see,	Sight.
Soongh	Shocmalee, Sung		Smell.
Savin	Sapuni	Siabhun	Soap.
Neend, vonghaee	Savanow, Sowawa	Suan	Sleep.
Pureh	brija	praiseach	Soup.
Nun, lon	loon, lon	malah	Salt.
Greekhum	tattabeen	teth (heat)	Summer.
Bull	barrow, bala	bull	Sand.
T.			
Yeh, ee	acavat	é, an é so, é is this he?	This.
Woh, oos, jis	acavo	Eisean	That.
Ngur, poor	burgau	nagar, brugh } <i>purin pattan</i> }	Town.
Ral	Chinabar		Tar.
Jeebh	Chive, tshib	Gobhan	Tongue.
Gurij, ghahur	godüe	Cruim, gruim	Thunder.
Lor, ansoo	panee, swa	baine, a drop	Tears.
Sanch, such, sut	techeben		Truth.
Rookh, gach, brich	rook	rus, trees	Tree.
Dant	dennam, dant		Tooth.
Ponch, dum	pori		Tail.
Tschik, Suwad } rooch, chat }	Sik		Taste.
Tschik-routee, pal } deru }	tschater, chrer	dair (house)	Tent, roof.
Tschur, chor, tehug	tschor	taigh, taghad	Thief.
Jheena, putla, Schano	Sano	tana, sheang	Thin.
Lena	lawa	lamham	To take.
U.			
Gauw, gaon, gram	gave, gál, yegag	graijen, grainse	Village.
Tschekerin, Hunnya	tschek	coinne (a woman)	Virgin.
Serinda, Sarungee	Schetra		Violin.
W.			
Panee, neer	panee, panj	baine, noir	Water.
Beiar, bæ, bad	beval, bear, balwal	bad, ansa	Wind.
Rindee, istree	romee		Woman.
Mud	moul	mead (wine of honey)	Wine.
Bat, buchun, byn } barta }	Ohamo, lab, alo	labhra (speech) ol (saud) breithr (a word)	Words.
Tutta, tat, gorm	tattoo	teith gorm	Warm.
Seetkal, jarkal, himunt	shillaloe		Winter.
Khurkee, guwachu	Khowe		Window.
Luhur, bhera	bawro, panee, pleme	bear, bear- } esc, buaice }	Wave.
Dane	bollopen, boliboo	domhan	World.
Kuah, Koha, baolee	hanik	bual (water)	A well.
Ginn, genhoon	yiv		Wheat.
Kencheva, Keet		Caireog	Wax.
Ojr, oon, roan	puzhum	roin (hair of animals)	Wool.
Para	Sentinella	Phaire	Watching.
Kassi, Khusum, walee	gadai	Caise (love)	Wife.

The Egyptian language may be regarded as very ancient and as grown up from such a monosyllabic base in Asia as we see now presented in the Chinese. It is mainly preserved in the Coptic. The following Egyptian words are taken from the *Nomenclatura Egypto-Arabica* of Kircher and from Dr. Woide's *Coptic Lexicon*. Agreeing to such an extent with the list of Irish words given it may be regarded as pointing to a connection of the ancestors of the ancient Irish with Egypt under the historic designation of Scythic or Shepherd Kings : —

EGYPTIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Ath	ath	negative particles.
Aiai	ai	increase.
Al	ail	a stone.
Amol	mai liom	would that.
Amre	amir, Arabic Emir	A prince.
Amre	amra	A pounder, brayer.
An	an	neg. particle.
Ani	an	beauty.
Anoni	ana	luxury.
Aoun	onn	A troublesome thing.
Aono	urra	A pawn, pledge.
Aouon	Uinneog, a window,	To open.
Areh	aire	A servant.
Areghj	earrach	A terminus.
Aghjan	gan	without.
Arika	aireac	A lament.
Aso	cas boloid	To indulge; indulgence.
As ebol }	ead	Negative prefix.
Ad	casboloid, absolutio	
Bol, solutio	bann	Ugly, foul.
Bol ebol, mitijare }	buathas, victory.	
Ban	aoi	person.
Bots, war	ar doi	morning.
Quoi	aish, to punish	
Adooui	eis	multitude.
Ash, to crucify	ais	to hang, ponder.
Ashai	bocan, house	
Ashi	boctain, edifice.	
Baki, city,	baris	a skiff, little ship,
Bari	bois-ceil, a wood cow.	
Bashi, cow	bes, brass money.	
Besnid of brass,	bial	
Bel, water,	buas	naked.
Bel-ebol, to become liquid }	barr, bearra, heart,	a basket.
Besh	bach, long-back	shipwreck.
Bir	beac, buacal	serving.
Bighji	beac-urna	a maid servant.
Bok	gallun, a sparrow.	
Boki	ar abo	So apart.
Gallon, a bat,	ail	A stag.
Ebol	eamh, eamhainsi	Science, knowledge.
Eioul	eamanmaca, school,	
Emi	college,	
Mok, mek, study	dod	hand.
Dod	ar	he responds.
Erous, a response,		

## EGYPTIAN.

Dom, to adhere

Erfel, temple

Erto, a cubit

Ershon

Esic, elated, proud,

Eimine, mine, sign,

Ermeine, to sign,

Timeini, to expose to view,

Eida

Ephleou

Enouoi, a course

Esho,

Tiehrei

Eghjeou, a ship

Thaibes, victory

Thal

Thelcl, thou killest

Thas

Thoud, to bring a crowd together,

Thou

Thoud, to congregate,

Thod, wine mixed with water,

Thos, end, terminus

Thems, to bury,

Iten

ibi, to be thirsty,

Ioh, ioch,

Iot, of barley

Püch

KADMIS, the Egyptian mulberry  
whence

Kaldas, sanctity,

Kame

Kelghje

Kadhed

Kas

Kat, intellectual,

Kel kil

Loghi

Ma

Met

Muniak-espe

Mokh

Nebi, to swim }

Neph, a sailor }

Neb, lord

Ntoms, thou baptizest

Pi-mounhou, the region,

Las, pilas,

Chukon

Ooch

Ke

Lemne, a maritime port

Tomi

Rouchi, night, evening,

Sobi, esobi, holy,

Niphoui,

Niat, intelligence,

Os

Oeish

## IRISH.

dom-lac, coagulated  
milk.

aifrion, a sacrifice.

ortog, the little cubit.

earasaid

eas, easlabra

mionn, sign letter.

tioma, a testament.

tiomana, to trade.

iod

feilios

naoi, a ship.

Uas, Os

tria

uighe, nigh-inge,

taibh, taibh real,

tul

teal-mac

tais

tuidme, crowd,

tua, doi,

teide, a congregation.

toide, Eng. toddy,

tus, beginning.

teim, death.

ith

ibh, a drink.

eag

ith, wheat.

pocan

Cadmus

ceildei,

Cama

Kealg

Keadfaoi

keas

keacht

keol, keolin

leig

mai, mai dhuin

mith

muinke

muc

naoibhe, a ship

naobh, holy

tomam, to baptize.

mumham, a region.

lis

calchne, caine

eag

keo

Luimneach, the port of  
Limerick.

tuam

reagh, night.

{ Eascob, a bishop.

{ Sob-sgeul, sacred history

neamh,

nath, science.

Os

aos

## ENGLISH.

A garment, vest.  
Proud words.The Passover.  
vanity.above.  
noble, protector.  
a fleet.  
Laurel of victory.  
a hill.a particle.  
similitude.  
conspiracy.  
wind, north wind.

also a joint farm.

land.

the moon.

daemon.  
the inventor of letters.consecrated.  
black.  
an angel.  
prudence.  
to break.  
intelligence.  
a ringing instrument.  
to cease.  
give to us.  
negative.  
chain or collar.  
affliction.tongue.  
nature.  
the moon, queen of the sea.  
also.

a village.

heaven.

much.  
time.



## EGYPTIAN.

Nout, God

Oued a priest }  
Esoueb a " }

Ouro, King

Ouone

Outouet

Ohi, a flock, herd

Rako, to ascribe

Ran,

Rad, t' rad

Reim

Remnakat

Res, south

Re, sun

Red, rod, to arise,

Re, to make

Red,

Ribe, a skiff

Rokh, conflagration,

Sabe, wise, sbo, doctrine

Sai,

Sad, to project,

Sack, a scribe,

Schai, a letter,

Se

Seini, a physician

Dako, to perish,

Damo, to show,

Seth, powerful, strong,

Deu

Phachairi

Phette

Phro, winter

Pheriou, splendid

Pholph

Phoir

Phorgh

Phodh

Op

Shai, the nose

Shad, to cut,

She

Sheebol

Sheri, a son, or daughter,

Shligh

Shai, extension

Shit

Shala

shiol

Shne

Shok, to dig,

## IRISH.

nodh, supreme, most  
noble.

Eascob, a bishop.

aire, prince, Arab, har.

aine

uatat, uathath

Avi, flock, aoire, pastor.

racam, to write.

roinim

troid

reim oilerac

reimnacht

reis,

re, moon.

rad, horizon.

re, made.

reit, idea, species.

rab, an oar.

rog, pyre.

soib.

sai

saidoir, a projector of  
arrows.

sach, to write.

sce, a little book.

se

Seanam, to medicate.

deag, death.

Oide, damoide, preceptor.

Saoth, a generous man,

Sethir, Sethreach,

strong man; Sithbe a  
a leader.

dea

pocaire,

feite

fuat

forai na grian, the sun  
rising.

bual

foir

fairke

foda

upta

sai-run, the nose, run,  
the face.

sadoir, to measure.

sae, wood, saor, a car-  
penter, fabricator of

wood,

shuibhal, to go out.

shar, a son, sear-each,  
son of a horse,

horseman.

sleigh

si, whence sinim,

sceith

salach

siol

sen

sok, a colter.

## ENGLISH.

a lute or guitar.  
greenness.

to please.

a foot.

indigena, incola.

endowed with intellect.

north.

fulness.

the third person.

wind.

poisonous.

celestial arch.

frigid.

to speak.

sleep.

division.

sculpture.

chance, lot.

the colter of a plough.

to cause extension.

vomi

sad.

family, nation.

a net.

EGYPTIAN.	IRISH.	ENGLISH
Shot, hard	sead, adamant.	
Shom, heat	Samh, the sun, samhra,	heat.
Eh an shom, beginning of spring	samh fuinn, the end of autumn.	summer,
Phikohi, a weaver's cylinder,	Sigheach, whence Sig-him to weave, Sighe-doir, a weaver.	
Phos	fos	to be much.
Phota, anus, podes,	putog, rectum.	
Chello	cailleach	old.
Chellod	calladh	a valley.
Ched-ched, to investigate } to scrutinize }	cead, a judge.	
Cheibi, covering, roof,	caban, house.	
Chok, to militate,	battle, war.	
Chem chem, consultation,	seim-loir	a counsellor.
Hel, halai, to fly,	eol-air, a hawk, Ealan, a swan.	
Sihap, to judge	seibti, a judge.	
Chesh	ceasam	to torment.
Hli	eile	anyone.
Hop, chop, nuptials,	coib, dowery.	
Hra, chra	cru	appearance.
Hob	obar	work.
Hot, to navigate	cot	a barge, ship.
Hot	cait-se	it behoves.
Ghal, to deposit with anyone,	geall, a pledge.	
Gho, to announce,	goch-aire,	master of ceremonies.
Ghaph	gamh-ra	winter.
Ghin, action	ghnim, to act.	
Ghinnan,	gni	appearance.
Ghoi	Uige	a ship.
Ghiphe	gabh	to possess.
Ghro	cro	victory, spoil.
Flak, supplication,	fleacht,	adoration.
Gratia, religion,	garait,	holy.

The Egyptian and Arabic Nomenclator, whence many of those words are derived, was found by Petrus a Valle, in the year 1615, near Cairo, in the hands of some peasants, who did not know its value. Peter transmitted it to Rome where Kircher found it and published it with a Latin translation annexed. By Peter's account it contains many old Egyptian words, sacred and profane, now grown obsolete to the Egyptians themselves; but he could form no idea of when it was compiled. It is certainly an interesting and valuable document and is often referred to by Dr. Woide in his Coptic Dictionary. In itself or in the works in which it is embodied it doubtless greatly assisted Champollion in making out his hieroglyphical Dictionary, &c., the latter being really the foundation for what we have in the way of Egyptian lexicography in Bunsen's works.

CIRCASS	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Yada	daid	father.
Yana	nain	mother.
T, ha	Th-mor	God.
Yeelay	eile	people.
Mak	mac	voice.
Chassa	ceas	love.
Digga, Dweega, Ddaga,	Dagh-dae	sun.
Maza, Mazay	mios, month	moon.
Gjee	gaeth, pron. Gwee	wind.
Jeem-akva	gamhra	winter.
Khao	Go	Sea.
Ashka	ei-kir	hill.
Kooa	cuh	valleys.
Ritter	ridlre, reataire	a knight.

In the country of the Caucasus, in that space between the Black and the Caspian Seas, there are said to be a great number of dialects, according to some there are in Dioscurias alone about three hundred, all, however, dialects of the same language. We find very little about this country in the Roman authors, excepting what they learned from Pompey's officers, who entered it from Armenia, fought the Albanians and Iberians and then advanced in pursuit of Mithridates as far as the mouth of the Phasis, where they met Servilius with the Roman fleet. In the reign of the empress Catherine of Russia Prof. Guldenstaedt was sent to Mount Caucasus with orders to traverse these wild regions in various directions; to trace the rivers to the sources; to take astronomical observations; to examine into the natural history of the country; and to collect vocabularies of all the dialects he might meet with so as to form a general classification of all the nations comprehended between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas. The result of his researches shows that there are in this district of country at least seven distinct nations; each speaking as he says, a different language. These are: —

1. The Tartars.
2. " Abchas.
3. " Circassians.
4. " Ossi or Osseti.
5. " Kisti.
6. " Leguis.
7. " Georgians.

Not only in the languages but the history of these peoples there are many correspondences found with the ancient Irish which it is not necessary to specify here.

The Osseti are called Cusha by the Circassians; their language has some analogy with the Persian; that of one tribe seems to be a dialect of that language. One of the districts is called Archoti. Their history is little known, as likewise that of the Kisti, whose dialects are said to have but little analogy with any known language. The country of the Lesguis is called by the Georgians indifferently Lesguistan and Daghestan. Guldenstaedt has remarked in their language eight different dialects and has classed their tribes in conformity to this observation.

OSSI.	IRISH.	ENGLISH.
Tsaoo	Tuiseach, originator } creator }	God
Feeday	Athair, Arm	Father.
Arv	Earc	Heaven.
Mad, Emmad-Madaf	Maidh, Maidhean, Virgin.	Mother.
Moeë, Emmaee	Mogh, a man, husband	Husband.
Oos, Koos, Gos	Gushen, to hear; Eist, to hear.	Ear.
Ooney	Aim, eye,	Sight.
Kalas	Cal,	Voice.
Nom	Ainm	Name.
Ekkar, keery	Eigh, gar	Cry.
Mard	Marbh, Mort	Death.
Khoor, kor	Cearo	Sun.
Meyee, Ma-yeh	Mi, month	Moon.
Bahad	Bad	Wind.
Wahran	Fhearain	Rain.
Eehk	Oichreog, frost; Oic- har, show.	Ice, Hail.
Bon	Ban, sun	Day.
Az, Ans	Aes, Aes, an Aze } An, Eang, a year. }	Year.
Foord	Fearg, sea, bay,	Sea.
Keer	Crin	Clay.
Khokh	Coic	Mountain.
Buyl	Bull	Bull.
Art,	Art, God; Arc, sun	Fire.
Tsah-kar	Teas	Heat.
Ooleyao, Arzond	All, Ard	Height.
Door	Dorn, a sling-stone	Stone.
Khas	Cusa, sacred grass,	Grass.
Ballas	Bile	Tree.

KISTI.	ENGLISH.	IRISH.
Dyaly, Dyala	God	Duille, Duilleamh, Duilleamhain.
Da	Father	Daid, dad.
Naana, nana	Mother	Naln, Naing.
Ya	Son	Ua.
Syee	Wife	Seite.
Naakh	People	Neach, any one.
Korto, Kartay	Head	Gart.
Koodj	Hair	Ceas.
Gwaala	Elbow	Gual, shoulder.
Kog, kok	Foot	Cos.
Gooala	Knee	Glun.



# CAUCASIA.

KISTIL.	ENGLISH.	IRISH.
Tehk	Bone	Tec.
Garee	Cry	Gar.
Oon	Pain	Hone, grief.
Neets	Force	Neart.
Malyk	Sun	Mole.
Bute, Boosh	Moon	The father of Budha was regent of the moon. Sir Wm. Jones.
Syed	Star	Sidh, Siderial Genius.
Fooo	Wind	Fo, Fa.
Deb, Den	Day	Dia.
Soorey, Oorioo	Morning	Soir, Oir, Aurora.
Boosoo, Buyta	Night	Be.
Seyeery	Evening	Siar, West, setting sun.
Lettech, Latta	Earth	T, lacht; Arab, Latat.
Foort	Sea	Fearg.
Ker	Clay	Cria.
Beerd	Mountain	Braid, Braid-Albain.
Taoa	Heat	Te.
Lattch	Breadth	Leithead.
Toolah, kera	Stone	Doileog, Carraig, car.

Georgia comprehends the ancient Iberia, Colchis, and perhaps a part of Albania; as the province of Caket, in the old Georgian language, is said to have been named Albion.\* They have received their present name from their attachment to St. George, the tutelary saint of these countries.

“The whole country is so extremely beautiful that some fanciful travelers have imagined they had there found the situation of the garden of Eden. The hills are covered with forests of oak, ash, beech, chestnuts, walnuts and elms, encircled with vines, growing perfectly wild, but producing vast quantities of grapes. From these is annually made as much wine as is necessary for the yearly consumption; the remainder are left to rot on the vines. Cotton grows spontaneously as well as the finest European fruit trees. Rice, wheat, millet, hemp and flax are raised on the plains almost without culture. The valleys afford the finest pasturage in the world; the rivers are full of fish, the mountains abound in minerals and the climate is delicious.”

“There are in Georgia considerable numbers of Jews, called in the language of the country Uria. Some have villages of their own and others are mixed with the Georgian, Armenian and Tahtar inhabitants, but never with the Osseti. They subsist principally by agriculture and raising of cattle, very few of them being employed in trade. Their language is divided into three dialects, the Car-

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\* The most eastern province is Caket. Iberia or Hibernia and Albania signify western and eastern respectively. The Guelis of Erin and of North Britain trace their ancestry back to those parts. Many examples of local names corresponding to the ancient Irish might be adduced from those regions.

duel, the Imretian and the Suaneti, which appear as extraordinary as those of the Lesguis :—

## VOCABULARY.

	CARDUEL.	IMRETIAN.	SUANETI.	IRISH.
God	Gmerty	Horomti	Gherbet.	
Heaven	Tsah	Tsah	Tsah	Tsaoo in Ossi.
Father	Mamma	Mooma	Moo	Mo, a man.
Mother	Dedda	Deeda	Dee	Did, a teat.
				Heb. Dad, Mamma.
Son	Shylly	Skooa	Yezzag	Siol, race, son.
Daught	Kaly	Ozoory	Zoonah	Caile, girl.
Girl	Kally	Ozoory	Soorag	Caillin
Sun	Myeh	Bja	Meej	Bagh.
Moon	Mtwary	Toota	Mij	Mi, mios, month.

On what is determined to be a very improper choice of words, made by Guldenstaedt from the fourteen dialects of the Caucasus, there are forty-three similar in letter and sense to the old Irish. The sun, for example, in the Circassian is Ddaga, in the old Gaelic Daghdæ, corresponding to the Dughda-rath of the burnt chariot, or the Phœbus of the Brahmins. In the Ossi it is named Koor, in Old Gaelic Kearo, which latter is exchangeable with Daghdæ, and is the same with the Arabic and Persian Koor, Khur, or Khawar. In the Antshong dialect of the Lesguis the sun is named Bauk, in old Gaelic Bagh, which is an old Persian word, as we learn from Moses Choronensis, as follows: “When the Persians conquered Armenia the mountain on which they lighted the perpetual fire was called Baghaven, from Bagh, fire, the sun and Aven a mountain.” (Hist. Armenia I. I. c. 74.) Aven is the old Gaelic Amhan, a river, which we see here signifies a mountain. The word Amun in the Egyptian and Hebrew has for one of its meanings a pillar; but it is evident that in ancient times it was a name for the river Nile, and of a high place or mountain as well as of the God worshiped on that high place, namely the sun. So the word Nile was not only a name for the river but for the sun, for which another equivalent, well known form was Sechar, the Hebrew Seir or Hor, a name applied to a mountain, a high, or rough place, to a temple, and to the sun. It is the same with the Gaelic, Siar, and Kearo, and with the Arabic and Persian Khur, Khawar, as above. And so an Egyptian name for the Nile, Ameiri (Am-iara), is a precise equivalent to the Gaelic and Hindu Nial, as meaning blue.

As to the origin of the people called Hunns I may say that the

component Hind in Hindu is evidently the same with the name Hunn. That the Hunns were of Indo-Scythic origin appears plainly in a passage of Mr. Wilkin's Asiatic Researches (vol. I, p. 136), where it speaks of that people as having possessed "the Seagirt throne," pointing to Scythia-Lymirica or Maritime Scythia. Hindu=Sindu=Cindu=Cunn=Hunn=in full Gaelic Cathan-dhaebh pronounced Con-yu, Conn or, with the S prefixed, Schan-dhu=Scandin in Scandinavia. There must in an early age have been a great emigration of those people northwards from Hindostan. These are the people who as well as their distant kindred, the Goths, so effectually assisted to the downfall of the Roman empire.

#### FARTHER AS TO ROBERT BRUCE AND THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF STEWARD ; THE SHAWS, &C.

The house of Steward, as said before, was a continuation of the line of regular, hereditary Gaelic Kings. In the interval between Alexander III. and James I., or for two generations, Scotland was much disturbed by invasions led by the Norman Kings of England. For a period during this interval William Wallace, who did not claim kinship with the royal stock, strove very effectually for the freedom of his country. The history of Scotland, therefore, for these two generations, exhibits a very unsettled state of affairs and has been written by Fordun, Barbour, de Wyntoun and others rather in the style of the historical romance than in that of history proper. The picture given of Robert Bruce is much like that given in the Scriptures of King David and by some historians he has been compared to Judas Maccabeus and Joshua. In this historical romance John Baliol and Robert Bruce are two names standing for the same man at different periods and in different circumstances. Of this man the Gaelic name was Aengus. In like manner Edward Baliol, David Bruce and Robert III, were three names given in the romance to the son and successor of this Aengus, whose real, Gaelic name was Eoghan, in English, John.

The critic perceives that at James I, the regular history may be said to commence, although the records of his reign and those of the reigns after him, even down to that of James VI, are much intermixed with the romantic. John de Fordun, frequently before mentioned, was the author of this continued historical romance down

to the death of James I: and this romantic style was practiced by Bowar, his continuator, by the author of the Auchinleck Chronicle and by many other historical writers, English as well as Scotch, to a greater or less degree. Buchanan appears to have adopted all those romantic tales as if real history without using that discrimination which is the duty of the historian to exercise. And how comes it to pass even at the present day that the size of the book is too often considered rather than the facts it contains, although in the case of some books one or a *few* simple facts being known overthrows all the theories and leaves no use for the volume. Even at the present day the man who cleverly concocts and arranges his plot and thereon builds up a large volume of historical romance, having the appearance of real history, is by the populace who never criticise, and even by many of our so called critics pronounced the man of "ability," the "author," though he be in reality only the author of fiction or of a false representation of history. A scene in the history for example represents Bruce as slaying "the red John Comyn" and as being seconded or assisted in that act by a chief named Kirkpatrick. But the chronology did not allow any of the septs of the Kirkpatrickes afterwards to discover which chief of that name it could have been who did that fatal deed, and the real state of the case being known shows that in this presentation there may be more allegory than history.

But the fair historical romance has, of course, the merit of being set forth in such a way as to leave no doubt in the mind of the honest critic that it is largely of a fictitious character; that is, the style and statement enables the critic to clearly perceive that the author intends to indicate, however obscurely, that although his literary production is founded on facts, namely, the facts of the history proper, it yet is, as to its great bulk, of a fictitious character. In the case, for example, of Robert Bruce, who is said to have been grandson of a Robert Bruce, who was a competitor for the crown in 1286 A. D., after the death of Alexander III, and is yet said to have died in 1329 at the age of 55 years one easily perceives that the statement of three generations in that period is improbable, although two might seem fairly implied. Secondly, in his expedition to the Western Isles in 1315 Bruce is represented as accompanied by his son-in-law, the Steward of Scotland. This, if of literal intpretation, would imply the existence of four successive generations in 29 years, viz, "Bruce, the competitor" in 1286;



Bruce, "the hero," his grandson, and the daughter of the latter represented here as a wife in 1315. Nay, more, there are five generations implied for the time, for in this same year, 1315-16, this wife, the daughter of Robert Bruce, is represented as having given birth to a son and as having herself died almost immediately after having been delivered.\* Here then we have five successive generations represented in the space of thirty years after the death of Alexander III, (1285-1316), at which age (thirty years) some of our young men are yet mere boys.

Moreover, David Bruce, the son and successor of Robert, the historians represent as having been married at the age of 5 years, his bride, Joanna of England, being in her 7th; and this marriage takes place in 1329, the year in which Robert Bruce dies. The youthful couple then go to France and abide there till 1342, when they return to Scotland. During this period there is, of course, represented an interregnum. Speaking of the return of David and his wife from France, Tytler says: "The period immediately following the arrival of David in his dominions, till we reach the battle of Durham (1342-46) is undistinguished by any event of importance." This means, in my understanding, that the father of the man David was yet alive and in place. The battle of Durham, which was a real battle, and not a battle merely on paper, as that, for example, so-called, of Dupplin, of Halidon Hill, or of the "Clans of Scotland," was fought in 1346 A. D., which clearly appears to have been the first year of the second successor of Alexander III as king of Scotland. King Eoghan (here called David II, and elsewhere Robert III), the grandson and second successor of Alexander III, now came into his father's position and appears immediately to have prepared for war with Edward III, of England. And to show how the true chronology and succession fit each other here I quote from the "History of Mackintosh and Clan Chathan," p. 78, as follows: "After a long chiefship, marked by important events in the history of the clan and the country at large, Angus died in 1345, in the 77th year of his age." It then enumerates seven sons of Angus as follows: William (first, of course, because through him descends the house of Mackintosh, of which the historian particularly treated; but he was evidently a younger son of Angus); John (Eoghan); Angus Og (junior); Mal-

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Tytler Hist. of Scot. 1. 304-6; Fordun a Goodal, Bk. XII. c. 25; Hailes II. 81. \*

colm and Ferchard, both killed at the battle of Durham in 1346; Duncan and Shaw; besides two daughters. Now, this Angus, whom the History of Mackintosh represents as the sixth chief of that clan, was, as a matter of fact, a son of Ferchard, whom the historians enter as Alexander III. But although he were the legal king of Scotland, according to the ancient constitution of that country, we can hardly say he was a *de facto* king, for the history gives us to understand that in his youth he was kept out of his properties and rights by the Comyns (people of his own ancestral stock evidently, the men in power, as the name in Gaelic imports). And in 1296 A. D., we know, Edward I, of England, overthrew the old government and compelled the thanes and chief men of the kingdom to swear fealty to himself as the superior king of Scotland. In this condition of a sub-kingdom Scotland remained until well on in the life of Eoghan; *i. e.*, David II; *i. e.*, Robert III, or say till about 1357, altogether for about 60 years. This is true in general,—the story of the Scottish success at Bannockburn and others such, which appear to relieve the dark shades of the picture, and doubtless did, to some extent, relieve the country from oppression,—to the contrary notwithstanding.

From this period the historians, whether through policy or otherwise, have given the Saxon appellation of Steward to the kings of Scotland, and this appellation has become the surname of some families descended from Eoghan, *i. e.*, Robert III and from his brothers, the sons of Walter, the Stewards so called, but really of Angus, son of Ferchard.

But, on the other hand, it is equally true that Scotland did not continue long in such a completely subject state to the English Normans as did Wales and Ireland. The Scotts appear to have endeavored to oust those oppressors whenever opportunity offered.

The history of McIntosh represents Angus as having married the heiress of Clan Conn (Gaelic Chathan) in 1291 A. D., when he was 23 years of age, and as having resided in Tor Castle, in Lochaber, from that time till 1308, consequent upon "the Comyns" having seized upon his lands and several of his hereditary residences, among others mentioned, the castle of Inverness. He then removes with his wife to the Castle of Loch an Eilan in Rothiemurchus, and his removal across the island to this place the history connects with the expedition of Bruce against "the Comyns." Its words in this connection are: "The power of the Comyns increasing, Angus

saw himself unable to oppose them, and remained in Lochaber till 1308, when King Robert Bruce surprised and overthrew the garrison of Inverness." Such is the way the information is conveyed; but it is plain, first, that Aengus himself is the Robert Bruce who "overthrew the garrison of Inverness;" and secondly, that he is a Comyn; for the castle of Rothiemurchus, to which he now moved, was one of the well known residences of the Comyns, *i.e.* of the ruling family, until a comparatively recent date; and Aengus himself was the ancestor of all the kings of Scotland who came after him excepting James VI. The castle of Rothiemurchus, to which Angus now removed, was, in that age, one of the principal royal residences, which would indicate Angus to have been now, to some extent, recognized as king. We learn from the History of Mackintosh, that it was a residence of the father and grand-father of Angus and of the descendants of Aengus in the Seventh degree. Under the head of Ferquhard, its 5th chief, it says: "Before he became chief, he lived in Rothiemurchus." After he became king, he, of course, would remove his residence to the castle or palace of Sterling, which was, in that age, the seat of the executive of the kingdom. In Rothiemurchus, the history represents Ferquhard as beset on all sides by the Comyns, much as we find King David to have been by the Philistines. But the Origines, properly inquired into, show the Captorim to have given that celebrated line of Kings to Judah, of whom David (Duff) was chief; and, in a similar way, that the "Comyns" were the royal stock of Scotland, of which country this Ferquhard was a king, under the title of Alexander III.

Here, then, we find Angus and his father residing in the castle of Rothiemurchus; but the History of Mackintosh does not represent William, that son of Aengus, through whom the Mackintoshes descend, as having had his residence in Rothiemurchus, but at "Connage in Petty," a place deemed of much less importance; and this circumstance would, on the whole, indicate, first, the said William to have been a younger son of Angus; and, secondly, that the family, so-called, of Mackintosh, branched out from the royal stock of Scotland, with the son of that man called, in the history, Robert Bruce. To the first son of Angus, namely, Eoghan, the heir to the kingdom, Rothiemurchus would pertain as his private residence.

The reader will easily perceive, from the whole exhibit, that to

think of Bruce as any other man than Angus himself would be nonsensical; otherwise we have the hero and king, Robert Bruce, campaigning through the country, having as his chief business to conquer the principal royal residences of the kingdom, and deliver them over to Angus and his fair wife, the heiress of Clan Conn, to live in.

It would not be proper to conceal that the History of Mackintosh represents Angus as having been born before the marriage of his parents, and, he being the only son left by Ferquhard, or Alexander III., this might have been the cause why some of his own family, uncles, cousins, etc., opposed his elevation. But under his name of Robert Bruce we see his elevation, in the minds of the Scottish people, to the position which he claimed, that of the rightful king of Scotland, while, at the same time, we behold the downfall of his opponents. Under the name of Robert Bruce, he is thought of as a Norman; but this he could have been only in the sense of his mother's family of the Isles, with whom he was brought up, being reputed Normans. The history aforementioned represents Angus as having been present with Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn, and as very effectually assisting to the achievement of that celebrated victory: It also represents him as campaigning into England in 1318-19, in company with Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the "Good Sir James Douglas." The historians (see Tytler 1, p. 319-20), record an expedition of the Scots into England in 1318 A. D., from which they are said to have returned with great booty and a large number of prisoners; and they record another in 1319, which they represent also as resulting favorably to the Scots. In relation to this latter, Tytler (1, p. 329) says: "Three hundred Ecclesiastics fell in this battle, from which circumstance, and in allusion to the prelates who led the troops, it was denominated, in the rude pleasantries of the times, the Chapter of Mytton." There might, in that age, have been at times some very effectual raids made over the borders by powerful parties, who were closely attached to the old hereditary government of the country and discontented with the Norman-English claim of superiority. But that claim did then exist, and was enforced in so far as those foreign potentates could continue to enforce it.

That there may have been a chief then living in Scotland whose name was Robert Bruce, is not here either asserted or denied; but there never was a king of Scotland of that name and all that has



been written concerning a king so called, either referred to a man of another name, who was son to Alexander III, or is fiction made out of whole cloth, all recorded Excommunications, Papal Bulls, etc., and all grants to religious foundations by a king so called on paper, to the contrary notwithstanding. When, therefore, it is said in the book of pedigrees, edited by Mr. Chas. F. Browning, and published by Porter & Coates, of Philadelphia, that President Andrew Jackson, for example, was descended from King Robert Bruce, through Robert II, (Stewart) it simply says that he was descended from Angus, the son of Alexander III, whom the historical Romancists have written down as Robert Bruce and Robert II: And when it is said therein, also, that the Confederate General, Robert E. Lee, and his nephew, the present Governor of Virginia, descended from the Stewart Kings it simply says that they descend from Alexander III, through his son, Aengus, and from the house, so called, of Comyn.

In the Historical Romance \* we meet continually with characters in whose varying circumstances, states and conditions we take a deep interest. We accompany them here and there participating in or making our own their joys and their sorrows. And it is, perhaps, as well that all are not disposed to be critics; for being such they would be likely to take pains to acquire a knowledge of the situation or nature of the subject beforehand, and so, reflecting how easy it is to create and to destroy, by ones or by multitudes, merely on paper, would have their interest in the ideal subjects greatly diminished and might take too great an interest in politics, or spend too much of their time, lawyer-like, in ungraciously criticising one another.

In all romances or novels there has to be a plot and the invention and arrangement of this plot constitutes much of the author's work. In the execution of this plot the author is a creator absolute, originating or destroying at pleasure single ones or multitudes. The historical romance is supposed to be founded on real history of which we have an illustration in this which we are now considering.

In the names John Baliol, Robert Bruce and the High Steward of Scotland, we have three designations of the same man and have not yet arrived at his baptismal name. Under the name of John

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\* On the subject of the Historical Romance, I proved to be a prize essayist in a competition many years ago in Union College.

Baliol, he yields too easily to Edward 1st his countries' liberties and his personal rights, and consequently the name John is, in the after times, deemed unauspicious and unpopular among the Scotch. Under the name of Robert Bruce he is the self-denying champion who goes forward in his countries' cause, fights her battles and to some extent, proves her savior; consequently, in the aftertimes, the name Robert is, among the Scotch, deemed auspicious and popular. While under the name Aengus, which seems to have been an equivalent for the name Duff or MacDuff, he appears as the "dark horse" of the genealogical lists. Aengus, however, appears in this case to have been the baptismal name, but some think this exchangeable with the form Dunchadh, *i. e.*, Eachdhuin, Eachan or John.

Edward Baliol and David Bruce (*i. e.* David II.,) and Robert III, may be thought of as different designations for the same son and successor of Aengus, whose baptismal name was Eoghan (John). Under these different names there are different ideas entertained of the man; the name Baliol is, of course, desecrated, while under the names of David II, and Robert III, his memory is respected and his real history is mostly given. That there may have been a powerful chief in Scotland in that age of the name of Baliol this discussion does not either assert or deny; but there never was a King of Scotland of the name of Baliol.

#### THE SHAWS, &c.

Some might think the Shaws, since they have sprung from the same stock as Mackintosh, were of descent from Shaw, son of the above Aengus; but their history does not ascribe to the clans Shaw a descent from him, but deduces their name from Seach, a great grandson of this Aengus, whom I find to have been James II. In his description of James II, Tytler (Vol. III, p. 310) says: "The person of this prince was robust and well adapted for those warlike and knightly exercises, in which he is said to have excelled. His countenance was mild and intelligent, but deformed by a large red mark on the cheek, which has given him amongst contemporary chroniclers the surname of James with the fiery face." So Scott: "Tales of a Grandfather," I. 242.

Our family history says of the same man, under a Gaelic form of name by which he is entered by the chroniclers: "The name

Scheabheag implies that Shaw was of short stature; but he is also frequently designated Mor (great), no doubt, on account of his martial reputation. Another of his most common appellations was Sgorfhiachlach (pronounced Coriachlich) from the prominent teeth, which distinguished his features."

I doubt not the Gaelic word given in Our Family History affords the true key to the proper interpretation of this facial phenomenon, which appears to have arisen from some prominent teeth the man had that made a perceptible mark on his face, somewhat similar to a reddish mole, wart or scar. Secondly, the form of name Seabhog or Seabhag, which comes into English in the forms Shaw, Haw or Hawkins, is clearly exchangeable with Seamhas (Eng. James), the b and m on the one hand and the g and s on the other, being interchanged with each other. In Gaelic Beag means little, child, chief; and mas, the root of our word masculine, is another form for mac, a son, so that Seabhag and Seamhas are clearly equivalent forms.

The following tabulation will illustrate my idea of the origin and show the steps in the genealogical succession of the Kings of Scotland from Alexander III, who was son of Alexander II, to James VI, who was son of Mary queen of Scots, and lord Darnly, (a man of the same male descent as Alexander III) and who became James I of England. I begin with No. 19 of my list on page 2.

17. Ferchard *i. e.*, Alexander III, *i. e.*, the Steward of Scotland, *i. e.*, "Robert Bruce, the competitor."

16. Aengus *i. e.*, Robert II, (Bruce) *i. e.*, John (Baliol) *i. e.*, Walter, the Steward of Scotland:

15. Eoghan or Ian *i. e.*, David II (Bruce), *i. e.*, Edward (Baliol), *i. e.*, Robert III, *i. e.*, the Steward of Scotland:

14. Gilchrist *i. e.*, James I, *i. e.*, the Steward, &c.

13. Seach *i. e.*, Seamhas *i. e.*, James II, *i. e.*, the Steward, &c.

12. Seamhas *i. e.*, James III, *i. e.*, the Steward &c.

11. Adhamh son of &c., as on p. 2.	James IV son, James V son, Mary daughter, James VI son and 1st of England.
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From our No. 12, (James III) has proceeded the Shaws, so called of Sauchie in Stirlingshire. He himself is the "James Shaw," *i. e.*, James son of Shaw, of Sauchie" spoken of under the reign of James III. (See, for Ex., Tytler III, p. 420, and Lindsay, of Pitcottie, I 112). From a younger son of his, named

Adam, descends the Shaws of Tordarrach (Oak Hill), Inverness-Shire. This Adam is No. 11 of my list, p. 2, and of me, the writer, he is ninth ancestor. Two of the ancestors in the list from him to me had their residence in Ireland.

The accounts given in the histories of the battle of Sauchie Burn and the death in consequence thereof of James III., is of the romantic order and not historical. He was himself the Shaw, spoken of in this connection, as "the governor of the castle of Stirling," which was his executive residence. Another principal residence of his and of his ancestors and which descended to his children, was the castle of Loch an Eilan in Rothiemurchus mentioned above. He is the ancestor of the Shaws, so called of Rothiemurchus. As head of Rothiemurchus and of the clan Shaw there located he is, in the family history, designated Alister Ciar, that is, "Alexander the brown." It appears that, in that age Seach, which is an equivalent for Alexander, was used as a short name for the forms Seamhas (James) and Seachan (John). It is, of course, the same root name, and this is proved by the fact of the Hebrew letter Samech having the same meaning as Seth or Sem (pronounced Shem), namely, a pillar or the Sun, and that the name Israel, which is Saethrael, is exchangeable with Jacob, which is James. It, moreover, appears plain from the style and substance of the narrative that the Alexander, duke of Albany, spoken of under this reign as brother of James III., was no other than this James himself, in certain conditions and circumstances of his life. In the circumstances of the contemporary reigns of this Scottish king and Edward IV of England in their relations to each other we seem to have repeated some of the historical experiences which we meet with in the history of Scotland in the interval between the death of Alexander III and the accession of James I. In his general description of James III. Tytler (III. 440) says as to his color: "His deep brown complexion and black hair resembled the hue rather of the warmer climates of the south than that which we meet in colder climates." The adjective Ciar, by which the family history distinguishes its Alister, means dark brown. That record also informs us that Alister left it to his son John Rothiemurchus who, in turn, left it to his son Alan, &c. Judging by the map the castles of Sterling and Rothiemurchus are about 75 miles apart, the county of Perth intervening. But even in the olden times this was not deemed a great distance; for Tytler relates how that one



of those Jameses, of whom we are treating, viz., James IV, "thought little of throwing himself on his horse and riding 100 miles without drawing bridle." He speaks of him once having rode from the castle of Stirling to the church of St. Duthach in Ross-Shire and performed his devotions. Some of the Farquarsons, who are of the same origin as the Shaws of Rothiemurchus, appear to call Alister a Comyn of the same family as that of Altyre. As descriptive of the residence in Rothiemurchus, of which we are now speaking and to which, we have seen above, Angus and his wife moved in 1308, I quote the following from the History of Macintosh, pgs. 83-4: "The whole district of Rothiemurchus abounds in grandeur and loveliness, but nowhere are these found in such profusion as about the Doune, where the Spey rolls rapidly along pine-clad glades and verdant sward, and Loch an Eilan sleeps in wild beauty under the shadow of the giant Cairngorm. 'The great magician himself, in his most imaginative mood,' says one, could not have conjured up a lovelier spot. Hemmed in by mountain, rock and wood — the former towering to a great height, the latter dipping into the water — Loch an Eilan truly realizes the poetical image of a mirror set in a deep and gorgeous frame."

"Marvell'd Sir David of the Mount;  
 Then learn'd in story, 'gan recount  
 Such chance had happ'd of old  
 When once, near Norham there did fight  
 A spectre fell of fiendish might,  
 In likeness of a Scottish knight,  
 With Brian Bulmer bold,  
 And train'd him nigh to disallow  
 The aid of his baptismal vow.  
 And such a phantom, too, 'tis said,  
 With highland broadsword, targe and plaid  
 And fingers, red with gore,  
 Is seen in Rothiemurchus glade,  
 Or where the sable pine-trees shade  
 Dark Tomantoul and Auchnaslaid,  
 Dromouchty or Glenmore."

Scott's "Marmion:" Canto Fourth, Stanza XXII.

Hall, in his English Chronicle, which embraces the history of that country from Henry III, to Henry VIII, both inclusive, and who himself wrote in the time of Edward VI, claims (p. 850) that there is proof in written documents or "instruments," as he terms them, of Kings of Scotland having from time to time paid hom-

age to Kings of England; while, on the other hand, the Scottish historians unanimously claim that the homages spoken of were rendered only on account of territories held by them within the bounds of England.

Hall also claims (p. 853) that "divers of those instruments had before his time been stolen from the English Treasury by the Scotch" (only think of it, pray; "Stolen from the English Treasury by the Scotch!") "instruments which neverthelesse were after recouered againe." He thereupon gives the form of one of those written "instruments," undoubtedly one of those he meant had been, "stolen and recovered again," which begins thus: "I, Ihon N., King of Scottes." This, of course, signifies John Baliol, that being the only name John, on record in the regal line of the Scottes, the King whose baptismal name was John, as the historians tell us, having been entered as Robert.\* And in Grafton's Chronicle (I. 294) the whole name, John Baliol, is entered. Grafton mentions that it was he who "buylded" Baliol College at Oxford!

All this indicates the name, John Baliol, and the account of the homage to Edward 1st, put to the credit of that name to have been a fiction, most likely of the Scotts themselves, that is, of John de Fordun or some of his followers; as also the names, Edward Baliol and David Bruce, with the accounts of homage put to the credit of these names to have been fictions. Hall does not represent Robert Bruce as having performed homage to any one, but as a usurper against John Baliol; nor does he or Grafton enter any Scottish King under the name Robert as rendering homage to a King of England. He begins, far back, about the year 900, and mentions some Kings of Scotts whose names I have never seen in any chronicle but his; but perhaps they were chiefs of districts in Scotland near the English borders. In his Kynald, however, as connected with King Edgar, in 977, A. D., I think I recognize Kenneth III or Maelbrighdi. Between Malcolm II, and MacBeth, whom, however, he also calls Malcolm, he mentions not Duncan. In 1068 he connects Malcolm III with William, the Conqueror, and in 1093 with William Rufus, son to the Conqueror, in regard to a matter of homage. In the year 1100 he mentions Edgar, the son of Malcolm III, in

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\* They did not enter their Kings of the same name in the original as I, II, III, etc., as the modern historians do, which has given rise to much confusion among interpreters.

connection with Henry 1st of England in regard to a like matter. The next he mentions in the same catalogue is David, Kyng of Scottes, in 1137. This indicates that the Saxon form Edgar, as here given, is equivalent to the Gaelic Ethach, Ethachfhair, or, simply, Sethach, which all are equivalent forms in that language for our name Alexander; and that the names Edgar and Alexander 1st, which the histories represent as of brothers, who succeeded in order to the throne after the death of Malcolm III, refer to the same person. Secondly, between David, last mentioned, and Wyllyam, Kyng of Scottes, whom he mentions in connection with different Kings of England on several occasions, he mentions not the name Malcolm IV, which the Scottish historians insert before William and as his brother. This indicates the name William to be the English equivalent for the Gaelic Malcolm or Gillecalum, and the names Malcolm IV and William the "Lion" to have been variations of the same name, referring to the same person.

Thirdly he gives the two Alexanders as son and grandson of William, in this order, in their connection by homage, marriage, etc., with the Norman English, the first in 1216 and the last named in 1266, A. D.

Fourthly, to Edward 1st, he enters John Baliol as paying homage in 1292; and Edward Baliol in 1326 as well as David Bruce in 1346 as acting in a like relation to Edward III. After 1346 I find no mention of homage having been paid by the Scotch to the Norman English kings until 1423, when mention is made of James 1st having paid homage to Henry VI, of England as a part of the condition of his liberation from captivity in England.

He mentions, therefore, not any king by the name Robert as having paid homage to the English monarchs; and the interval between the two homages last mentioned, is 77 years (1346-1423). The homage mentioned as having been paid in 1346 was by king Eachan, son of Aengus, who is entered in the histories by the name Robert; but I see the English chroniclers have entered him by his surname Duff or MacDuff, which in English is David. You see, therefore, John or Robert was his prenomem, but MacDuff, which is an equivalent for MacAengus, his surname. The family history gives us to understand that his father was called Aengus and also MacDuff. He came into his father's position in 1345-6; but when the history, left us by de Fordun, tells us that he was born in 1324 A. D. we may, perhaps, conclude that, in connection with this date,

he has in mind a fictitious character. It is not unlikely that this Jhon, the son of Aengus, was born much earlier. The historians represent him as a very aged man, at his death in 1406. His age is not given in any historian that I find, but I should not wonder if he were considerably over one hundred years of age at the time of his death, which is not an uncommon age for the Scotch to attain.

In the description Tytler (vol. 11, p. 453-5) gives of Robert III. we have represented a very aged and venerable man. This is of him in his old age, after he has, some time previously, heard of the murder of his son and heir, David, Duke of Rothsay; and now there had come to his ears the news of the capture by the English on his way to France for safe keeping, of his younger son and heir, James, Earl of Carrick. The historian says as follows: "The aged king, already worn out by infirmity and now broken by disappointment and sorrow did not long survive the captivity of his son. It is said the melancholy news were brought to him as he was sitting down to supper in his palace at Rothsay in Bute; and that the effect was such upon his affectionate but feeble spirit that he drooped from that day forward, refused all sustenance and died soon after of a broken heart. His death took place on the 4th of April, 1406": "In person Robert was tall and of a princely presence; his countenance was somewhat florid, but pleasant and animated; whilst a beard of great length and silvery whiteness flowed down his breast and gave a look of sancity to his appearance. Humility, a deep conviction of the vanity of human grandeur, and aspiration for the happiness of a better world were sentiments which he is said to have deeply felt and frequently expressed; and nothing could prevail on him in the custom of the age and after the example of his father and grandfather to provide a monument for himself," etc. The historians generally represent this man as of a peaceful and good disposition. They also represent a brother or relation of his as acting king during his own extreme senility and the captivity of his son and successor, James. The homage which we read about, as having been rendered by James in 1423 was paid as one of the conditions to his release, although he had been captured in open violation of a truce. But that recorded as having been rendered in 1292 by John Baliol and in 1326, by Edward Baliol, are undoubtedly fictions of the Scotch historical romancists; and those "instruments" in particular which Hall, in his Chronicle, says were stolen by the Scotch from the English "Treasury." "instrumente



which nevertheless were after recovered again" were the fictitious foundations of any belief in those homages spoken of in relation to the Baliols. If it were so easy in those days for the Scotch to have "stolen" matter from the English Treasury why did they not, while they were about it, steal something of considerable value and thereby, from the overflowing coffers of the South, have somewhat replenished their always impoverished little Northern treasury? After James 1st, 1423, there is no more mention of such homage from Scotch to English kings.

The full Gaelic name of the man who in 1346 paid homage to Edward III, was, as said above, Eachan Mac Aenghus. This name Eoghan or Eachan is also entered as Caineach, which comes into English as Kenneth and after mac as the name MacKenzie. In fact as I see in Lord Haile's commentary to his history of Scotland, the two forms Eachan and Caineach are understood as variations of each other and stand to each other exactly as the Greek forms Hipparchus and Archippus respectively. This word Eachan or Caineach is again a form of the name Aengus, which is Enos and Enoch *i.e.*, Aensheach, the sh being silent and dropped or, by transposition of its components, Sheachan (John). Here it is seen that the English form John, as in John Baliol, might be supposed substituted without violence in the English translation for the Gaelic name Aenghus. But the root of the word Eachan, the name of the son and successor of Aengus, is Aedh or Edh, which is the root of the name Edward: Consequently they might be conceived as without much violence turning the name Eachan Mac Aengus into the English form Edward Baliol. But while this is so, I nevertheless understand the names John and Edward Baliol as being fictitious as well as the names Robert and David Bruce: the form, David, however, might be understood, as mentioned above, of the surname of the man instead of the Christian name. Comparing the Gaelic with the old Hebrew or Phœnician language we find the form Mac Duff is equal to Mac Aedhamh, meaning in English a son of Adam or a son of man: and the form Mac Aenghuis is equal to Mac Enois, meaning in English a son of Enos or a son of man; for Adam and Enos mean the same in the Hebrew that is, Man. In the Gaelic they mean also a house, a temple and, as to color, black, but really a dun or water color. The nation of North Britain was Gaelic and the names of its princes were Gaelic down to the connection with England; but in the histories now as well as

in the old English Chronicles these names appear in such English forms as were supposed to be equivalents for the Gaelic originals. Some of the Gaelic forms of those names are seen on page 163, the form Gilchrist being only a mystification by the sacerdotal family historian for the real name.

Speaking in relation to my position taken on page 164 as to the Alexander, duke of Albany, mentioned in the histories as a brother of James III, being identical with this James, I may say as before that a consideration of the whole subject as given in the various histories and chronicles makes this position quite clear, so clear indeed as that the critic who fails to discover it, in the examination of the authorities, may be said to fall as far short in true critical acumen and discriminative power as the mind of the common undergraduate, who is still fully occupied in his text books, falls short of that of the college president or of the old and experienced judge on the bench who has long ago bid farewell to the portals of his Alma Mater. This Alexander, duke of Albany (although Alexander was doubtless a form of name of the man to whom the representation ultimately had reference), is plainly a character evolved from the brain of the historical romancist to fill out or inflate, as we may call it, his partially ideal historic drama. According to the general representation Alexander must have been made at his birth, governor of Berwick, or of Dunbar, and warden of the Marches. As he develops it is found that he and his brother, James III, cannot live together in the same country, and so he departs for France, stopping on his way in England where he remains with Edward IV. James III, jealous at the entertainment of Albany in England, collects a large army intending therewith to invade that country, but having arrived at the borders he is stopped by a papal bull (only think of it!) and returns with his army into Scotland. At the instigation of Albany as well as for other reasons, Edward IV, invades Scotland with a large army, of which the duke of Gloucester, Edward's brother, had chief command, and under him the duke of Albany held the position of a subordinate commander. On the approach of the English army to Edinburgh (Hall's Chronicle, 332, etc.), James III, shuts himself up in "the Castle of the Maidens" in that city and in the settlement which follows between the duke of Gloucester, who was in the city with his army, and the Scotch authorities we hear nothing at all of King James, but of the duke of Albany (who subscribes himself Alexan-

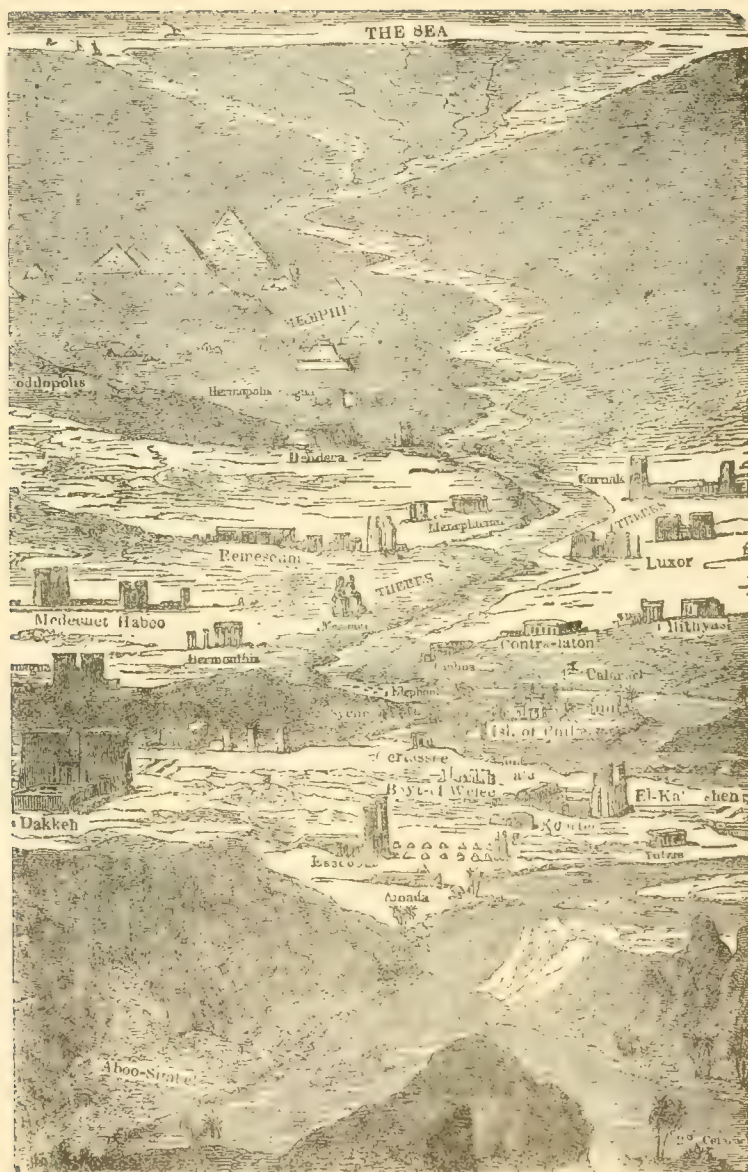
der Rex, *i.e.* King) and the "three estates" on the side of the Scotch, and the duke of Gloucester on the English side. Now, only think of the English commander having come so far and at so great an expense with such a large army, remaining long in the same city with King James without having had an interview with him! "The king had shut himself up in the Castle of the Maidens." What childish stuff! Afterwards, when all is over and Gloucester with his army, has departed, Albanie permits King James to go free; but soon finds again that the two brothers cannot live together in Scotland. He, therefore, departs for France, where he soon after gets killed in a tilting match at the French court. He there leaves after him a son, John, who also dies in France. This last, of course, is identical with the John, Earl of Mar, son of James III, who, some of the historical romancists say, died childless, but who, it appears certain, had one son named Alan, through whom descended the family of Rothiemureus. For, from John, son of Alister Ciar and brother to my ninth ancestor, Adam (which last is thought to have been that bishop of St. Andrews killed at Flodden with his brother, James IV, in 1513) descended the Shaws of Rothiemureus and the Farquarsons of Braemar, or the hilly country of Mar. Rothiemureus in Strathspey and Braemar in the present Aberdeen, may be called the valley and mountainous parts of the same section of Scotland, in the days of the Jameses generally called Mar. "By his queen, Margaret, daughter to Christiern, King of Denmark, James (III,) left a family of three children, all of them sons; James, his successor; a second son, also named James, created Marquis of Ormond, and who afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John, Earl of Mar," etc. Tytler III, 439-40, Grafton's Chronicle under Henry VIII, &c.: Adam (Gaelic Aedhamh) is an original form of the name which comes into English as James. The nearness to each other of the forms of name given to the two brothers in Gaelic has caused some translator to turn them both into English as James; but the second had better have been put into English as Adam.











BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF EGYPT.

# CRITICAL REVIEW

OF THE

# HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY

ROBERT SHAW, M. A.

AUTHOR OF

CREATOR AND COSMOS; OF COSMOTHEOLOGIES AND INDICATIONS OF JUDGMENT; OF A  
CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTS OR GALLS OF THE BRITISH ISLES;  
OF THE CHALDAEAN AND HEBREW AND THE CHINESE AND  
HINDOO ORIGINES, OF THE PHENICIAN  
COSMOGONIES, ETC.

*REVISED.*

ST. LOUIS:  
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## INTRODUCTION.

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### (CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.)

I trust these few preliminary remarks, which I deem it expedient to prefix to this Treatise, may not be taken as in the nature of an apology for what it purports to introduce, as I see Introductions, so-called, very often are ; for I here confess that I have no apology to offer for my giving to the public, in addition to the very large amount of literature on the subject of Egypt already extant, my “Critical Review of the History of Ancient Egypt” herein set forth: But, *per contra*, and for many reasons. And, first, in consideration of the very confused state of the authorities thereon as to the chronology and as to the order of succession of the dynasties and of the individual rulers of those dynasties of that interesting ancient empire, so-called, of Menes, the learned, more especially those interested and somewhat occupied in the subject of the Egyptian archæology have long felt the need of such a treatise as this I here put forth. In the way in which I treat this eminently ethnological subject, (for this, in connection with my “Critical Review of the History of the Gaelic Race,” will show pretty distinctly, and as a matter of fact, that the Shepherd race of ancient Egypt, or the race, so called, of Menes, did from time to time stock Europe and, to a large extent, Asia, also, with the historical, dominating and eminently civilized races) in the way in which, as I say, I treat this subject, that is, only with reference to the discovery of the truth and to its statement in the most succinct language possible, this treatise will, I believe, be found effectual as to the accomplishment of its object and quite comprehensible to the or-

dinary mind in regard to its meaning throughout. In my humble judgment the literary field is altogether too much occupied with fiction; in the times of the past the history proper was beclouded with fiction, the Historical Romance was overdone, and men went on improving on each other in that line until such perfect superstructures were raised upon the base of history proper that it became almost impossible for the honest historical critic in the after times to disengage the facts from the fiction, such a net work was wont to be made by the historical romancists. This "critique," as the title indicates, has for its main object to disengage the facts of the history from the fiction and to discover and set forth the true succession of the dynasties and of the individual rulers of those dynasties in the ancient Shepherd Empire of Menes in their chronological order, and all this with reference to the exodus or origin of the Jewish people: If this have been done in relation to the old empire named, which ended with the list of 38 kings, so-called of Eratosthenes, and also, in effect, with respect to giving the chronological beginnings of the subsequent dynasties down to the Christian era, then this, our "critique," will be sufficiently up to my purpose in its production and should be regarded with favor and as a great desideratum by the multitudes of sensible, intelligent and learned people throughout the world who take such an interest in this subject as at once evinces their respectable qualities of mind.

ST. LOUIS, 1888.

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## CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

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AN EXTENDED CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT: THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO AS COMPARED WITH THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES AND WITH THE SYNOPSES OF THE HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY GIVEN BY HERODOTUS, DIODORUS AND OTHERS; IN WHICH THERE IS A GENERAL ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA AS TO WHO THOSE SHEPHERD KINGS WERE, WHOM JOSEPHUS CLAIMED AS BEING ANCESTORS OF THE JEWS; IN WHICH IT RESULTS THAT THE 18TH DYNASTY, SO CALLED, BEGINS THE EMPIRE OF MENES; THAT THE 18TH, 19TH AND 20TH DYNASTIES, SO CALLED, WHEN FULLY EXPRESSED, WITHOUT ANY NAME PROPERLY BELONGING TO THE LISTS BEING LEFT OUT REPRESENT ALL THE DYNASTIES, SO CALLED, FROM THE 1ST TO THE 17TH INCLUSIVE, WHICH ARE EXPRESSED ON PAPER BEFORE THEM AND ARE EQUIVALENT TO THE 38 RULERS OF THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES. THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS RESULT WITH ITS ILLUSTRATIVE TABULATIONS, WHICH WILL MAKE IT COMPREHENSIBLE WITH LITTLE STUDY, REMOVES MUCH OBSCURITY FROM THIS INTERESTING SUBJECT AND SHOWS THE BEGINNING OF HISTORY PROPER IN EGYPT TO SYNCHRONISE RESPECTABLY WITH SUCH BEGINNING IN CHALDÆA, INDIA AND CHINA.

*Review and Synopses of the dynasties from the 1st to the 18th inclusive, as given by Syncellus from Africanus and Eusebius, in which connection will be found some Biblical Israelitish genealogies.*

Bunsen gave it as his opinion that Joseph went into Egypt in the days of Sesortesen, one of the first kings of the 12th dynasty; he finds that in the reign of this king a great famine prevailed in Egypt. "We are," says he, "indebted to Birch for deciphering the following tomb-inscription of the lieutenant of Amenemha (i.e. Sesortasen). The person entombed states that he was governor of a district in Upper Egypt under the above king and is represented as saying as follows: 'When in the time of Sesortesen I., the great famine prevailed in the other districts of Egypt there was corn in mine.'"

"Nobody," Bunsen continues, "would venture to build up a synchronism on such a notice as this; but admitting that Joseph was

the viceroy of one of the Sesortosidæ, and that he owed his power and consideration to his foresight in providing against the seven years of scarcity, no one will contend that such a notice is not deserving of very great attention and it must turn the scale in favor of Sesortasis 1st." Egypt iii, 334.

He means here the first king of the 12th dynasty, whose time he supposed to be about 2700-2800 B. C., but which I find to have been about 1300 B. C. What if he had put Joseph seven or eight hundred years earlier than the date really was, would he have been more nearly correct? A discussion of the whole subject may enable you to determine intelligently. But a consideration of the subject will show that if the tomb-inscription referred to means really what it is interpreted to say it could not demonstrably be understood as referring to Joseph. If such a governor had been interred there a person would suppose his mummy would have presented some race indications, which could not fail to have been noticed by the discoverer; but of this nothing is said, which may or not ultimately go to prove that it was Joseph's tomb and inscription: for, of course, it is supposable that when Joseph was interred temporarily in Egypt there was an inscription put over his tomb, which remained there after his body was removed to Canaan; and the supposable cause of the discoverer of the tomb not mentioning the mummy would be that the mummy was not there: for we read in Gen. L, 26, that "when Joseph died he was embalmed and put in a coffin in Egypt:" and in Exodus xiii, 21, it is said, in relation to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he (Joseph) had strictly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you." Moreover, in Joshua xxiv, 32, it is said of the Israelites after they had come into possession of the land of Canaan: "And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, they buried in Schechem, in a piece of ground which Jacob had bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Schechem, for an hundred pieces of silver; and it became the possession of the children of Judah."

Now, to whomsoever the inscription may have referred, leaving out of the question altogether as to whether or not it was properly interpreted, it is certain we have no authority for saying that Joseph's remains were left in Egypt or that any one in this nineteenth century could have produced his mummy thence.

But the identification of the Israelites with the Shepherd or Hyksos races of Egypt by Josephus sets us earnestly to discover who or what races of people those were to which he refers as being the ancestors of the Jews. In the histories of Egypt which have reached us the Shepherd races begin to be noticed more or less in the tabulation in the interval set down in the books between the 12th and 18th dynasties.

I will first give the tabulation of Julius Africanus, who was priest or bishop of Emmaus — Nicopolis in Judaea, in the beginning of the 3rd century and founder of the Library of Casarea, which was afterwards enlarged by Eusebius: —

Africanus (Syncellus, pp. 54–61) according to whom

				<i>reigned</i>	
1st Dynasty	consisted of	8 Thinite	Kings	263 years.	
2nd	“ “ “	9 “	“	302 “	
3rd	“ “ “	9 Memphite	“	214 “	
4th	“ “ “	8 “	“	284 “	
5th	“ “ “	9 Elephantine	“	218 “	
6th	“ “ “	6 Memphites	“	203 “	
7th	“ “ “	70 “	“	— 70 days.	
8th	“ “ “	27 “	“	146 years.	
9th	“ “ “	19 Herakleopolitan	“	409 “	
10th	“ “ “	19 “	“	185 “	
11th	“ “ “	16 Diospolitan	“	43 “	
12th	“ “ “	7 “	“	160 “	
13th	“ “ “	60 “	“	453 “	
14th	“ “ “	76 Choites	Kings	184 “	
15th	“ “ “	6 Shepherd	“	284 “	
16th	“ “ “	32 “	“	518 “	
17th	“ “ “	43 Other	“	151 “	
		and 34 Theban	“		
18th	“ “ “	16 Diospolite	“	259 “	

So far this exhibit may suggest that “the utmost confidence” is not to be placed in the apparent face value of those *data*.

What Africanus says specifically as to his 15th Dynasty is as follows: —

#### “Of Shepherds.

They were Phœnician stranger kings, six in number, who also took Memphis. These same people also built a city in the Seth-

roite Nome, whence sallying forth they were accustomed to keep the Egyptians in subjection. Of these the first

Saites	reigned	19 years
from whom also the		
Saites Nome		
Bnon	reigned	44 "
Pachnan	"	61 "
Staan	"	50 "
Archles	"	49 "
Aphobis	"	61 "

---

Sum of years 284

The average reign for these six would be, as here,  $47\frac{1}{8}$  years, which for six in succession appears, to historical experience, non-sensical.

Hitherto Africanus. Now we give the same according to Eusebius in his Armenian version and as in Syncellus. I may remark here that it is only through Syncellus that we know Africanus or Manetho, or, so far as concerns Egyptian history, Eusebius.

<i>Dynasty. Eusebius.</i>		<i>Syncellus.</i>		<i>Eusebius.</i>	<i>Syncellus.</i>	
		<i>Kings</i>	<i>.... Kings</i>		<i>Afr.</i>	<i>Eus.</i>
1st.	8 Thinite	"	....	228 (258) years	253 or 252 years	
2nd.	9 "	"	....	297 "	.... "	.... "
3rd.	8 Memphite	"	....	197 (198) "	.... "	198 "
4th.	17 "	"	....	448 "	274 "	.... "
5th.	31 Elephantine	"	8	.... "	248 "	100 "
6th.	.. Memphite	"	....	203 "	.... "	.... "
7th.	5 "	"	"	75 "	.... "	75 days
8th.	9 (19) "	"	5	100 "	142 "	.... years
9th.	4 Herakleopolitan	"	....	100 "	.... "	.... "
10th.	19 "	"	"	185 "	.... "	.... "
11th.	16 Diospolitan	"	....	43 "	.... "	.... "
<i>Euseb. in</i>						
<i>Arm. Sync.</i>						
years						
12th.	7 "	"	7	182 (245) "	182 (245) "	182 (245)
13th.	60 "	"	60	453 "	453 "	453 "
years						
14th.	76 Choite	"	76	484 "	184 (484) "	184 (484)
15th.	.... Diospolitan	"	....	250 "	250 "	250 years
16th.	5 Theban	"	5	190 "	190 "	190 "
17th.	4 Shepherds	"	4	103 "	103 "	103 "
18th.	14 Diospolitan	"	14	317 (348) "	325 (323) "	(348) "



What is said specifically under the head of Eusebius as to the Shepherds is as follows:

“17th dynasty: of Shepherds: who were Phœnicians, brothers and stranger Kings and occupied Memphis.

Saites, the first of these, reigned 19 years

from whom also the Sethroite

Nome has drawn its appellation. These

same people founded a city in the Seth-

roite Nome, whence having made ex-

cursions they kept the Egyptians in

subjection.

Bnon, the second of these Kings reigned 40 years

Archles, after him, “ 30 “

Aphophis, then “ 14 “

— “

Sum 103 “

In the age of these Joseph is thought to have reigned King in Egypt.” Would not this mean that Eusebius understood that our patriarch, Joseph himself, may have been the first of those four Kings, since the name Seth, spelled also Seph, is the root or shorter form of Joseph? The placing of these four as the 17th dynasty (Africanus it is seen has his six Phœnician Shepherds as his 15th), suits the idea which the Septuagint version makes so clear of a 215 years’ sojourn for the Israelites in Egypt from the entrance of Jacob to the Exodus under Moses. Tuthmosis III, in whose reign the Hyksos are said to have left Egypt was of the *third generation* from the time of the beginning of the 18th dynasty.

The following is the list of the six Shepherd kings in Josephus (*contra*, Apion, I. c. 14), who says he quotes from Manetho’s Greek version of the Egyptian History:—

The first of these.

Salatis reigned 13 years.

Beon “ 44 “

Apachnas “ 36 “ 7 mos.

Apophis “ 61 “

Jonias “ 50 “ 1 mon.

Assis “ 49 “ 2 mos.

Sum, 253 “ 10 “

The average reign is here made 42 years and about 4 months, which experience has shown to be much too great an average length

for reigns of monarchs and much too great even for the average length of human life. Africanus' 284 years for his six Shepherd kings gives a greater average reign still than this of Josephus.

Following I tabulate the 18th dynasty, giving the lengths of reign, as it appears in Africanus, so that you may be able to see something approaching to the ordinary average length of reign as set forth in the lists of the Egyptian kings.

"Eighteenth Dynasty of 16 Diospolitan kings, of whom the first was Amos, in his time Moses went out of Egypt as we teach," that is, according to Africanus: —

1. ———		
2. Chebros	reigned	13 years.
3. Amenophthis	"	21 "
4. Amensis (Amersis)	"	22 "
5. Misaphris	"	13 "
6. Mispthagmouthosis	"	26 "
7. Touthmosis	"	9 "
8. Amenophis	"	31 "

He is thought to be that Memnon, celebrated in the sounding stone.

9. Orus	"	37 "
10. Acherres	"	32 "
11. Rathos	"	6 "
12. Chebres	"	12 "
13. Acheres	"	12 "
14. Armeses	"	5 "
15. Rameses	"	1 "
16. Amenophath	"	19 "

---

Sum, 259 "

The average reign here would be, as it stands, only about seventeen years. The aggregate number of years given here for the 16 is seen to be about the same as Josephus gives for the six Shepherd kings and less by 25 than the aggregate Africanus gives for the same 6. The number of 25 years which Josephus says Amos (whom he, however, calls Tuthmosis) reigned after the departure of the Shepherds, if added to this aggregate sum we get in Africanus for fifteen reigns (he not having expressed the length of reign of Amos), would make 284 years, the exact number he gives to the six Shepherd kings he specifies. And not only is this number as appearing of six shepherd kings before the eighteenth dynasty in-

tended to imply that the said six kings did exist before this dynasty, but it will perhaps be noticed finally that not only all the kings called Shepherd, but all other before the said 18th dynasty back to Menes are but repetitions, as to name and time given, of what we have in the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties so called, when fully expressed, which are exactly represented, though often under differing forms of name, in the list of 38 names of Eratosthenes.

Among the children of Israel after the Exodus, if we except the tribe of Judah, the descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh, the two sons of Joseph, appear to have been held in the greatest estimation. Joshua is represented as of the tribe of Joseph and tenth in descent from that patriarch, through his son Ephraim, that is, if we are to understand that given in 1st Chronicles vii, 22-27, as the steps in his genealogy, which is as follows:—

Joseph.  
 Ephraim, son.  
 Beriah, son.  
 Resheph, son.  
 Telah, son.  
 Tahan, son.  
 Laadan, son.  
 Ammihud, son.  
 Elishama, son.  
 Nun, son.  
 Oshea, son.

In the Book of Joshua xxiv, 29 (which there is some reason to believe was called in early times the Book of the Wars of Jahveh), the leader of that name is said to have died at the age of 110 years, the age Joseph is said to have attained at his death, and I see the Biblical chronologists have there at the head of the margin 1427 B. C. This indicates Ushel's idea to have been that Joshua was born in about 1537 B. C. This may seem a large number of generations for 215 years. There are, however, to be counted only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  generations for the time, and we are to remember that the tribe of Joseph was, if any, the governing tribe of the Israelites in Egypt; and that the governing or monarchical class propagate so much faster than the commonality that we look, from them in the direct line, for about four generations in a century. We have, therefore, here eight generations for two centuries and then half a generation for the fifteen years. The case presents no difficulty if there be not one found in the length of life to which men are said

in that age to have attained ; but in regard to that it is likely men in that age in good living circumstances married as early as they are accustomed to marry now.

In the genealogy of Moses to Jacob, these two included, we have only about half the number of names expressed for the like period : —

Israel died 147 years old

Levi “ 137 “ “

Kobath “ 133 “ “

Amram “ 137 “ “

Aaron

Moses

83 years old at the Exodus | 80 years old at the Exodus.

Eleazer

Phineas ( fights in the battle against

Abishua Midian in which Baalam

Bukki fell (Numb. xxxi, 6, &c.)

Uzzi

Zerahiah

Meraioth

Amariah

Ahitub

Zadok, a priest under David ( 2. Sam. viii, 17 ).

Ahimaaz anoints Solomon ( 1 Kings, i. 39,  
Comp. ii. 35 ).

Azariah, a Prince under Solomon ( 1. Kings  
iv. 2, and 1 Chron. viii. 9 ).

Johanan

Azariah, “a priest in the House of the Lord which  
Solomon built ” ( 1. Chron. vi. 10 ).

Amariah under Uzziah ( 2 Chron. xxvi. 20 ).

Ahitub

Zadok

Shallum

Hilkiah

Azariah

Seriah

Jehozadak carried into captivity by Nebuchad-  
nezzar ( 1 Chron. vi. 15 ), 588 B. C.

List of the High Priests from Aaron to the destruction of the Temple  
by Nebuchadnezzar, about 600 B. C.



This list affords a generation to about every forty years. Between Aaron, at the time of the Exodus and Azariah, a contemporary of Solomon, the latter included, there are twelve generations, which, reckoning 40 years to a generation, equal 480 years ( $12 \times 40 = 480$ ), from the Exodus to the founding of the Temple. Also, between Azariah, in the time of Solomon, and Jehozadak, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, there are just ten generations, which, at 40 years to a generation, fills the time.

Again, let us take the genealogy of a contemporary of David, from Israel, namely of Asaph, the singer, we shall have: —

Israel,  
 Levi,  
 Gershom,  
 Jahath,  
 Ahimei,  
 Zimmah,  
 Ethan,  
 Adaiah,  
 Zerah,  
 Ethni,  
 Malchiah,  
 Baaseiah,  
 Michael,  
 Shimea,  
 Berachiah,  
 Asaph, (1 Chron. vi. 39-44.)

Here we have fifteen generations from David to Jacob, not including the latter, which at 40 years to a generation leaves 600 years. Now, supposing Asaph to have died about the year 1020, B. C., this would leave Levi (granting there are no links belonging to the genealogy left out, and further that 40 years to a generation is the correct reckoning), to have flourished at or before the year 1620 B. C., or at somewhat over 120 years only prior to the Exodus. There seems hardly any doubt that in their chronological reckoning of these lists the Jews counted 40 years to a generation. The mode of reckoning of the old Greeks was by generations, but they usually reckoned as the moderns do, three generations to a century,  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years to a generation. The men in this list must have been long-lived and married old if no links are wanting.

Let us take the genealogy of King David himself, as given in Ruth (iv.) 22, etc., and in 1 Chron. ii:15, etc., and see how it stands:—

Israel,  
Judah,  
Pharez,  
Hezrom,  
Aram,  
Amminadab,  
Nahshon,  
Solmon,  
Boaz,  
Obed,  
Jesse,  
David.

From Judah, the brother of Levi and Joseph, in this list, to David, including these two, we have only eleven names standing for the same space of time as the fifteen names stood for in the list just preceding. These 11 generations, reckoning 40 years for each from the time of David's death, say in 1015 B. C., would take us back to 1455 B. C., or to within one or two generations of the Exodus. This list, would therefore, on this reckoning, leave unaccounted for this one generation spoken of up to the Exodus plus the generations to fill up the 215 years in Egypt from the time of the entrance of Israel thereto.

The five last names in this list present to my mind a peculiarly Phœnician (Edomitic) physiognomy. David is the Gaelic Daeb-haeth, or briefly Duff, in English, Jesse is Isai (Seach). Obed appears a form of Edom, the b taking the place of m. Would not Obed-Edom (2 Sam. vi. 10-12) be the same name repeated? And Boaz is simply another form equivalent to Edom or E-sau, and would even stand for Israel. Edom or Seth stands for Israel and hence the words of the prophet (Isa. lxiii. 1). "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah," etc., is explainable literally; for do not some good interpreters understand from the two genealogies given of him in Matthew and Luke, that both on his mother's and his father's side the Savior was descended from Judah, the son of Israel? He was, thus, as to his human nature, at least, descended from the ancient line of Phœnician and South-Scythian, or what are called Indo-Scythian Kings;

but as to his divine nature he was, as we all believe, as evidently derived from God. Salmon, in the above genealogy of David, is a name in the old language which may have been a historical (not spoken) equivalent for David; it is the Gaelic Colum or Columin in the common name Malcolm. Colum or Columan means a dove or peace, and so is equivalent in the Gaelic to Daebhaedh (Daebh = dove) and Sethach; and in the Phœnician it had another form which came into English as Absalom, meaning son of peace or father of peace, for in the old language ab had the meaning of son as well as father. Latin, Columba (a dove) Abcolum = Absalom. I would not, however, consider it at all unlikely that several links were omitted in this genealogy of David, which appear necessary to fill up the entire space between him and Judah, the son of Israel and, on the other hand, in regard to the length of the sojourn, so called, of the Israelites in Egypt, I see no reason why the period of 215 years should not be sufficient for the longest genealogy we have met with for that sojourn, namely, that of Joshua, taken as we have explained it.

This need not prevent us from understanding that there may have been other Shepherd races which dominated in Egypt, and this for long periods, who were of kindred race to the Israelites; but it would seem plain from the idea in the mind of Josephus and Eusebius on the subject, that those Shepherds whom they represent as beginning to dominate over Egypt, first, under King Saïtes or Salites (the viceroy) and whose descendants were put out of that country by Tuthmosis III. were the people understood as the Israelites of the Exodus. They are represented by these two writers named as well as by Africanus as, *per se*, the Shepherd kings of Egypt and at the same time as Phœnician brothers at their beginning. To say with Wilkinson or any other that "Joseph was in Egypt in the age of these kings," I would consider to be uncalled for in the case, as they themselves set it forth; for by the representation they all give of the beginning of the Shepherd dynasty either Joseph himself was Saïtes or Salites, then first, or rather second king, or the Shepherd dynasty is not worth consideration in connection with the Biblical representation of the sojourn in Egypt of the Israelites.

But, on the other hand, as you must have noticed in the lists I have already given of the first 18 dynasties, there is a good deal of difference in what has been written by the different authors upon

this subject of the Shepherd kings ; it is expedient that we keep this subject in view until we get all the light we can upon it before dropping it.

“ The Middle Empire,” says Bunsen (Egypt 1. 133), “ occupies the period from the 13th to the 17th dynasties inclusive and the measure of its duration is that of the Shepherd dominion. The Theban and Choite kings were contemporaneous with the Shepherds and with each other.” This is Bunsen’s hypothesis and the period of his Middle empire he supposed to have covered a little over nine centuries.

Speaking of the lists and chronology of Manetho, he says: “ We know that he assigned 3555 years to the whole empire, of which 13 centuries in round numbers belonged to the Old, 9 to the Middle and 12 to the New.” (Id. 134). Before we get through we will, doubtless, be better able to judge whether Manetho is responsible for those figures or not.

It is noticeable that in all the copies, purporting to be from Manetho, unless that of Eusebius, the first Shepherd kings are represented as six in number, generally as Phœnicians and brothers. Bunsen says, however, that the number six is nowhere mentioned in the original in connection with them ; but he must have forgotten himself in making this statement, for he never saw the original unless through Josephus, Africanus and Eusebius, and never saw the latter two, as to Egypt, unless through Syncellus. Eusebius, however, specifies only 4 names of Shepherd kings, the first of whom he makes Saïtes, that is Seth ; and I have suspected that, perhaps, the reason the number 6 came to be associated with their beginning was that one meaning of Seth or Sech in the old Gaelic language is six, Sheth in Chaldaic being sixth ; and the meaning of the name of their first king might have given rise to the number being associated with their name?

In what is called the *Laterculus* of Egyptian kings by Syncellus I find the following :—

	<i>Years.</i>
1. “ Silitis, the 26th king of Egypt, reigned . . . .	19
He was the first of the six of the 17th dynasty in Manetho.	
2. Baion, the 27th king of Egypt, reigned . . . .	44
3. Apachnas, the 28th king of Egypt, reigned . . . .	36
4. Aphophis, the 29th “ “ “ “ . . . .	61



Some say that this man was the first that was called Pharaoh, and that in the fourth year of his reign Joseph came into Egypt, a slave : that he, in the 17th year of his reign, constituted Joseph lord of Egypt and of all his dominions, because he had explained to him the purport of his dream, and because, through experience, he came to have knowledge of its divine signification. But, indeed, the Holy Scriptures call the king of Egypt, who was contemporary with Abraham, Pharaoh."

	<i>Years.</i>
5. Sethos, 30th king, reigned . . . . .	50
6. Kertos, 31st " " . . . . .	29
7. Aseth, 32d " " . . . . .	20

This man adopted the system of intercallary months for the years, and, in his time, as they say, he used the year of 365 days ; the Egyptians hitherto having measured the year by 360 days. In his reign the bull Apis was deified." There is no intimation here of any instability about the government, and still less that this king Aseth was of a foreign dynasty to Egypt, on the contrary things appear in a quiet and normal national condition.

The next he gives is "Amosis also called Tethmosis," the first of the 18th dynasty in all the other lists, whom he marks 33rd in his list and then goes on with the names of the 18th dynasty as in Africanus and the other lists generally. He, therefore, has 7 kings of the Shepherd dynasty instead of 6, as in Africanus and Josephus, or 4 as in Eusebius; and for these 7 he gives an aggregate of 259 years, the number to a unit which Africanus gives to his 18th dynasty, reckoning 15 kings. A person would think, then, there must be something arbitrary or inventive at the foundation of this Shepherd dynasty story and might ask, did this Shepherd dynasty or those Shepherd dynasties which they write about have an existence *de facto* or did they exist only on paper, every one who has written on the subject having it in a different way than the others concerning them? Wait a while, my inquirer. The subject needs more investigation, more discussion, and will, doubtless, become more lucid as to the result. I will, however, give you Syncellus farther through the sixteen names, which most of the old

lists yet set down as of the 18th dynasty, since on this part of the subject much light is needed.

	<i>Years.</i>
1. Amasis, also called Tethmosis, 33d King . . . . .	26
2. Chebron, 34th King . . . . .	13
3. Amenophis, 35th King . . . . .	15
4. Amenos, 36th King . . . . .	11
5. Misphragmouthosis . . . . .	37th King 16
6. Mispres . . . . .	38th " 23
7. Tuthmosis . . . . .	39th " 39
8. Amenophis . . . . .	40th " 34

This same Amenophis is thought to have been that Memnon, whose voice was heard in stone: which stone, in the aftertimes Cambyses, the Persian, cut down, supposing there was sorcery in it, as Polvainos, the Athenian has recorded in his history.

Concerning the Ethiopians; whence they were and where they lived.

Ethiopians, having come from the river Indus, settled in Egypt.

9. Oros . . . . .	41st King 48
10. Achencheres . . . . .	42d " 25
11. Athoris . . . . .	43d " 29
12. Chencheres. . . . .	44th " 26
13. Acherres . . . . .	45th " 38
14. Armaios, also called Danaus. . . . .	46th " 9
15. Rameses . . . . .	47th " 68
16. Amenophis . . . . .	48th " 8
17. Thuoris . . . . .	49th " 17

The ninth in succession from this last he makes to be another "Thuoris," and "the Polybus of Homer in whose time Troy was taken," and "by whom Menelaus, while wandering about with Helen after the capture of Troy, was entertained." The 10th in succession from this last, or the 68th king of his list, is Petoubastes, "during whose reign," he says, "the first Olympiad was celebrated," 776 B. C.

So far I deemed it expedient to give you this independent list of Geo. Syncellus, a Byzantine monk, said to have been vice-bishop of Constantinople, and to have flourished about 800 A. D. He edited the epitomes of Manetho's Egyptian history made by Africanus and Eusebius; and gave us a list himself in this which he calls his *Laterculus*. He agrees with Eusebius in making his *Shepherds* to begin with the 17th dynasty, while Africanus makes them to begin with the 15th. Moreover, instead of beginning with 6 kings as Africanus, he so places 7 that nobody can doubt

that he means to have them understood as being meant for seven Shepherd kings. A person would be apt to think he had confounded his Aseth, the last of the seven, with Amosis, the first of the 18th dynasty, but somebody has understood him as making Amosis to have been son of Aseth.

But now, if, as Bunsen says, the Middle Period of Egyptian History, occupying the time from the 13th to the 18th dynasty be distinctively "the Shepherd Period," the "Theban and Choite kings being contemporaneous with the Shepherds and with each other," and lasting about 922 years; and if (seeing that Bunsen appears to have had a better opinion of the integrity or ability of Africanus than of either Eusebius or Syncellus), we are to give the preference to the statements of Africanus, should we not first rather exercise our judgment on the statements given by both, in so far as we are able to do so, and then incline to the side which we judge to have the greatest amount of probability in its favor, without being governed by prejudice or partiality? It seems to me that this is the preferable course for us to pursue. Let us, then, have the data given by Africanus for this period, which are as follows:—

			Years.
14th Dynasty	. . . . .	76 Choite Kings	184
15th "	. . . . .	6 Shepherd "	284
16th "	. . . . .	32 " "	518
17th "	43 Theban and 43 Shepherd Kings, contemporaneous		151
Total . . . . .			1137

Here, supposing we are to make the addition of the figures as they stand, we should have a period of 1137 years represented by 157 successive kings, which would leave the average length of reign for the whole period to have been  $7\frac{1}{4}$  years. If, however, we take the average lengths of the reign for the dynasties separately in this period we shall have for the 14th dynasty a little over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years; for the 15th,  $47\frac{1}{3}$  years; for the 16th about 16 years; and for the 17th,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years.

Notwithstanding Bunsen's fairly good opinion of Africanus he did not agree with his data for this period, and no wonder, for it is seen here the average lengths of reign for the different dynasties and for the individual kings of those dynasties for this period are so disproportionate as to be altogether unreasonable. The investigator will easily conclude that the actual state of the facts could

hardly have been as they would seem to have been represented by Africanus for that period in Egypt.

Let us now take the statements of Eusebius for that period and nation, which are as follows:—

				<i>Years.</i>
14th Dynasty . . . . .	76	Choite Kings	484	
15th " . . . . .	—	Theban "	250	
16th " . . . . .	5	" "	190	
17th " . . . . .	4	Shepherd "	103	
<hr/>				
Total . . . . .			1027	

In the aggregate number of years here given by Eusebius for this period there are 110 years less than Africanus would appear to give and 100 years more than what Bunsen allows for it. As the number of kings for the fifteenth dynasty is not stated in Eusebius nor in Syncellus on Eusebius, it is impossible for us to give the average length of reign for the whole period. But we can give it for the separate dynasties so far as the other three dynasties for the period are concerned. For the 14th dynasty, as according to Eusebius, the length of the average reign would be a little less than  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years; for the 16th dynasty 38 years; and for the 17th  $25\frac{3}{4}$  years. The absence of the number of kings for the 15th dynasty in Eusebius, where Africanus has his six Shepherds, might cause some to suspect that this is truly a "Shepherd period" and that Eusebius does not represent things as he found them here, but as he made them to appear himself. It may, however, turn out that one of them was as true as the other in so far at least as that the kings they were writing about were of or sprung from the shepherd stock. However, the mind will be likely to incline here to Africanus and by consideration and comparison of the data in the exhibits will conclude it more probable that the "Phœnician Shepherds" of Africanus succeeded directly to their predecessors in the government and that the 15th and 16th dynasties could have been Diospolitan or Theban (as Eusebius has them to be) only in the sense of their being kings of all Egypt (this even by conquest) and being in occupation of Thebes.

Bunsen, however, has the Shepherds to be the 15th and 16th dynasties. The 17th he makes to be Theban, doubtless, understanding with Africanus, a divided government for the period between contemporary Theban and Shepherd dynasties, as he calls



all this period, as mentioned before "the Hyksos period," and supposes its duration to have been about 922 years.

The exhibit shows Africanus to agree better with Josephus than does Eusebius. In quoting Manetho, in regard to the Hyksos, Josephus represents him to say: "Those people whom we have before named kings and called Shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt for 511 years." "That," after these things, "the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the Shepherds and that thereupon a terrible and protracted war took place between them." Would this period of mutual warfare not refer to the period of 151 years given by Africanus to his 17th dynasty, of divided empire between his Shepherds and Thebans? If there were a divided empire for 151 years the opposing houses would most likely have contended with each other betimes for the dynasty of the entire country and so the affray would have gone on. "He" (Manetho) "says further, that under a king whose name was Misphragmuthosis, the Shepherds were by him subdued, and, indeed, driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was named Avaris: that the Shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength; but that Tuthmosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege with 480,000 men to lie round about them; but that upon his despair of taking the place by that siege they came to a composition with them that they should leave Egypt and go without any harm being done them, whithersoever they would; and that after this agreement was made they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in the country which is now called Judaea and that large enough to contain this great number of men and called it Jerusalem." Josephus says again: "Now Manetho in another book of his says that 'this nation thus called Shepherds were also called captives in their sacred books.' And this account of his is the truth, for herding of sheep was the occupation of our ancestors in the most ancient times and as they led such a wandering life in herding sheep they were called shepherds.

Nor was it without reason that they were called captives by the Egyptians, for Joseph, one of our ancestors, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive and afterwards sent for his brethren to come into Egypt by the king's permission; but as for those matters I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere;" which promised inquiry is not now extant, if it was ever made.

Now whoever those so called Shepherds were or from whatsoever human stock derived, it is seen in the above quotation that Josephus, a Jewish priest, recognized in them the ancestors of the Jews. We learn from this, then, that the ancestors of the Jews were derived from Egypt, the land of Chem or Shem, to Judaea, with the reasonable supposition lying beyond that the ancestors of those ancestors were derived in some preceding age to Egypt from the same northeastern regions of Syria and the adjacent parts.

It is seen also in this same quotation from Josephus that those so called shepherds, ancestors of the Jews, left Egypt to the number of about 240,000 in the time of King Tuthmosis; the son of Misphragmuthosis. This Tuthmosis I find to be Rameses II, or his son, who was separated in time some 530 years at least from the Tuthmosis referred to by Josephus; and this whether or not any Exodus of Shepherds took place in those reigns. But, now, if this 240,000 men were armed, and accompanied by women and children, they would have certainly presented a terrible aspect as they marched by Idumaea and up through southern Judaea under the renowned conqueror Tuthmosis: but, in the state of the case, such a supposition is inadmissible; for Moses, with perhaps four times the number of Israelites, old and young, male and female, must have been marching and counter-marching contemporarily to Sinai, through the wilderness, skirting the borders of Edom, Midian and Moab, to Mount Horeb and Mount Hor and Mount Pisgah during forty years, while young Joshua was being disciplined and exercised for the command in the war which would give them the possession of Palestine and a continued victory over the Canaanitish race of giants.

This quotation from Josephus, therefore, gives us two items, first, the derivation of the Jewish nation and, secondly, the name of the king in whose reign, according to Josephus' opinion, the Exodus from Egypt took place. In regard to the data which Manetho may have left relating to the Shepherds, as well as to the other parts of the Egyptian history, since we have now no access to that author's works, excepting through the intermediary of his

epitomists, his works othwise having long ago disappeared, it would seem the most natural if not the most correct course to keep nearest to the records of those of his epitomists who were nearest in time to him. Josephus, therefore, comes first, Africanus second.

If, then, there be anything in what Josephus says or if he has correctly quoted Manetho, we would naturally understand Manetho as informing us that the Shepherd race dominated Egypt for 511 years. The words are: "These people, whom we have before named kings and called Shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt for 511 years." This includes, of course, the aggregate of the reigns of the six kings first mentioned, which as put down in the different authorities would give the six an average reign of from forty-two to forty-seven years, a result not consistent with historical experience. The sum given by Africanus is 518 years, which is evidently a slight variation of the same number, for the same period for which he has thirty-two Shepherd kings. Then the latter gives for 151 years forty-three Shepherd kings and an equal number of Thebans contemporary; data which Josephus does not give, but might be thought to imply in the time of war which he represents to exist in this interval, in these words: "The kings of Thebes and of the other parts of Egypt made insurrection against the Shepherds and a terrible and protracted war had place between them." This might be most naturally understood in the way represented in Africanus, that for 151 years two governments were established in Egypt, betimes contending with each other for the monarchy, or sole sovereignty, the one having its administrative offices at Thebes, the other, perhaps, at Memphis, or Herakleopolis, *i.e.*, Sethrum, doubtless, the city called Sais, in the Sethroite Nome.

Manetho, through Josephus, further says: "That under a king whose name was Misphragmuthosis the Shepherds were subdued and were driven out of all other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was called Avaris." This would indicate that the capital city of the Shepherds had been Memphis, until the time of the father of Tuthmosis III, so that they would have had Avaris or Sethrum, as their capital city, for only a part of one reign.

Having, therefore, the time given definitely in Africanus for that double dynasty, the 17th, and knowing definitely by the lists that

Tuthmosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, is the 7th ruler of the immediately succeeding 18th dynasty, what we have to do in finding from the data given the length of time this Shepherd race was in Egypt, is to add the years of the 18th dynasty, given to the reigns, up to the year in which he succeeded in having the Shepherds go up and build Jerusalem, and add the amount to the aggregate already obtained, namely,  $518 + 151 + 126 = 795 = 600 + 195$  years. This calculation would have the effect (granting the claim of Josephus to the Shepherds being his ancestors, and his own reckoning of the reigns of the 18th dynasty down to Tuthmosis III, to be correct), of adding another patriarchal cycle to the three weeks of cycles we find elsewhere, for the interval from Adam to Christ. I take the 18th dynasty here, as according to Josephus, for Africanus does not appear to have stated the length of reign of its first king, while Josephus has put down for him 25 years and 4 months: —

	<i>Irs.</i>	<i>Mos.</i>
1. Tuthmosis I, according to Josephus.....	25	8
2. Chebron, " " ".....	13	
3. Amenophis, " " ".....	20	7
4. Ames (Sister), " " ".....	21	9
5. Mephres, " " ".....	12	9
6. Misphragmuthosis, " " ".....	25	10
7. Tuthmosis, " " ".....	9	8
Total,.....	129	2

Of this sum I take 126 years, leaving the departure of the Shepherds to have taken place in the 7th year of the reign of Tuthmosis, called the Third. A person might think there was one name too many in this list, and that the 13 years given to Chebron should be added to the 25 years and 8 months given to Tuthmosis I, or that the sum given to said Tuthmosis should be added to Chebron's. This of itself, would make no difference in the numerical result and it may be as well as it is, for Chebron is only a substitutional form for the real one.

If some might argue that the above item of 195 years should be 215, understanding with Josephus, the Shepherd Kings to have been of the house of Jacob, then I may say that the reckoning of 795 years in the one case or 195 in the other is from the death of Joseph; but if the 20 years of the life of Joseph after his father came into Egypt should be required, which, however, is already



contained in the aggregate of the numbers given to the patriarchs from Adam to Joseph inclusive in my reckoning, under that head, then that 20 years can still be drawn from the reign of Tuthmosis III., whose reign in Syncellus' *Laterculus* is put down at 39 years, instead of 9 as in Josephus. Absolutely, according to this reckoning, the Israelites would have been in Egypt 815 years after the entrance of Jacob into that country; there is, therefore, no need of reckoning that 20 years in twice as my proceeding here, in relation to that elsewhere, will be easily apprehensible.

As then we have it established, according to one set of authorities, that the time intervening between the entrance of the Shepherds into Egypt under their first Prince Saïtes, and their much heard of exodus therefrom in the time of Tethmosis III., was 815 years, it is natural for us to inquire whether there is a good reason to believe these Shepherds to have been the descendants of Jacob, who went down into Egypt in the days of Joseph. The fact that their first prince in Egypt was called Saïtes, Seth (*Sidris* or the viceroy) might indicate him to have been identical with him whom the Scriptures call Joseph; for Seph is another form for Seth, as Greek *Hippos*, root *Hip*, is equivalent to Gaelic *Eich*, root *Eich*, a horse, the same root, the *ch* mutating with *ph*. Seth, Seph, appears as phis in Memphis, Remphis, for Menes (*Men-Seth*) Ram-es (*Raam-Seth*), etc. The star Sirius, the dog-star, is called also by the Egyptians, Soth, or Seth or Seph. The prefix *Jo* would in this compound mean son. It might also be considered as a repetition of the root, for among the Egyptians it was one of the names of Hercules or the Sun; but Joseph would mean literally Pharaoh, *Phra-ao=Ao-Seph* or Joseph. So much for the name, whether or not there be anything in this. *Salatis* is said to mean viceroy or one who acts in another's place; would Josephus have given the patriarch Joseph this appellation as intending to imply by it his office of viceroy for Pharaoh? For me to enter into an explanation of the names of the other Shepherd Kings that are given is unnecessary, since they are much varied in their forms as they appear in the different authorities.

If, however, on the other hand, there are those who think they have good ground for assuming the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt to be identical with that of the Phœnician Shepherd dynasty and to have lasted only 215 years, they have for their chronological data to depend upon Eusebius; but even so they cannot

go altogether with him, as he made the exodus to take place in the third reign, or about 70 years after it did take place, as according to what we have seen in Josephus.

But, taking Eusebius' computation for the reigns of his four Shepherds of the 17th dynasty, which is 103 years, and adding thereto from the list of Eusebius down to, say, the fifth year of Tuthmosis III., we shall have  $103+102=205$  years, from which we can safely, in consideration of the fluctuation of the numerical quantities in those authorities, take 10 and leave 195 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt after the death of Joseph.

If, instead of subtracting 10 from the 205 years, down to the fifth year of Tethmosis III., we should add 10 to that number, which we can do as in the other case, whether or not with the same justness, then we have 215 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt after the entrance to Egypt of Jacob. To this last change, however, I, with the calculation I have already made out, taking in the whole life of Joseph to his death, need not be a party.

Now, the difference in the time the Shepherds are represented as having sojourned in Egypt by those authorities arises from the places these Shepherd dynasts occupy in their lists and the number of years placed to the credit of their dominancy or sojourn. Bunsen having his own synchronistic system fully in view heartily concurs in Syncellus' accusation of Eusebius for arbitrarily altering the list of Manetho, as given in Africanus. "That these foreign kings," says Bunsen, formed the 17th dynasty is a fiction of Eusebius, who is on that account fairly charged by Syncellus with falsification of the lists. As regards names and years of reigns they are treated with the same procrustean license." (Egypt 1,223).

It may be that both Syncellus and Bunsen were too severe in their accusations of the bishop of Cesarea. They may not have sufficiently reflected that this mighty theologian and diplomatist of the days and empire of the great Constantine must have had very much work to do in the theological field, aside from examining into the chronology of the history of the ancient empires; and, that, in his perplexing and laborious circumstances, he may have judged it to be his bounden duty, in the then very varied state of polytheism, to have all chronologies to square, with the Biblical as derived from the Rabbis, and, which he, doubtless, judged had been very carefully computed and prepared by them during a long series of ages. The requirements of our age are very perceptibly different from those of the age of Eusebius.

*MANETHO, THE SEBENNYTE AND HIS WORKS.*

Manetho, the Egyptian historian, who was known to the ancients as a priest of Sebennytus, is supposed to have lived in the reign and estimation of Ptolemy Soter and his successor Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is remarked that this man, whom all the ancient authorities mentioned with deference, this historian endowed, if Aelian speak truly (H. A. x. 16) with consummate wisdom is become almost a mythological personage, with whom men have ceased to connect any clear and definite idea of personality. With the exception of a few fragments preserved by epitomists, his works have disappeared in time while his fame has been somewhat obscured by the indifference or fraud of modern commentators.

This man, whose name in the old Egyptian, it is said, would be pronounced Thothma, owes his reputation principally to having been the first who distinguished himself as a writer upon religion and philosophy as well as upon chronology and history, using the Greek language, as the medium for the elucidation of his native subjects, especially the Sacred Books.

Before the age of the Ptolemies no native Egyptian work was known to the Greeks, either upon their religion or history. To supply the deficiency in each of these branches, Manetho undertook and so well succeeded that he thereby formed an epoch in the research, not only of the Greeks but of the Egyptians themselves.

"Manetho, the Egyptian," says Eusebius, "not only reduced the Egyptian history into a Greek form, but also their entire system of theology, in his treatise entitled the Sacred Book, as well as in other works." Theodoret, in the second quarter of the fifth century, describes him as the author of a mythological work or works concerning Isis and Osiris, Apis and Serapis and the other Egyptian deities. Suidas, also, who had access to genuine sources, ascribes to him physiological and astronomical works, and quotes Manetho's work on the preparation of the sacred incense, the genuine character of which has never admitted of any doubt.

There were, however, either in his own age or very close after him, some who usurped his name, notably the author of the "Apostelmata" and of the book on the "Dog Star."

In the Preface of his work Diogenes Laertius gives a brief description of the Egyptian doctrine concerning the Gods, and justice,

moral precepts and civil institutions, according to Manetho, the Sebennyte, and the younger Hecataeus of Abdera, the friend of Ptolemy Philadelphus. As he was for a good part of his life contemporary with Manetho and frequented the same court he had doubtless read carefully that author's works and in what he quoted would cite correctly. The title of the work, which, it is thought, Diogenes only knew through Hecataeus, was a "Compendium of Natural Philosophy."

The description Diogenes gives of it is as follows: "The beginning (the first principle of things) is substance ( $\psi\chi\eta$ ); from it the four elements afterwards separated themselves and animals were formed. The deities are the Sun and Moon; the former is called Osiris, the latter, Isis. Their emblems are the Beetle, the Dragon (the Basilisk supposed) the Hawk and others. Statues and holy places are prepared for them, but the true form of God is unknown. The world had a beginning and is perishable; it is in the shape of a ball. The stars are fire and earthly things are under their influence. The moon is eclipsed when it crosses the shadow of the earth. The soul endures and passes into other bodies. The rain is caused by a change in the atmosphere. Hecataeus and Aristagoras mention other physiological doctrines. They had laws also for justice which they ascribed to Hermes (Thoth). They paid divine honors to useful animals. They claim the invention of Geometry, Astrology and Arithmetic." (Diog. Lert. Proem.) Although it may be said that this meagre exhibit of their system is but a homely outline, still it will be noticed that it is free from those fantastic dreams which so distinguish some other systems and are eminently characteristic of the productions of the so-called Spurious Manetho.

According to his usual practice, without reference to any particular work, does Plutarch quote Manetho, the Sebennyte. This he does in regard to the derivation of the Egyptian name Zeus, Amun, etc. Manetho, he tells us, interprets this last name as signifying the Hidden God. Iamblichus gives the same interpretation. (De Mysteriis VIII. 3, Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 9. p. 354).

Manetho is quoted by Aelian in explanation of the reason why swine's flesh was forbidden to the Egyptian priests. The reason he states to be that whoever tastes sow's milk is attacked with scurvy and leprosy. This circumstance is also quoted by Plutarch as a reason why the Egyptians considered the hog an unclean animal.

With remarkable sprightliness and fullness of detail, reflecting



great interest on the subject, does the latter explain how the Kiphi, the sacred incense of the Egyptians, was prepared and mixed during the reading of the passages of the Sacred Books, which bore upon it. Suidas, as before mentioned, was acquainted with a special work of Manetho upon the Kiphi. On two points of the greatest importance in the religious history of Egypt Plutarch quotes the authority of Manetho. One of these relates to the most prominent name of Typhon, namely, Seth, for he remarks that Bebon was generally held to belong not properly to Typhon, but to one of his attendants. From Manetho he also learned that as the magnet is called the bones of Horus so iron is called by the Egyptians "the bones of Typhon."

That the ancient Egyptian religion practiced human sacrifices has been, I believe, well ascertained, and its abolition in the time of the old empire makes a memorable epoch in the religious history of Egypt. Plutarch informs us how Manetho relates that in Eilethya (the city of the mother of Isis) the sacrifice of the so-called Typhoneans was performed during the dog-days, after which the ashes of the victims were scattered to the wind. From Manetho's work on Archaeology and Devotion he doubtless drew this account. This same work is quoted by Porphyry to the following effect: "Amos abolished the practice of human sacrifices in Heliopolis. They were formerly performed to Hera (the mother of Isis). The victims were examined and a seal was affixed to them, just as the calves, 'without blemish' are now examined and sealed. Three were sacrificed daily. Amos ordered the same number of wax figures to be offered in their stead."\* Sensible man! In one of his works, that on "Ancient Theology," Manetho described this custom, which was well known to the ecclesiastical writers, especially Eusebius, and Theodoret. In a critical estimate of the facts transmitted by Porphyry, relative to Egyptian affairs, it is important for us to know that he knew and quoted the text of Manetho. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as accidental that everything which has been drawn from the theological works of Manetho, by classical and ecclesiastical writers up to the fourth century, indicates a man of great sobriety and remarkable learning, more especially in the antiquities of his nation.

Men are now generally of the opinion that it would be unjust to attribute to him any such dreamy and necromantic books, as some

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\* Porphy. de Abst. p. 199, R.

that have been put out under his name : nor do they suspect that this man, whom the monuments have so far proved to a good degree correct, would by altering or misplacing the names of kings or dynasties have left himself open to the charge of an empiric or a deceiver. They no longer consider that they should hold him responsible for the mistakes of copyists or epitomizers or for the forgeries of systematizing chronologers, who have had to do with his work.

Of Manetho's historical work we have a better knowledge than of his other works. It was entitled "Three Books of Egyptian History." It was written in good Greek and taken, according to his own statement, from the Egyptian records. Josephus admits that he did not pay much attention to popular legends, but where he mentioned them did not conceal the sources of his information. From the same testimony we know that he refuted many statements of Herodotus concerning Egyptian affairs.

With the assistance of the Turin Papyrus, which we shall speak of hereafter, it is thought a comparatively easy matter to render the plan of his work intelligible. The first volume is said to have contained the series of ante-historical dynasties, that is, those prior to the thirty historic dynasties : it began with the dynasties of the Gods and ended with those of mortal kings.

Then follow in the same volume the first eleven historic dynasties, so-called.

The second volume is said to have begun with the 12th and ended with the 19th dynasty ; and the last eleven dynasties are said to have been comprised in the third volume.

That this was the plan of Manetho's work we have only the word of his epitomists and so have to take that word at what we may consider it worth. If, however, the arrangement were such as is here said, then his first volume contained the mythical history of Egypt with such part of the history of the old empire as embraced at least the first 26 names of the list of Eratosthenes (which I will give farther on) brought forward (or backward, if you will so have it) and rendered somewhat mythical by way of anticipation : for the 38 names of the list of Eratosthenes constitute the Old Empire of Menes to the end of the twelfth dynasty so called ; or, what may be regarded as the same, they constitute the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties ; that is to say, these three last mentioned dynasties, so called, when succinctly and fully expressed,

with no name appearing which belongs not properly to the list and none omitted which properly belongs there, represent what is properly understood as the Old Empire of Menes. If such arrangement as that given above were the work of Manetho and he put in only to the end of his 11th dynasty, so called, of mortal kings in his first volume; then we have to say concerning it that such arrangement seems inconsistent with the real state of the case, even in the production of a work of art; for why should he have brought eleven of the historic dynasties under a mythic cloud, so to speak, and left one, the twelfth, to bask in the historic sunshine of his Second Book?

Whether or not this was the arrangement, or whether, if it were, it was altogether the work of Manetho, there certainly appears connected with it something like what is called in modern vulgar phrase, "a shoving of the cards" or "a shoving of the queer," there being a displacing of things for a purpose, the design here evidently being to obscure the subject and render it next to impossible to discover the truth concerning the progress of the history. There appears to be no doubt that we may consider ourselves indebted for a good deal that comes to us under the name of Manetho, to persons who succeeded him in time.

A GENERAL REVIEW, ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF THE DYNASTIES IN RELATION TO THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 3555 YEARS, SAID TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY MANETHO AS THE LIMIT OF THEIR DURATION FROM MENES TO NECTANEBO; AND THE RESULT:

We will now give a brief outline of Manetho's historical system; and to begin with it may be remarked that in regard to his Primeval Chronology we are indebted to Eusebius, the Armenian, for the only certain knowledge we have of this preliminary portion of his work.

This whole opening period Manetho, according to Eusebius, computed at 24,900 years; and under three general divisions, namely, the dominion of Gods, Heroes and Manes.

1. The dominion of Gods was divided into seven sections, a different deity being at the head of each. The order is Ptah, Ra and Num, the Chnumis or Kneph of the Greeks (which correspond respectively to Vulcan, Helios, and Agathodaemon in the Greek and Roman Mythologies). Then the four still preserved in the Turin Papyrus of Wilkinson, namely, Chronus, Osiris, Typho, Horus

(*i.e.*, Seb, Hesiri, Seth, Her). This Papyrus has enabled us to restore with certainty the first three dynasties.

2. The dominion of Demi-Gods. The last of the rulers who succeeded the great Gods, Eusebius, without taking any more pains to more nearly specify him, calls Bytis.

Iamblichus says that Bitis or Bytis was a prophet of Ammon, the King, *i.e.*, Hyk, Ammon's peculiar title. He interpreted the Hermetic Books, that is, he was the minister or priest of Ammon. It is hence assumed, that Manetho made the inferior deities succeed the Seven Great Gods; and this is clearly seen to be the case not only in the Papyrus but in the work attributed to a spurious Manetho, wherein they are called Demi-Gods. Eusebius, in the sequel, comprises the whole period ending with Bitys under the dominion of the Gods and says that, according to Manetho, it lasted 13,900 years. There are, consequently, still 11,025 years remaining, which Eusebius sums up, but misplaces some of the items. The following, however, is considered the substance of Manetho's system.

	<i>Years.</i>
1. Dominion of the Gods in two divisions, the first of which ended with Horus, the second with Bitys . . . . .	13,900
2. Dominion of Heroes in two divisions . . . . .	1,255
3. Heroes and Kings of the primeval race, transition from divine to human history . . . . .	5,813
4. Human history — Provincial Princes — as follows: —	
( <i>a.</i> ) Kings, without particular notices (of Thebes?) . . . . .	1,817
( <i>b.</i> ) Thirty Memphites (Lower Egypt) . . . . .	1,790
( <i>c.</i> ) Ten Thinites . . . . .	350
Sum total . . . . .	24,925

Neither the single sums here taken for gods, demi-gods, manes or mortals, nor the aggregate of them all bears the appearance of having been intended to be cyclical. As to the historical period in this enumeration it remains a question as to whether its three divisions were really consecutive or whether the last was wholly or partially contemporary with the first. In the former way Manetho computed them. Investigators have assumed it, as a historically settled point, that the Egyptian tradition prior to the time of Menes admitted one dynasty of kings in Lower Egypt and one, at least, perhaps two, in Upper Egypt, during a period of from two to four thousand years. To these dynasties, which are perfectly distinct from the mythological kings, whose history is connected



rather with that of the Gods, the race of Menes succeeds. From the dawn of its history, Egypt appears to our view as an empire formed out of the Upper and Lower country. Egypt itself is usually called "the two countries." Down to the last period the title of their kings was, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt. Misraim (Heb. Mestra-im, the two Mestra, Mizra) contains a similar allusion.

As to how far those data of primeval Egyptian history may have been preserved in their genuine form or how far they may have been tampered with by Judaizing Christians and others has been with many investigators a matter of serious consideration. An expedient for reducing this sum of nearly 25,000 years to 2206 by reckoning each year a month in order to bring them within the period, which, according to the Septuagint, intervened between the creation and the deluge (2242 years) was proposed by Eusebius. But for this he was taxed by the Byzantine writers with a misapprehension of the deeper import of the ancient traditions; nor is it thought that he could have been serious in a proposal, which would, in this case, have involved him in much absurdity, for after he should have so reduced the period of 350 years which is allotted to the last ten kings, these ten should not have reigned altogether 30 years, which is not half the time that is put down for the reign of Menes, their own descendant.

As regards the purely Mythological Dynasties there is no reason appearing to show that Manetho reduced the period of the Gods, nor the whole period prior to Menes, to Sothiac cycles of 1461 years each, or to any other class of astronomical periods. But, as regards the human period, the old Egyptian tradition did, as said before, recognize historical royal families prior to Menes. These, however, were separated from the divine founders of their nation by the sacred princes of the primeval times who were said to have reigned several thousand years. No family name having been assigned to their most ancient monarchs it is thought they may have been elective as to office, chosen by the priests, a form which we have seen, maintained itself to some degree in later historic times.

In proceeding to give a brief synoptical review of the 30 dynasties of Manetho I may remark, as intimated before, that his narrative is no longer extant, with the exception of a few extracts in Josephus and others; but his lists we still possess, though in part

in a somewhat mutilated condition. From the Papyrus we know that this synoptical form of exposition was the old Egyptian method.

The lists which have come down to us through Africanus and Eusebius give but the names of the Kings in each dynasty and not always these, together with a notice of their years of reign without months or days. But, in Josephus, so far as he quotes, we find the old Egyptian computation by years and months; and a notice, even giving the days, is said to be still preserved in these extracts. Of other minutiae also traces are found such as the affinity of the Kings with their predecessors and even their physical constitution.

Manetho, therefore, according to his country's custom, appended to his historical text lists, constructed after the Hellenic fashion in a narrative and critical form, or incorporated them in sections in his history. The chronographers contented themselves with epitomizing those lists, inserting in them, here and there, remarks culled from the body of the work.

Manetho, according to Syncellus, assigned to the whole Egyptian Empire from Menes to Nectambo (about 350 B. C.) a period of 3555 years. And now, that you may without further argument be convinced that the sums of the numbers of years given for the dynasties are not to be reckoned continuously, you can take the aggregate of the years given for those dynasties and see how it will compare with this number of Manetho.

The sum of the periods of the thirty dynasties is according to Africanus approximately 5319 years, which is 1764 years more than the number given by Syncellus, as from Manetho. Moreover, the number given by Eusebius is approximately 4940 years, which is 1385 years more than that given by Manetho. What does this indicate? At first thought it might be taken to indicate that many of the dynasties, which are entered under Manetho's name as kings of Egypt, were merely provincial kings reigning contemporarily with the kings of all Egypt, whose seat was at Thebes or Memphis. Or, secondly, it might be taken to mean that many of the kings with the numbers attached to their names appearing thuswise under the name of Manetho as sovereigns of Egypt are merely kings on paper, the names with their numbers arising from interpolation into the text after the time of Manetho. As mentioned before many of the dynasties in Manetho with the numbers to them are not recognized in the list of Eratosthenes, purporting to be of the

Kings of Egypt for the same period, and from this, if not from any other cause, a person would think they did not belong to the history proper.

Speaking of that period said to have consisted in Manetho of 12 dynasties and which in Eratosthenes' list is represented by a succession of 38 kings; beginning with Menes; but which as I have mentioned before is as fairly represented in the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties of Manetho, when fully expressed, as it is in Eratosthenes, the overplus in the aggregate of the Epitomists above Manetho's number arises mainly from the numbers given to the 2nd dynasty, which is supposed to have been contemporary with the 3rd; to that given to the 5th or Elephantine dynasty which is supposed to have been contemporaneous with the 4th and 6th or to have been provincial; and to the 9th and 10th or Herakleopolitan dynasties so called, which some supposed to have been provincial and contemporary with the Theban monarchs; to that overplus also given to the 12th and 13th dynasties above what is given to the men representing them in Eratosthenes; to the number given to the Choites as well as the 284 or 253, or whatever number that is of years which is set down to the first six Shepherd kings; and which I have concluded, from the language of Josephus, is to be reckoned in the 518 plus 151 plus X years, which are yet given to the Shepherd rule in Africanus, all of which is to be thought of when considering the overplus of years and dynasties in the Epitomists above the aggregate of years said to have been ascribed by Manetho for the thirty dynasties.

It is to borne in mind in regard to this whole subject of the Egyptians and Shepherds that the dynasty of Menes itself was probably of Shepherd origin, if not of Libyan or Ethiopian Shepherd, yet of Asiatic Shepherd origin; and the Scriptures might be thought to strengthen the supposition of the Asiatic origin of the family of Menes, for they inform us that Mizraim, the son of Cham and grandson of Noah, whom some have (without giving sufficient attention to the chronology of the subject) thought to be identical with Menes, settled Egypt and the adjacent parts of Africa, including Ethiopia and Libya after the flood. Moreover, when we speak of the sons of Abraham colonizing Africa, we are, it is seen, coming within one generation of Jacob, who, the Scriptures inform us, died in Egypt after a residence there of 17 years. Speaking of things after the death and burial of Sarah Josephus says (Ant. Bk.

1, ch. XV.): Abraham after this married Keturah, by whom he had six sons, men of courageous and sagacious minds: Zambran and Jazar and Madan and Madian and Josabak and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were Sabatha and Dadan; the sons of Dadan were Latusim and Assur and Luom; the sons of Madian were Ephas and Ophren and Anoch and Ebidas and Eldas. Now all these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to settle in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis and the country of Arabia Felix, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren that he made war against Libya and took it; and that his grandchildren (the first cousins to the ancestor of the twelve tribes) "when they inhabited it called it from his name, Africa; and, indeed, Alexander Polyhistor, gives his attestation to what I here say, who speaks thus: 'Cleodemus, the prophet, who was also called Malcus, who wrote a history of the Jews in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah; nay, he names three of them, Apher and Surim and Japhran; that from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two (Apher and Japhran) the country of Africa took its name; because these men were auxiliars to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antæus and that Hercules (*i. e.*, Aahmes or Menes), married Aphre's daughter and of her begot a son Diodorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom that barbarous people called Sophacians were denominated. This would make the settlement of Egypt and the adjacent regions of Africa which was in any case, scripturally, by the descendants of Noah, to have been in this case of the tenth generation from Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, but in the line of Shem and Arphaxed. Now, all history proves that the people of Abraham were eminently of the Shepherd and Scythic kind which was the case doubtless with their ancestors the people of Noah from high Asia. In fact the name of Egypt in the language of that country is Chemi or Schemi, the land of Cham, the son of Noah, which may have been given to the country after the name of Cham, whose people settled it.

All this being so, therefore, there can be the less difficulty in conceiving how that the designations Elephantinean, Herakleopolitan, Choithe (Chethites, *i. e.*, Hittites) Shasu or Shepherds and the like are but different names for the same people, either as a whole or in regard to different tribes of the same. But the fact of



so many different dynasties being recorded indicates that there were not only distinctions recognized among the clans of descendants of Menes, but that intruding dynasts from Asia and Ethiopia may have occasionally occupied the Egyptian throne, which last the historian informs us was the case, after the 38th ruler as given in Eratosthenes.

For a chronological connection of the dynasties, so far as an aggregation of the numbers annexed to them are concerned, in order to reasonably get a sum to square with the aggregate, said to have been given by Manetho, the following dynasties have been suggested: The 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th, 11th and 12th dynasties and up to 235, say, in the 13th, or arbitrarily in this case, until we, counting in what is given for those dynasties, which come after and whose numbers may appear to be better authenticated, arrive at a number, which will square with Manetho's, that is, supposing him to have begun his list and his reckoning with Menes. Let us take the figures given in Africanus of the dynasties mentioned as follows:—

	<i>Years.</i>
1st. Dynasty.....	263
3d       ".....	214
4th       ".....	284
6th       ".....	203
7th and 8th ".....	146
11th      ".....	43
12th      ".....	160
13th      ".....	up to 235
	<hr/>
	1548
14th, 15th and 16th dynasties.....	518
17th,       ".....	151
18th to 30th dynasties inclusive .....	1338
	<hr/>
	3555

This, of course, is to an extent arbitrary, as I have said; for after excluding from the enumeration down to the 13th dynasty all not put down under the head of Theban or Memphite; and after selecting from those two such as some believed did carry on the thread of the Chronology, I then took from the sum given to the 13th dynasty, just the number of years I wanted to fill out Manetho's aggregate of 3555 years; that is, in connection with the numbers given by Africanus for the Shepherd dynasties and those that

came after to the 30th inclusive. It is, however, allowed to be uncertain whether Manetho may not have begun to reckon from some dynasty antecedent to Menes, so that there can be nothing definite about this aggregate number of Manetho's as it comes to us through Syncellus. If we had taken the aggregate number which appears to be given by Africanus for the 30 dynasties, we would have as said above, 5319 years or 1764 years over Manetho's number, which renders it certain that, if all these numbers were entered by him and if he had stated correctly the aggregate number given by Manetho, he could not have understood the dynasties as succeeding each other in chronological order.

It is over the old Empire and the Middle or that of the Hykshos, so called, that the obscurity is found to hang. As regards the New Empire, so called, it is taken as demonstrated that no two dynasties from the 18th to the 30th inclusive, were contemporary and the aggregate number of years given for the individual reigns for this period (if we except the aggregate given to the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, so called, which as I have said represent when properly expressed the whole preceding history from Menes), seems on the whole, to be not unreasonable.

Everything goes to show us that Thebes and Memphis were the recognized orthodox seats of the undivided monarchy of Egypt and when, for example, we meet in the 5th, 9th, and 10th dynasties, so called, of that old monarchy with the dynastic names, Elephantinean and Herakleopolitan, which name, at least, in either case is not repugnant to a Shepherd extraction; and in the 14th dynasty, so called, with 76 Choite (Chethite) kings, whose name shows them to have been Shepherds and whose average reign from the aggregate number of years (184) given them in Africanus' is only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years or from that given them in Eusebius (484) is not quite  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years, we simply make up our mind that these are but repetitions of the names and numbers of the regular kings under slightly varying forms, or that they are interpolations by later hands than Manetho's for the purpose of obscuring the subject, perhaps in order to support some historico-religious theory as to origin.

The statement of Syncellus as to the aggregate number reckoned by Manetho for his 30 dynasties appears, at first sight, as if it might be straightforward and true: "The period of the hundred and thirteen generations reckoned by Manetho in his three volumes comprises a sum total of three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years."

This would make it appear that Manetho reckoned back by generations, giving the average length of life at nearly  $31\frac{1}{2}$  years, and that his aggregate number of years is reckoned back from about the 15th year before Alexander the Great or that in which the younger Nectanebo died, to Menes. This Nectanebo Syncellus represents as the last Egyptian king described by Manetho and the last Pharaoh of the old Egyptian race. He is lost to our treatment in about 350 or 352 B. C. "From his date," says Syncellus, "he" (Manetho) "reckons his 3555 years up to the year of the world 1586 (properly 1593). Consequently,  $352+3555+1593=5500$  years B. C., for the creation, according to this reckoning, instead of 4004 as the Biblical Chronology has it, or 6000 as the Babylonian appears to be.

It is supposed by the theorists that Syncellus found this statement in a section of the epitome of Africanus, the remainder of which he did not copy; or that he may have found the statement in one of the copies of the lists of Manetho, which he mentions as having collated.

It is seen, therefore, we have on the same authority the sum total of the thirty dynasties given as from 1500 to 2000 more than Manetho himself is said to have assigned for the period; consequently the aggregate of the dynasties as they have reached us are far from being the work of Manetho. It has been suggested that the meaning of the latter was that the duration of the Old and Middle Empires was 3555 years minus the 1350 years or so which he assigned to the New Empire or in round numbers 2200 years. And now, it so happens, that if we leave out the reckoning for the Middle Empire, so called, altogether and aggregate the sums of the numbers given to the dynasties by Africanus and Eusebius from the first to the 12th dynasty, so called, inclusive and in order as they would appear to have reigned and to this add the sum for the New Empire, so called, we shall have about that number of years, which will dispense with a Middle Empire and connect the 12th dynasty chronologically with the 18th, so called.

The natural way we are apt to think of those dynasties in relation to the numbers of years set down against them respectively is that they reigned successively over Egypt, as they appear in the list to have done, and for the numbers of years ascribed to them respectively. But this we cannot begin to do with the dynasties and the numbers ascribed to them in Africanus and be consistent with Africanus or his interpreter and editor Syncellus.

In case there arose any reasonable ground for suspicion that any part of this ancient history of Egypt had been manufactured for a purpose, as to support some hypothesis, as before intimated, then there are many reasons why such suspicion would first rest on the Middle Empire, so called, being such in this case that there are no two authors found to agree in their data concerning it. Look at the exhibits of the data which Africanus, Eusebius and Syncellus give us of their Middle Empire. Wilkinson, when he found them so much disagreed, was perfectly justified in striking out on an independent path of his own, and tabulating a system which he thought might mutually support and be supported by the Bible; but in carrying out this plan he acted somewhat arbitrarily. The eight Tanites which he found the "Old Egyptian Chronicle" gave to the 16th dynasty he said he preferred to what Africanus or Eusebius ascribed thereto; but then he went to work and added to this very dynasty, which he had found already replete with men and years (in "the old chronicle!") three names more which he succeeded in picking up upon the monuments. He knew he could not put the whole seven of his Osirtasens and Amun-m-Gori's into the 17th dynasty, so called, and yet agree with "the Old Chronicle" and so he added three to the 16th, already full, as I have said, with kings and years, and then he made himself agree with "the Old Chronicle" and Eusebius in giving four of the seven names to the 17th dynasty. The works of Wilkinson on Egypt are, on the whole, interesting and valuable and their author was undoubtedly a well meaning man.

<i>Dynasty.</i>		<i>Africanus.</i> <i>Years.</i>	<i>Eusebius and</i> <i>Syncellus.</i> <i>Years.</i>
1st	Dynasty	253	258
2nd	"	302	297
3rd	"	214	198
4th	"	274 or 284	448
5th	"	218	100
6th	"	203	203
7th and 8th	"	142 and 70 days	100 and 75 days
9th	"	409	100
10th	"	185	185
11th	"	59	59
12th	"	160	182
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2,419 and 70 days	2,130 and 75 days



The numbers here, as is seen, fluctuate a little in general; but there are two in particular which need to be noticed. As to the number 448 years for the 4th dynasty Eusebius in Syncellus and in the Armenian version are agreed upon that number of years distributed to 17 kings for that dynasty, which would leave a little over 26 years for the average reign, which appears too high an average. Under the head of the same dynasty Africanus has 274 or 284 years distributed among 8 kings, which leaves the average reign to be  $34\frac{1}{4}$  or  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years; and this, being far too great an average for experience, is therefore much more improbable than the other proportion makes it to be. 284 years is exactly what Africanus allows to his first six Shepherd kings of his 15th dynasty, which giving  $47\frac{1}{3}$  years of average reign is still more unreasonable than this he gives us for his 4th. There being 8 kings for the 4th dynasty and 9 for the 5th in Africanus it is reasonable to suppose that in Eusebius both these numbers are found compounded under one head, representing his 4th dynasty of 17 kings. This appears the more reasonable conclusion, first, because Eusebius gives only two names, Othoes and Phiops, both names meaning giants (Elephantin), under his fifth dynasty; and secondly, because he, not seeming to specify any particular number of years for that, his fifth dynasty (Syncellus loosely gives 100), still has the sum of the numbers of years, as given for the 4th and 5th dynasties from him, to compare respectably with the sum of the numbers given in Africanus for the same dynasties; viz.:  $448+100=548$  years for Eusebius; and  $284+218=502$  for Africanus' 4th and 5th dynasties.

The next numbers which I have to remark upon in these two columns, as presenting the most remarkable difference as standing for the same dynasty, is that representing the 9th, which in Africanus is 409 years, distributed among 19 kings, thus admitting an average reign of about  $21\frac{1}{2}$  years, which of itself appears not unreasonable. Eusebius for the same dynasty has 100 years distributed among 4 kings, thus giving an average reign of 25 years. In neither of these lists, if they may in the case be called lists, is the name of any king mentioned, excepting one, Achthoes, which name means a giant. They say he was a most fearful man among his own people, and was finally killed by a crocodile. Nor does either of them give any name for the following dynasty, the 10th, in which each distributes to 19 kings 185 years, thus allowing an average reign of not quite 10 years. The sum of the kings for these two dynasties

appears to be either 19 or 23. The 19 kings being repeated for such unequal numbers of years in both the dynasties by Africanus shows there must be a mistake by repetition of this number. Eusebius, however, giving 4 instead of 19 for his 10th dynasty, may imply a probability in favor of the sum of the apparent numbers 19 and 4 equals 23 kings for the two dynasties. The sum of 409 and 185 is 594 years, which, divided by 19 kings, gives a little over 31 years, and by 23 kings nearly 26 years as the average reign for these two dynasties, while divided by 38 or 19+19, the sum of the kings in Africanus, it gives somewhat over  $15\frac{1}{2}$  years as the average reign. This last length of average reign, such a long period being considered, is more probable than the 31 years average reign for 19, but, perhaps, less probable than the 26 years average for 23 kings.

But as to the distribution of the number of years in this case, it appears that Eusebius went off content with only half his share, for  $100+185=285$ , to which if we add the same number, 285, we shall have 570, which is so near as to look very like the sum of the two numbers in Africanus, viz., 594.

Let it suffice to say in addition concerning this topic that Africanus has more and Eusebius less than his share of the years in this case, and that, had a fair division been made between them, there would now appear an equal sum under each of the two columns down to the end of the 12th dynasty. To effect an adjustment we take 289 (the difference between the numbers appearing under the two columns) from 2419, the number appearing under the column of Africanus, and add it, in equal parts, to the numbers left under the two columns, and we have as a result under both 2274.5 years, which must be the same for both, representing, as it does, the same period. But I have thought it strange, in adding up the columns with some of the slightly fluctuating numbers given on both sides for the dynasties, to find that, in one case, the half of the difference between the two columns was 150 or 151, which is the number of years given by Africanus for his 17th dynasty.

If, now, we subtract this result, which we find to be the limit in years of these first 12 dynasties, viz., 2274.5, from the number given by Manetho himself as the limit in years of his 30 dynasties, viz., 3555 years, we have the number 1280.5 as the limit in years of his New Empire. If to this last result we add 352 years B. C., which is the near approximate date at which the history loses sight

of the younger Nectambo, the last indigenous King of the 30th Egyptian dynasty, we shall have  $1280.5 + 352 = 1633$  B. C., as the approximate date of the middle life of Aahmes, the first King of the 18th dynasty, as according to this reckoning. In the life of this King Clement of Alexandria places Moses and the Exodus and his date I find by calculation to be about 1647 B. C. Clement as follows:—

After he has given in (Stromata 1. 145) a review of Jewish Chronology he lays down the following data for the era of Moses:—

From the birth of Moses to the Exodus . . . . .	80 years.
From thence to his death . . . . .	40 "

Consequently Moses went out of Egypt 645 years before the Sothiac period.

The Sothiac period occurring in 1322 B. C., this places the Exodus in 1667 B. C., that is about 650 years before the building of the temple; but this is hardly the understanding of Clement, as will be seen from his reckoning as follows:—

"From Moses and Inachus" (which synchronism, admitted by Tatian after Ptolemy and Apion, appears to have been a settled point with Clements) — "to Deucalion, Phaethon and Cecrops, four generations, reckoning three to a century,

	<i>Years.</i>
make . . . . .	132
From the Flood of Deukalion to the Daktuloi of Mount Ida, according to Thrasyllus . . . . .	73
Thence to the rape of Ganymede . . . . .	65
Thence to the expedition of Perseus (Isthmian Games) . . . . .	15
Thence to the building of Troy . . . . .	34
Thence to the Argonauts . . . . .	64
Thence to Theseus and the Minotaur . . . . .	32
Thence to the 'Seven before Thebes' . . . . .	10
Thence to the establishment of the Olympic Games by Hercules . . . . .	3
Thence to the expedition of the Amazons . . . . .	9
Thence to the deification of Hercules . . . . .	11
Thence to the Rape of Helen . . . . .	4
Here there is an omission of (To the Taking of Troy) . . . . .	10

The continuation according to Eratosthenes:—

From the capture of Troy to the Heraclidæ . . . . .	80
Thence to the foundation of the Ionaian Colonies . . . . .	60
Thence to the Protectorship of Lycurgus . . . . .	159
Thence to the first Olympiad . . . . .	108
	<hr/> 870 "

This sum of 870 years terminates with the year before the first Olympiad. If, therefore, we add to this number 777 we obtain 1647 B. C., which must have been the date Clement had in his mind for the reign of Aahmes, and the Exodus. This date leaves about 630 years between the Exodus and the building of the Temple of Solomon, which differs by 150 years from the time given by the Bible, viz., 480 years.

This latter Usher's chronology, which is our common Biblical chronology, took as its measure. In like manner Josephus has the Exodus to take place in the reign of this Aahmes, giving the date variously at 592 and 612 years before the founding of the Temple. And another computation which places Moses (probably his birth) 602 years before the deification of Bacchus and follows the reckoning of Apollodorus, gives (it is thought owing to a misprint) a considerably earlier date: 1765 or 1785 B. C., for the date of Inachus (contemporary with Moses). This would give for the Exodus 1685 or 1705 B. C.

On the other hand, Apion, the contemporary of Josephus, placed the date of the Exodus in the first year of the 7th Olympiad or about the year 751 B. C. In regard to Moses he says: "I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards the sun-rising, which was agreeable to the city of Heliopolis; that he, also, set up pillars instead of guomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other." (c. Apian Bk. II. 2.) In regard to the Exodus he related that Moses concealed himself on Sinai 40 days before the delivery of the Law; that the Israelites, 110,000 strong, marched in six days to Judaea, and that as by this rapid march they got boils, "sabbo," in Egyptian, which language they spoke, they called the seventh day the Sabbath."

Even if this relation of Apion arose from a tradition, it is evident the man himself did not believe in its extravagances; but he relates it because he knew it would entertain his patrons, the Alexandrians, who were at that time jealous of the wealthy Israelites of the city. It is said of him, that he was "a man versed in all the pettinesses



of antiquarian pedantry, who endeavored to spoil the trade of the Egyptian Ciceroni of his day," and to deprive them of those profits which they were accustomed to derive from their attentions to travelers of distinction. In speaking about the pyramids Pliny mentions him as a dabbler in antiquities generally.

Chaeremon, from whose Egyptian history Josephus quotes in his treatise against Apion, mentions a tradition of the Israelitish exodus, as having taken place in the time of Amenophis and his son Sethos, who were the son and grandson of the great Sesostris. The relation of Chaeremon, as quoted by Josephus, is as follows: "The Goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep and blamed him that her temple had been destroyed in the war; but that Pritiphantes, the sacred scribe said to him that in case he should purge Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased and cast them out of the country; that Moses and Joseph were scribes, Joseph being a sacred scribe; that their names were originally Egyptian, that of Moses having been Tisithen and that of Joseph Peteseeph; that these two came to Pelusium and lighted upon 380,000 that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them and made with them an expedition against Egypt; that Amenophis could not resist their attacks, but immediately fled into Ethiopia and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns and there brought forth a son, whose name was Mesene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about 200,000 men, and then received his father, Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

This narrative even though it arose from some tradition, would hardly be considered as historical, but rather of a legendary character. It gives the name of Sethos, of the lists, the son of Amenophis, as Mesene and differs from the account given by Josephus, as from Manetho (which states that Sethos was five years old when his father retreated to Ethiopia) in saying that the son of Amenophis was not yet born at the time of the departure of his father, but that his mother pregnant with him was concealed in a cave. According to this then, Sethos or Mesene would be born on the eve of his father's departure for Ethiopia and so would be 13 instead of

18 years old at the time of his father's return from Ethiopia, if, as according to the other account, his absence had been only for 13 years. There is, however, here a little different face on the matter, for it says "when he (Mesene) was grown up to man's estate (he) pursued the Jews into Syria, being about 200,000 men, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia." This might imply the absence of Amenophis to have been for more than 13 years; for at the age of 13 his son could not have been expected to have done much to rid the country of a government, which had been established in its administration for that number of years; however, he might have done something to expedite the return of his father with his army by which the liberation of his country from foreign domination might have been effected. Manetho's version of this as quoted by Josephus, I will give farther on. This man Chaeremon lived somewhat earlier than Apion and is quoted by Porphyry as a distinguished writer upon Egyptian theology. In his letter to Anebo the latter writer gives, after Chaeremon, a description of the whole Egyptian Mythology. The extract from that letter, found in Eusebius (*Praep. Evangel.* v. 10) represents Chaeremon as stating that the most ancient Egyptian deities were the planets, the constellations of the Zodiac, and others, with the Decans and Horoscopi.

Porphyry, again in his treatise on "Abstinence from Animal Food," quotes Chaeremon, the Stoic, concerning a commentary on the office and habits of the priesthood, which indicates its authentic character as embodying the doctrine of the Egyptian books. He describes him as an accurate writer and much respected among the Stoic philosophers. He, moreover, quotes from him the remark that the Egyptian priests ranked among their own countrymen as philosophers, that is, were recognized among them as the philosophers were among the Greeks. The account which Chaeremon gives of the departure of the Israelites under Moses Josephus refutes, and, consequently does not paint his character in such bright colors as by the forementioned has been done.

In relation to the same legend as he claims it was given by Manetho Josephus (c. Apion 1. 26) states that "the Shepherds," whom he claimed to have been ancestors of the Jews, had left Egypt and went up and built Jerusalem when a king named Tethmosis ruled Egypt and that from that time till the time of the brothers Sethos (Sesostris) who was otherwise called Aegyptus,

and Armais, who was also called Danaus (to which time the legend we are now considering referred) there had intervened, according to his own reckoning, a period of 333 years, and down to another king, Amenophis, who persecuted the Hebrews in a notorious manner, by compelling them to work in the quarries, etc., there intervened 518 years. Bunsen put the time between the departure of the Shepherds and that of the Israelites under Moses at 215 years and he makes the exodus to have taken place in the days of Amenophis, the son of this Sethos here spoken of. Concerning this king Amenophis who is involved in the narrative of this legend, Josephus says : —

“ This king desired to become a spectator of the Gods, as did Orus, one of his predecessors in the Kingdom desired the same. He also communicated his desire to his namesake, Amenophis, the son of Papis, who seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to sagacity and the prescience of future events. This, his namesake informed him that it was possible for him to see the Gods if he could clear the whole country completely of the lepers and of the other impure people. The king was pleased with this counsel and collected together all that had any defect in their bodies in Egypt. These to the number of eighty thousand he sent to those quarries, which are on the eastern side of the Nile, that they might work in them and thus be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. There were some of those who were afflicted with the leprosy, who were learned priests and that Amenophis, the wise man and prophet was afraid lest in case there should be any violence offered these priests, the gods should become angry with himself and the king. From his prescience of the future, he moreover said that certain people would fight for the assistance of those defiled people and would hold the government of Egypt for thirteen years. This man, Amenophis, thought he dared not himself inform the king of those things which were about to come to pass, and so, having left a writing behind him informing the king of those matters he slew himself, an act which indeed took all heart away from the King. After thesethings the King writes thus verbatim: “ After those who were sent to work in the quarries had continued a long time in that wretched state, the King having been sufficiently recompensed by their services and his honor having been sufficiently vindicated, sets apart for their habitation and protection the city of Avaris which had been left desolate by the Shepherds. Now, this city was, ac-

according to the ancient theology, the city of Typho, and when these men were gotten together in it and found the place suitable for a revolt, they appointed themselves from among the priests of Heliopolis a leader whose name was Osarsiph, and to him they took an oath that they should obey him in all things. He thereupon, in order, enacted a law for them which prohibited them from worshiping the Egyptian Gods, enjoined upon them not to abstain from any of those animals which the Egyptians deemed sacred and hold in the highest reverence; but kill and destroy them all; and prevented them from attaching themselves to any one excepting those of their own confederation. When he had enacted many laws such as these and others, many which were repugnant to the cherished customs of the Egyptians, he issued orders that they should employ the multitude of hands they had in erecting walls about their city and make themselves ready for a war with Amenophis, the King, while he took into his own friendship the other priests and those that were polluted with them and sent ambassadors to those Shepherds who had been driven out of the country by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem. Thus he informed them of his own affairs and of those others who had been treated in such an ignominious manner and desired that they should come forthwith to assist him in a war against Egypt. He also promised that he would first reinstate them in Avaris, the patrimony of their ancestors and provide an abundant maintenance for their multitude, that he would protect and fight for them as occasion should require and would easily reduce the country beneath their sway.

These (Jews) were all delighted with the message and came away all together with great promptitude, being in number, two hundred myriads (thousands) of men, and in a little time they reached Avaris. And now Amenophis, the king of Egypt, having been informed of their invasion, was greatly perturbed, especially on his calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis\* (Apappus) had foretold to him, and, first of all, he having assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, took counsel with their leaders and sent for these sacred animals to be brought to him, especially for those that were principally honored in the temples and distinctly charged the priests that they should conceal the images of their gods with the utmost care.

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\* *i.e.* Apapus or Sesostris the Great, which points to Amenophis, the son of Papis, being identical with Amenophis, the son of Sesostris, and to the present story as being allegorical.



His son, Sethos, who was also called Rameses, after the name of his father, Rampsis, he placed with a friend of his own. He then marched through with the rest of his Egyptians, who were in number three hundred thousand fighting men, against the enemy, yet he did not join battle with them, but thinking that would be to fight against the Gods he returned and came to Memphis. Here he took Apis and the other sacred animals, which he had sent to be brought to him and straightforwardly with them marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and a multitude of Egyptians; for it happened that the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him and cared for all the multitude that was with him, while his country supplied necessaries in abundance for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this people during their banishment which were to be absent from their own country for thirteen years, and, as a guard to King Amenophis, he placed a camp for his Ethiopian army upon the borders of Egypt. Such was the state of things in Ethiopia. But the people of Jerusalem having come down in company with the polluted Egyptians treated the men in such a barbarous manner that those who saw how they subdued the fore-mentioned country and the horrid wickedness whereof they were guilty, thought it a very dreadful thing; for not only did they set the cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they were guilty of sacrilege and destroyed the images of the gods and used them in roasting those sacred animals, which used to be worshiped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and slayers of those animals and then ejected them naked from the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he was gone over to those people, his name was changed and he was called Moses."

"These things," remarks Josephus, "the Egyptians relate about the Jews with much more which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still proceeds Manetho."

"After these things Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rampses with another army also, and both of them having joined battle with the Shepherds and the polluted people, worsted and slew a great number of them and pursued them to the confines of Syria."

I thought it my duty to give this in full, translating from the

Greek. The tradition in Manetho and Chaeremon is evidently the same with such variations as are characteristic of legendary tales. It has been remarked that Manetho relates it as a legend or tradition well authenticated, Chaeremon more as a matter of history; I have not perceived the difference, nor, if I did would I deem it necessary to notice it. The legendary or romantic character of the tale is patent throughout in both. Upon such a foundation as this narration must they build who make the Exodus under Moses to take place under this Amenophis or Sethos, here spoken of. Not so with Usher, whose chronology is followed in the Bible, who places it at the time of the evacuation of Egypt by the Shepherds, thought to have been in about 1500 to 1490 years before Christ, or 42 years earlier.

To some theologians this legendary Exodus appears as real because they think they see in it a correspondence to the Biblical account of the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt and their being compelled to labor at brick-making and in building the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses for Pharaoh (Ex. I). I know the mind of good men experience, what we may call a sort of pleasure tinged with sadness in such contemplation, for they are accustomed in their meditations to dwell much upon the fact of God's people in all ages having been the objects of the oppression of the proud and wicked.

But with regard to the bondage and oppression of the Israelites in Egypt if this did not take place in full prior to the historical Exodus, it certainly was not because there had not been time and opportunity for it. I have no doubt whatever that oppression was in Egypt carried out to a very grievous extent and that many Israelites as well as multitudes of Egyptians groaned long in that country under their oppressors and taskmasters.

In regard to the tradition of Clement of Alexandria, Africanus and others, who imagined they had Manetho and Josephus as their authority that the Exodus took place in the time of Aahmes, the first king of the 18th dynasty, and not under Tethmosis III., Bunsen (*Egypt* 1, 200), says: "But does Manetho really assert that the Exodus or the taking and destruction of Avaris and the departure of the Shepherds took place under Amos? By no means. According to the extract in Josephus it was Tuthmosis, the son of Mispframuthosis, who made the convention with the Shepherds, and we venture confidently to assert, in

opposition to Josephus, that he was a Tuthmosis and cannot be an Amos."

In regard to this matter it is quite plain that a man may have two names, something that history shows not to have been uncommon in the case of the ancient kings. It appears, however, a plain enough historical fact that the Aahmes he refers to was not the king known as Tuthmosis III., but his grandfather or great-grandfather. That it was this Amos that Josephus himself calls Tuthmosis is shown by the fact that after mentioning him he goes on in his reckoning to Tuthmosis, the son of Mispframuthosis, as he calls him, or Tuthmosis III. I at first wondered that Bunsen had not this more plain in his mind, but I have thereon reflected that it was in the first volume of his "Egypt" he speaks thus and that before he got over the fifth volume of the same work he had his mind more clear on the subject. Josephus here confounds Amos or Tuthmosis, as he calls him, with an event that did not occur until the third generation after him. And, as another instance of a man being known by two names, which after all may be found to be only two variations of the same, you must have noticed in the legendary account of the Exodus we have just quoted, how that Sethos, the son of Amenophis, was also called in Chaeremon's account Mesene. The story appears evidently to be connected with the son of the great Rameses-Sesostris, who is said to have employed the great numbers of prisoners brought into the country after his father's campaigns in the execution of public works, building cities, walls, making canals, etc.

As to the date and nature of the Exodus or the departure of the Shepherds: —

A corollary from what follows as well as precedes.

Recognizing the importance of determining the nature and date of that called the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt, as being a departure which Josephus identifies with that called the Exodus of the Israelites from that country and as being a date to which other ancient epochs are referred in the determination of historical dates or synchronisms, I have, after a considerably extensive research and lengthy investigation and comparison of data, concluded that the people called Shepherds were most probably Egyptians of the race of Menes and part of the vast army which Sesostris the Great led out of Egypt into Asia and that this de-

parture took place in 1542 B. C., in the 19th year of the reign of that monarch, under his name of Apapus the Great, as reckoned on the basis of Eratosthenes. Sesostris brought his vast army of Ægyptian Shepherds of the race of Menes from the Nile's Valley into Asia, where he conquered the government of every country to which he came in Asia and Europe, leaving Ægyptian colonies after him in some places. Herodotus speaks of the Colchians as being descendants of an Egyptian colony planted by Sesostris and mentions them in connection with the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine as agreeing with the Egyptians in other things as well as in the practice of circumcision. The Palestinian colony, which gave name to that country are set down in our books as Philistines. This term means Shepherds (Palai-Scheth after whom also the local name Pelusium), and they are also the same with the Chithim or Hitties. These are the people who gave the lines of Kings to Judah and Israel, if not to Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, etc. These are the Caphtorim, or people of Caphtor, of whom God speaks to Moses: "The Caphtorim, who came up out of Caphtor destroyed them (*i.e.*, the Avims), and dwelt in their stead." And, again, God says through Amos (ch. ix: 7): "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Philistines from Caphtor?" Here both the Israelites and Philistines are specified as being brought from the land of Egypt by Jehovah.

The date I give for the departure of the Shepherds is the same which Bunsen gives, who was correct, doubtless, as to the date, but will be found before we get through with our critical review to have been incorrect as to other matters concerning it. Eratosthenes' date for Apapus is, doubtless, nearly correct. There is some proof for the date of this King other than what results from the additions, synchronisms, etc., of the historic data. It is of an astronomical character, connected with the Sothiac cycle, and is as follows: One of five important monuments, which were particularly examined by the French archæologists, Biot and DeRougé, was a dilapidated calendar discovered at Elephantina in Upper Egypt, which contained a distinct notation of the rising of Sirius on a given day and must have belonged to the latter part of this reign. The fragments of that calendar, dug out from the wall of the present quay of Elephantina, in which they stood, were found when put together to contain the following inscription:—

"Inundation; *third* month (Epiphi). Third day, *rising of Sothis*; Festival, etc."



This inscription indicates the 28th day of the 11th month of the Egyptian year. There are, consequently, 37 more days between this and the 1st of Thoth.

Viz: 2 days of Epiphi.

30 " " Mesari (the 12th month).

5 intercalary days.

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37

As one of these days represents 4 years of the Sothiac cycle, then  $37 \times 4$  days = 148 years of that cycle, which must elapse before Sirius rises on the 1st of Thoth. To find the date of the monument we must, therefore, add 148 to the year of the astronomical epoch.

This in Central Egypt ( $28^{\circ} 11' N. L.$ ) is 1322 B. C. Then  $1322 + 148 = 1470$  B. C., would be the date indicated by the calendar. According to Eratosthenes' reckoning this would be the ninth year before the death of Apapus the Great, that is, Sesostris. This, however, can only be approximative as to the date. The investigators into the subject of the chronolgy of the history of ancient Egypt soon came to the conclusion that the only monuments on which they could rely for absolute dates were the local calendars, which mark the rising of Sirius and were connected with the name of the reigning Pharaoh. In regard to the Sothiac cycle, which in round numbers is usually reckoned at 1460 years ( $365 \times 4$ ), the date of 1322, for example, fixed for it, is an average one, corresponding, as said before, to Central Egypt, Lat.  $28^{\circ} 11' N.$ , which is generally agreed upon for astronomical purposes. The length of Egypt from Heliopolis to Syene being about six degrees, the difference in the extreme points makes a difference in the Sothiac cycle of 24 years; for the difference of one degree to the south or north is almost equal to the difference of a day or four years in the cycle.

Moreover, as in the movable year there is always the loss of nearly a quarter of a day, by neglecting the fraction beyond 365, the difference between the Sothiac and the true solar year will amount in four years to a whole day. Hence it follows that in  $365 \times 4 = 1460$  years the neglect of intercalations occasions the loss of almost a year, so that the number 1461 would be, in fact, nearer correct than 1460.

The agreement of the Egyptians upon a central point of their country for astronomical determinations, as we, by general agreement, for example, reckon longitude from Greenwich observatory, does not imply that they did not have calculations based upon local observations for the rising of Sirius for the practical use of the celebrations of the festivals at a given place. In fact the existence of an average or middle epoch, generally agreed upon, implies the existence of different local observations from Pelusium to Syene, which might serve as a confirmation of or check upon the central calculation. Some think it more natural to interpret the date on this monument according to its local period, that of Elephantina for the rising of Sirius. This would make the year indicated to have been 1454 instead of 1470 B. C.; but in the record of such dates it seems more natural and as such more probable that the central calculation was observed of which opinion was Lepsius.

Now, although I find for the departure, so called, of the Shepherds, the same date as does Bunsen, yet he finds for that date a king named Tuthmosis, a man who was only two or three generations out from Menes, while I find a man in the twentieth place in the list, counting Menes the first; and, he is also, about the 18th or 19th generation, reckoning 3 for a century ( $18 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 600$ , and  $19 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 633\frac{1}{3}$  years); for we find the departure of the Shepherds, so called, to have taken place about 600 to 630 years after Menes. The name Thothmes itself means given or endowed by Thoth, and might have been ascribed as an honorary title to one whose personal appellation was of another form. If Thothmes was understood as a personal appellation, it is queer we should have two brothers of that name in the second generation after Menes, *i.e.*, Thothmes II., Ra-Aa-en Khepher, and Thothmes III., Ra—Men—Khepher, respectively. It is true the name Rameses was worn by brothers, but it appears also to have been understood as a distinguishing title, while the personal appellation was different. A king, it is true, may have worn the title Thothmes (Thoth-given, or Thoth-endowed), as well as that of Rameses (the high king, tall man or giant), and yet have been known in his daily life by a different name. From a mistake made by Bunsen in common with others Thothmes III. was 600 years earlier than they thought him to have been, in fact the Tuthmoses were such shadowy characters that no tomb of any king of that name has yet been discovered, while that of my Rameses II., who is eighth in the list after Apapus,

the Great, as found by Champollion and Rosellini at Biban el Moluk was, in their opinion, little inferior in grandeur and beauty of architectonical finish to that of Sesostris the Great. In the excavations made by Mr. Green in 1854, in which he found a good deal to confirm what has been said in the histories concerning the exploits of that Rameses, No. 28 of my list, he discovered upon the right side of the second pylon a legible inscription in which that king says: "That he has driven the barbarians out of Egypt with the sword," to which Bunsen adds by way of remark: "He must, therefore, have found them in Egypt." The hordes which had made the inroad into lower Egypt for pasturage, etc. are elsewhere called the Tamahu (white people from the north)? And in reference to the expulsion of the enemy he says: "I have made their land my own." Among the nations conquered by that monarch we read Aasen, Kheta, Ati, Karkamasa (Carchemish in Mesopotamia), Arah, Tyra, Tuirsa and Sairtana (Tyrians and Sidonians) are designated as "People of the Sea," Gaikkuri ('Hakku, *i.e.*, St. Jean d' 'Acre, which Rameses took before he laid siege to Tyre); Mashuash, *i.e.*, Damascus, etc.

The vast accomplishments ascribed to our Rameses II. required a considerably long reign, although on the monuments only his twelfth year has been discovered. Some have supposed that to him under the historic or honorary name of Thothmes III. is ascribed the erection of several temples and the palace of Medinet Aboo. Rosellini remarks there is scarcely an ancient city in Egypt and Nubia, as far as the second cataract beyond Semneh, where remains of his edifices are not to be found. Among the rest is a temple he erected in honor of his ancestor, the great Sesostris. It is plain, therefore, that my Rameses II. (No. 28) was not identical with Sesostris the Great (No. 20) nor yet with Tethmosis III., who is about No. 7. In the record of the nations conquered by him there are gone over about the same national designations as under the name Thothmes III. Champollion and others understand the bearer of the latter name to be the same with Mares, which was another name for my Rameses II.

Under none of these names, however, is the conquest of Ethiopia set down, which, according to Herodotus was the distinguishing and peculiar part of the great Sesostris among the kings of Egypt. The various historical lists and hypotheses ascribe to their Thothmes III. a length of reign all the way from 9 up to 48 years; and if he

were the same with Mares or our Rameses II. the length of 39 years which Syncellus has given to his reign would not seem to be too long for him in which to accomplish all that has been ascribed to him.

"The Israelites," says Bunsen, "with their 2,000,000 souls and their flocks and with 600,000 men capable of bearing arms, were already encamped in the country to the east of the Jordan and extending northward from the Arnon when Rameses III. (our II.) came to the throne. About the fourteenth year of this Pharaoh's reign Joshua passed over Jordan. This is the synchronism which we hope to establish," etc., (Egypt III. 211). If Bunsen had only agreed with Josephus that the Hyksos were the Israelites, and, had taken something near to the numbers Josephus has given us as of the Hyksos who left Egypt in the days of his Tethmoses, son of Misphegmutoses, and went up and built Jerusalem, then a person would naturally conclude that his statement had an underground of truth and that in his accidentally showing his Tuthmosis III. to be identified with our Rameses II. he had Josephus as his authority. He made 215 years, as "a period of bondage," to intervene between the departure of the Shepherds in 1542 B. C. and the exodus of the Israelites under Moses in 1327 B. C., which last exodus Josephus had to take place in about 1633 and Clement of Alexandria a little earlier. About all the authors, excepting Bunsen, made the departure of the Shepherds to have been identical with the exodus under Moses. I make the departure of the Shepherds for 1542 B. C.; and as in my understanding this would be the same with the historical exodus, then the approximate date of 1499 B. C., which I get for the exodus in connection with my research into the epochs of the patriarchs, might possibly represent the passage of the Jordan by the Israelites under Joshua or the exodus from the transjordanic regions into the promised land in about forty years after the departure out of Egypt. There is certainly something in that forty years' period of unsettled life of the Israelites between their departure from Egypt and their entrance into the land of Canaan and I have thought it must refer to a detachment from the army of Sesostris whom he left stationed east of the Jordan to guard his rear on his progress eastward, who remained there settled in different places after his return to Egypt; but who finally, in about a generation after his return, took it into their heads to possess themselves of the west-Jordanic regions to the Mediterranean and finally succeeded in accomplishing this.



## THE EGYPTIAN YEAR.

The Egyptians divided their year into three seasons, consisting each of four equal months of thirty days each. To the end of the 12th month they added on five supplemental days. These divisions were called the Green Season, the Harvest Season, and the Water Season.

FIRST TETRAMENY. — *The Green Season.*

I. Thoth	. .	1st of Green Season	. . . .	November.
II. Phoophi	. .	2nd " " "	. . . .	December.
III. Hathor	. .	3rd " " "	. . . .	January.
IV. Choiak	. .	4th " " "	. . . .	February.

SECOND TETRAMENY. — *The Harvest Season.*

V. Toby	. .	1st of Harvest Season	. . . .	March.
VI. Mechir	. .	2nd " " "	. . . .	April.
VII. Phamenoth	. .	3d " " "	. . . .	May.
VIII. Pharmuthi	. .	4th " " "	. . . .	June.

THIRD TETRAMENY. — *The Water Season.*

IX. Pachôn	. .	1st of Water Season	. . . .	July.
X. Paôni	. .	2nd " " "	. . . .	August.
XI. Epiphi	. .	3rd " " "	. . . .	September.
XII. Mésori	. .	4th " " "	. . . .	October.

The names of the months have all reference to certain divinities ; it is not necessary here to go into an explanation of them. We find by the monuments that these have been the designations of months through all the pharaonic ages. Astronomers, however, conclude that the months must have been so designated at a period when the 1st of Thoth fell about the 25th of October. It being an easy matter for astronomers to calculate at what times this took place in ancient history, they have discovered that this was the case in 275, 1780 and 3285 B. C., and in so far as the adoption of this designation depends upon the above coincidence, they consider it certain (at least mathematically so) that it must have occurred in or about the year 3285 B. C. The Roman mode of reckoning dates, it is seen from the above, corresponded somewhat to the Egyptian. "Third month, third day, rising of Sothis," would answer, so far at least in the Roman expression, as "the 3rd before the Calends of October, while to an Egyptian it would indicate that he had 37 days yet to run (2+30+5) before the rising of Thoth or Sothis, on the first of November.

In regard to the commencement of the institution of the canicular or Sothiac period, we learn from Censorinus that the Egyptians had a Great Year, which they styled the Sothiac year, because on the first day of it the sun rose at the same moment as Sirius, Sothis, Canis, or the Dog-Star. He informs us that one of these Great Years commenced 100 years before his time. He wrote in the consulship of Antoninus Pius II., and Bruttius Præsens, the year 238 B. C. being the particular date. In that year 139 A. D. the Egyptian year really commenced with the 20th of July of the Julian year and in that year also did Sirius rise in central Egypt about seven o'clock, consequently only some few hours later than is assumed. In four years afterwards, therefore, this heliacal rising took place about a day after the beginning of the new year, and, thus, after  $4 \times 365$  years, about a whole civil year later. Hence the Sothiac cycle turns out to be a period of 1460 years; in the 1461st Egyptian year the 1st of Thoth again coincided with the first day of the Julian year; and consequently the year 1322 B. C. is again the beginning of that cycle, which ended in A. D. 139. In that year the first of Thoth fell on the 19-20th of July.

The summer solstice being the commencement of the inundation and consequently of the water season, was the great turning point of Egyptian life, and Sirius being the brightest of all the fixed stars, it seems entirely natural that the coincidence of the heliacal rising of that star with the solstice and the inundation should have been marked by the ancient Egyptians with special attention and regarded with especial favor. Corresponding to our experience or the observation of the times of ebb and flow of the tides on our coasts we perceive that the observation of a single life among the Egyptians was sufficient to show that, there was a departure from this coincidence at the rate of one day in every four years. But the recurrence of this remarkable coincidence at the end of each 1460 years must have been to the Egyptian the most natural cycle.

At an early period astronomers were struck by the fact that this star, owing to its position in relation to the latitude and longitude, must, from the precession of the equinoxes, have risen in the same proportion later, as the Julian year, which was about  $11' 12''$  too long, ran more and more into the solar year. This was the only reason why the heliacal rising of Sirius, from 3300 B. C. down to a few centuries after Christ could always coincide in Egypt

with the beginning of the same day (the 20th of July). It has been truly said that it was the guiding star of their history."

In reference to the Egyptian year Diodorus says: "They do not regulate their months by the moon but by the sun, inasmuch as they have months of thirty days, at the end of every twelve of which *they add on five days and a quarter*, and so fill up the cycle of the year. They have no intercallary months nor do they subtract days as the Greeks do."

AN EXPLANATION of the passage in Herodotus relative to the sun's rising twice in the west is suggested by the Sothiac cycle.

The priests told him that during the period from Menes to Sethos (the king who succeeded to the Ethiopian dynasty of three kings instituted by Sabaco) the sun had risen (*ανατείλλει*) four times in an extraordinary manner; that where it then set it had twice risen (*ἐπανατείλει*) and where it then rose (*ανατέλλει*) it had twice set, without occasioning any alteration in Egypt, either as regards the products of the earth or river or in reference to disease or mortality" (ii. 142).

To deduce some chronological data from this passage many attempts were made of which Letronne tried to dispose by showing them to be unphilological assumptions. The length of time here specified from Menes to Sethos prevents us from suspecting that the astronomical phenomena spoken of by the priests had reference to the cosmical phenomena brought about by the precession of the equinoxes. It has been concluded, however, upon an unprejudiced consideration of the passage, that the priests meant to give Herodotus a chronological statement connected with celestial phenomena. His words would at first appear enigmatical and as if there might be a mistake in the former or the latter part of the sentence. For, it is plain, that if the sun set twice in the east it must also have arisen twice in the west, which makes not four times (*τετράκις*) but twice. The language of Herodotus is, however, as plain as it can be made to a Greek, and the case suggests to us a solution as striking as it is evident.

For plain it must appear that during the Sothiac cycle the beginning of the year must gradually pass through all parts of the heavens and at the middle of it is at the exactly opposite point of that of the normal, solar year. The priests, therefore, doubtless meant to speak of the passage of the movable, solar year through the opposite points of the heavens, while Herodotus seems as surely

to have understood them as meaning that the sun rose twice in the opposite side of the heavens, that is, what we understand as the west, and set twice on the other side, or that in which we understand him to rise.

But the language of Herodotus is, as I have said, as plain as it can be made in the Greek and has reference in this case evidently to the Sothiac cycle; but not to the precessional, to which it is applicable were it not that the period given by Herodotus from Menes to Sethos for the recurrence of the phenomena do not admit of the occurrence of the precessional cycle, which requires 25,827 years.

It may, however, be regarded as a proof, derived from astronomical sources, of the position I take in regard to the identity of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, so called (when properly and fully expressed as to reigns and sum of years), with the list of 38 rulers of Eratosthenes and with the old empire, so called, and *the proper date* of Menes. For if to the 1076 years given to the said 38 rulers of the list of Eratosthenes you add the numbers given in Africanus for the dynasties, beginning from the 21st inclusive, down to said Sethos who succeeds to the Ethiopian dynasty, first introduced by Sabacus, you will have in years, exactly to the year, the Sothiac cycle. (As to the following data see lists generally of the dynasties, including Africanus, Eusebius, Eratosthenes and Herodotus in *loco*.)

	<i>Years.</i>
Limit of the old empire of Menes according to Eratosthenes'	
list.....	1076
Largest number given to the 21st dynasty in Africanus'.....	130
Largest number given to Africanus' 22nd dynasty.....	120
Number given to Africanus' 23rd dynasty.....	89
Africanus' 24th dynasty.....	6
Africanus' 25th      "      (Ethiopian).....	40
<hr/>	
The Sothiac cycle exact.....	1461

Herodotus represents a king named Anysis, who was blind, as being the one who was supplanted by Sabacus, the Ethiopian; as having gone into concealment during the Ethiopian supremacy for 50 years (40 in Africanus), as having taken his position at the head of the government again on the evacuation of the country by the Ethiopians, and then as having been succeeded by Sethos, the priest of Vulcan, who is the person here referred to chronologically. The



state of the case being such, then, it might be said without a great degree of error that Sethos immediately succeeded to the Ethiopian dynasty, for the implication is that the blind Anysis was a very aged man when he reascended the throne.

Under the head of Petubastes, the first king of the 23rd dynasty, the entry is: "In his time the first Olympiad was celebrated." This date was 776 B. C., and for this man Africanus enters a reign of forty years. But, supposing for the purpose of the calculation, that this celebration took place in the 28th year of the reign of Petubastes then we get for the approximate date of Sethos, the priest king, who succeeded to the Ethiopian dynasty, 669 B. C., and for our Menes 2130 years B. C. The calculation is as follows:—

	Years.
The sum of the years of the 23d dynasty . . . . .	89
— The time we suppose Petubastes had reigned before the institution of the first Olympiad . . . . .	28
	<hr/> =61
The 24th dynasty . . . . .	6
The 5th " . . . . .	40
	<hr/>
776 B. C., date of 1st Olympiad . . . . .	+107
= The approximate date of Sethos . . . . .	669 B. C.
+ The Sothic cycle, which = . . . . .	1461 yrs.
	<hr/>
= The approximate date of Menes . . . . .	2130 B. C.
In like manner we get the following dates as based upon the reckoning of Eratosthenes and Africanus.	

	B. C.
Approximate date of 1st year of 21st dynasty . . . . .	1054
Approximate date of 1st year of the XXXVIIIth King of Eratosthenes . . . . .	1117
" " " " " " 37 " " " " " . . . . .	1134
" " " " " " 36 " " " " " . . . . .	1141
" " " " " " 35 " " " " " . . . . .	1184
" " " " " " 34 " " " " " . . . . .	1239
" " " " " " 33 " " " " " . . . . .	1262
" " " " " " 32 " " " " " . . . . .	1288
" " " " " " 31 " " " " " . . . . .	1304
" " " " " " 30 " " " " " . . . . .	1364
" " " " " " 29 " " " " " . . . . .	1375
" " " " " " 28 " " " " " . . . . .	1387
" " " " " " 27 " " " " " . . . . .	1394
" " " " " " 26 " " " " " . . . . .	1412
" " " " " " 25 " " " " " . . . . .	1420
" " " " " " 24 " " " " " . . . . .	1432
" " " " " " 23 " " " " " . . . . .	1454
" " " " " " 22 " " " " " . . . . .	1460

Approximate date of 1st year of	21	the King of Erasthenes	. 1461
" " " " " "	20	" " " " "	. 1561
" " " " " "	19	" " " " "	. 1596
" " " " " "	18	" " " " "	. 1629
" " " " " "	17	" " " " "	. 1660
" " " " " "	16	" " " " "	. 1687
" " " " " "	15	" " " " "	. 1716
" " " " " "	14	" " " " "	. 1726
" " " " " "	13	" " " " "	. 1739
" " " " " "	12	" " " " "	. 1761
" " " " " "	11	" " " " "	. 1779
" " " " " "	10	" " " " "	. 1799
" " " " " "	9	" " " " "	. 1825
" " " " " "	8	" " " " "	. 1855
" " " " " "	7	" " " " "	. 1861
" " " " " "	6	" " " " "	. 1940
" " " " " "	5	" " " " "	. 1958
" " " " " "	4	" " " " "	. 1977
" " " " " "	3	" " " " "	. 2009
" " " " " "	2	" " " " "	. 2068
" " " " " "	1	" " " " "	. 2130

Lepsius begins his 21st dynasty in the year 1115 B. C., a difference of 61 years from what I find the dates to be by reckoning back from the 25th to the 21st dynasty in Africanus as above. If, therefore, any one takes Lepsius' date as their basis of calculation they will have all these dates 61 years farther back, for example, for our Cheops (No. XXXIV.) we shall have the date 1300 instead of 1239 B. C.; and for our first king, Menes, we shall have 2191 instead of 2130 B. C.

The numbers given by Eratosthenes here are only approximative; but if they be about correct then my date, 1542, for the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt, is the 19th year of the reign of Sesostris, the Great. Even though it be unnecessary for you to fix upon any particular date whatever for the said departure of the Shepherds from Egypt, yet the information given in connection with all this subject will serve generally to illustrate the history, both Egyptian and Israelitish.

#### THE APIS CYCLE.

The Egyptians had a period of 25 years called the Apis cycle, which is found to have had a relation both to the solar and lunar years. Ideler (p. 182) has shown that there is not only a computation of the mean anomaly of the sun from 25 to 25 years of the

Philippine era, in the Tables of Ptolemy but that there are in the sixth book of the *Almagest* Tables for calculating the mean new and full moons, in which these are progressive periods of that number of years. Three hundred and nine mean months are only 1h 8' 38" less than 25 Egyptian years. It does, however, result that the Apis cycle of 25 years thus produced the same result, as regards the coincidence of the lunar phases with the same days of the Egyptian year as the Sothiac cycle for the recurrence of the heliacal rising of Sirius with the commencement of the civil year.

A circumstance in relation to this, which has hitherto been little noticed, is that those tables of Ptolemy go on progressively, 1, 26, 51, etc., exactly up to the 1476th year. This is thought to be connected with the fact, namely, that 59 Apis cycles make up the Sothiac cycle of 1460 years with 15 years over; 58 Apis cycles would have given 10 years less than the Sothiac cycle and besides it is concluded that originally the two cycles must have begun together. The phases of the moon would, in the 1450th year of the Sothiac cycle have been nearly three days ( $2\frac{2}{3}$ ) behind that day at which it commenced and the renewal of the cycle presented the most simple means of making the Apis cycle begin again in such a way that people should easily recognize the beginning of the new course.

This adjustment of the two systems, the lunar and solar, suggests that the original intention was, by means of these cycles, to combine the two; and that previously the lunar year, of 354 days, may have been used as the civil year. The notation of the 12 moons,  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days each, might exist equally well with it as with the year of 360 days.\*

#### THE PHŒNIX PERIOD.

With the Sothiac cycle must also be connected the Phœnix period of the Egyptians. Herodotus was informed that it was a cycle of 500 years, while the information obtained by Tacitus made it range, to a degree, uniformly with that cycle. Of course 487 years is just the one-third of the Sothiac cycle, whose commence-

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\* Two important points proved by Lepsius are the following: (1) That the festival of Apis coincided with that of the Nile, and that the lunar cycle carried out by it begins with the new moon nearest to the solstice, and consequently, to the inundation: (2) He called attention to the circumstance of the Egyptian number of the great Cosmic year of 36,525 years depending upon the Apis period and its connection with the canicular cycle, it approximating to be a multiple of the two (1461+25).

ment implies that the rising of Sirius corresponded with the 1st of Thoth. This, however, is a displacement of four months; for Thoth, according to his sign, begins 120 days after the ancient heliacal rising of Sirius. It was, therefore, only at the end of 487 civil years, reckoned from the point of the proper notation of the months, that the first of Thoth corresponded with the rising of Sirius. This is susceptible of historical as well as astronomical explanation. Investigators have discovered, however, that the notation of months is more ancient than the institution of the Sothiac cycle by about 500 years, and that concurrent with it was the lunar cycle by Apis periods, perhaps originally with the view of correcting the year of 354 and 360 days; twenty of these make 500 years or one Phœnix cycle. It is, therefore, seen that the lunar year may have been in use concurrently with the solar in the earliest times; and that the Apis cycle was probably intended to keep those two kinds of years in as regular adjustment as possible.

#### CATALOGUE OF THE 38 THEBAN KINGS OF ERATOSTHENES.

##### *Translation from the Greek.*

Syncellus, having given an enumeration of the first kings of the Egyptians, thus proceeds:—

“ Apollodorus, the chronicler, has written up another Egyptian Kingdom of the kings called Theban, who were in number 38 and embraced a period of 1,076 years. This kingdom took its beginning in the year of the world 2900 and had its end in the year of the world 3975. Concerning those kings they say Eratosthenes undertook the inquiry in the Egyptian memorials and made a translation of them into the Greek language, according to the command of the king, as follows:—

- I. First Menes, a Thinite-Theban, who is also called Aionios, reigned 62 years, The year of the world was A. M. 2900 (*i.e.*, the commencement of the reign).....62—2900
- II. The second of the Thebans who reigned was Athotis, the son of Menes, for 59 years. This name is interpreted, Ermogenes. The year of the world was 2963.59—2963
- III. The third king of the Theban Egyptians who reigned was Athotis, of the same name as the former, for 32 years. The year of the world 3021.....32—3021



- IV. The fourth king of the Thebans who reigned was Diabies (Miabies), son of Athotis, who reigned 19 years; year of the world 3053.....19—3053
- V. The fifth king of the Thebans who reigned, was Pemphos, son of Athothous, who is Heraklides; for 18 years; year of the world 3072.....18—3072
- VI. The sixth king, who ruled over the Theban Egyptians, unfought, indeed was Momcheiri, a Memphite, for 79 years; he is called Tesander Perissomeles (Tesander of the disproportioned limbs). Year of the world 3090.....79—3090
- VII. The seventh king of the Theban Egyptians who reigned, was Stoikos, son of the last named, who is Heliothetos; for 6 years; year of the world 3169..... 6—3169
- VIII. The eighth king of the Theban Egyptians, who reigned, was Gosormies, who is Aitesipantos (Sesortosis who is Hegesikratos), for 30 years; the year of the world was 3175.....30—3175
- IX. The ninth king of the Theban Egyptians, who reigned, was Mares, son of the latter, who is Heliodoras: for 26 years; year of the world 3205.....26—3205
- X. The tenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Anonphis (An-Souphis), who is Epikomas for 20 years: year of the world 3231.....20—3231
- XI. The eleventh king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Sirios, who was son of Kores; but, as others have it, of Abaskantos: for 18 years; year of the world 3251.....18—3251
- XII. The twelfth king, who ruled over the Theban Egyptians, was Chnoubos Gneuros, who is Chrusos, son of Chrusos: for 22 years: year of the world 3269.....22—3269
- XIII. The thirteenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Rauosis, who is Archikratos: for 13 years: year of the world 3291.....13—3291
- XIV. The fourteenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Biures: for 10 years: year of the world 3304.....10—3304
- XV. The fifteenth king, who reigned over the Theban Egyptians, was Saophis, a reveller, but, according to some, a man of business: for 29 years: year of the world 3314.....29—3314

- XVI. The sixteenth king of the Thebans was Saophis II. :  
for 27 years : year of the world 3343.....27—3343
- XVII. The seventeenth king of the Thebans was Moscheres  
(Megcheres) Heliodotos : for 31 years : year of the  
world 3370.....31—3370
- XVIII. The eighteenth king of the Thebans was Mosthes  
(Mosthes) : for 33 years : year of the world 3401.33—3401
- XIX. The nineteenth king of the Thebans was Pammes  
Achondes : for 35 years : year of the world 3434.....35—3434
- XX. The twentieth king of the Thebans was Apappous,  
the Great. This man, as they say, was king about 100  
years : year of the world 3469.....100—3469
- XXI. The twenty-first king of the Thebans was Echesko-  
sokaras ; for one year : year of the world 3569..... 1—3569
- XXII. The twenty-second ruler of the Thebans was Nito-  
kris, a woman this time, instead of a man, who is Athena  
Nicephoras, for 6 years : year of the world happened to  
be 3570..... 6—3570
- XXIII. The twenty-third king of the Thebans was Mur-  
taos Ammondotos : for 26 years : year of the world 3576.26—3576
- XXIV. The twenty-fourth king of the Thebans was Thu-  
osimares Kratistos, who is Helios : for twelve years :  
year of the world 3598.....12—3598
- XXV. The twenty-fifth king of the Thebans was Seth-  
inilos : he increased his ancestral patrimony : for 8 years :  
year of the world 3610..... 8—3610
- XXVI. The twenty-sixth king of the Thebans was Semp-  
hroukrates, who is Hercules Harpokrates : for 18 years :  
year of the world 3618.....18—3618
- XXVII. The twenty-seventh king of the Thebans was  
Chouthertauros, a tyrant : for 7 years : year of the  
world 3636..... 7—3636
- XXVIII. The twenty-eighth king of the Thebans was  
Meures Philoskoros : for twelve years : year of the  
world 3643.....12—3643
- XXIX. The twenty-ninth king of the Thebans was Cho-  
maephtha Kosmos Philephaistos : for 11 years : year of  
the world 3655.....11—3655
- XXX. The thirtieth king of the Thebans was Siokounios  
Ochoturannos : for sixty years : year of the world 3666..60—3666

- XXXI. The thirty-first king of the Thebans was Petea-  
thures: for 16 years: year of the world 3726.....16—3726
- XXXII. The thirty-second king of the Thebans was Am-  
menemes: for 26 years: year of the world 3742.....26—3742
- XXXIII. The thirty-third king of the Thebans was Stam-  
menemes II. (Seth-Ammenemes): for 23 years: year of  
the world 3768.....23—3768
- XXXIV. The thirty-fourth king of the Thebans was Sis-  
tosichermes Herakles Krataios (Sesostris, the son of  
Hermes, the strong Hercules): for 55 years: year of  
the world 3791.....55—3791
- XXXV. The thirty-fifth king of the Thebans was Mares:  
for 43 years: the year of the world 3846.....43—3846
- XXXVI. The thirty-sixth king of the Thebans was Siphos  
(Siphthah) [who also is Hermes] the son of Hephais-  
tos: for 5 years: year of the world 3889..... 5—3889
- XXXVII. The thirty-seventh king of the Thebans was  
Phrouoro or Neilos: for 19 years: year of the world  
3894.....19—3894
- XXXVIII. The thirty-eighth king of the Thebans was  
Amouthartaio: for 63 years: year of the world 3913..63—3913

To which last number, 3913, if you add 62 years you will have the year of the world, 3975, to which this continuous series belongs among those which follow, teacheth Syncellus."

As to the fifty-three kings of Apollodorus in continuation of those of Eratosthenes.

(SYNC. CHRONOGR. p. 147, D.)

*Translation:*

"The government of the 38 kings, who, in Egypt, were called Theban, whose names Eratosthenes took from the sacred books at Thebes, there had an end. Having begun at the 2900th year of the world, 124 years after the confusion of tongues, it ceased in this the 3975th year of the world.

But as to those in order of the remaining fifty-three Theban Kings, handed down by the same Apollodorus, I deem the names there thrown together as of no such extraordinary import as

that they should be placed before us, inasmuch as these names may not be authentic."

Eratosthenes being regarded as a standard in Egyptian history; being indeed, as far as he goes (and especially by those who have no theory in regard to that history to restrain them, but are merely desirous to find the truth concerning it) regarded as the criterion, by which what we have purporting to be from Manetho and all other records we possess concerning that ancient nation, should be judged, I deemed it indispensable to submit to you the foregoing translation from the text as I found it.

I will now submit to you in several tabulations my understanding of the relation of the list of the 38 Kings of Eratosthenes, both to the old and new empire, compared with the list given us as from Manetho. First, it will come out as a person would think it is; afterwards as it really is.

1. The first dynasty consisting of eight names as well as the 18th dynasty up to and including the ninth or tenth name therein, as from Manetho (the latter being merely a substitutional representation of the former), are represented by the first five names in the list of Eratosthenes, which we reasonably suppose to be in genealogical order, and to stand for five successive generations. They stand as follows: —

*First Three Columns' System.*

I. Menes.	1st Dynasty of Africanus from Manetho.	1. Menes	1st Dynasty from Africanus and restoration of Lepsius.	1. Amos or Menes.
II. Athotis.		2. Athotis son.		2. Amenophis I.
III. Athotis.		3. Kencheres son.		3. Aahmes.
IV. Diabies or Mlabies.		4. Onenephes son.		4. Tuthmosis II.
V. Pemphos.		5. Ousaphaidos son.		5. Amenseth.
		6. Miebidos son.		6. Misptra or Hatasu.
		7. Semempsis son.		7. Tuthmosis III.
		8. Bieneke's son.		8. Amenophis II.
VI. Momcheiri.	2d Dynasty from Africanus.	9. Boethos.	18th Dynasty from Africa and restor. of Lepsius.	9. Tuthmosis IV.
VII. Stoikos.		10. Kaiechos.		10. Amenophis III.
VIII. Gosormies.		11. Binothris.		11. Horus.
IX. Mares.		12. Tlas.		12. Amenophis IV.
X. Anouphis.		13. Sethenes.		13. Nefruari.
XI. Sirios.		14. Chaires.		14. Amentuankh.
XII. Khneubos Gneuros.		15. Nephchereres.		15. Amenankhut.
XIII. Rauosis.		16. Sesochris.		16. Athotis.
XIV. Buures.		17. Cheneres.		
XV. Saophis.	3d Dynasty from Africanus.	18. Necherophies.	18th Dynasty from Africa and restor. of Lepsius.	17. Schaigh.
XVI. Saophis II.		19. Tosorthros.		18. Athotis.
XVII. Megcheres.		20. Tureis.		19. Armais
XVIII. Mosthes.		21. Mesochris.		20. Rameses or Sethos.
XIX. Pammes.		22. Souphis.		21. Amenophis.
		23. Tosertasis.		22. Taseser.
		24. Aches.		
		25. Sephouris.		
		26. Kerperhes.		



XX. Apapus.	27. Soris.	23. Sethos I.
XXI. Echeskos.	28. Soupphis.	24. Siptah.
XXII. Nitokris.	29. Soupphis II.	25. Amenemes.
	30. Mencheres.	26. Mernra.
	31. Ratoises.	
	32. Racheres.	
	33. Sebercheres.	
	34. Thamphthis.	
XXIII. Amurtaios.	35. Ousercheres.	27. Sethar.
XXIV. Thuosimares.	36. Sephres.	28. Rameses II.
XXV. Sethnilos.	37. Nephcheres	29. Rameses III.
XXVI. Semphukrates.	38. Sisiris.	30. Rameses IV.
XXVII. Chuthr-Tauros.	39. Cheres.	31. Rameses V.
XXVIII. Meures.	40. Rathoures.	32. Rameses VI.
XXIX. Chomæphthah.	41. Mencheres.	33. Rameses VII.
XXX. Soikunis Ochtu- rannos.	42. Tatcherres.	34. Rameses VIII.
XXXI. Peteathures.	43. Onnos.	35. Rameses IX.
		36. Rameses X.
		37. Rameses XI.
		38. Rameses XII.
XXXII. Amenemes.	44. Othoes.	
XXXIII. Stamenemes.	45. Phros.	
XXXIV. Sistosicher- mes.	46. Methesouphis.	
XXXV. Mares.	47. Phiops.	
XXXVI. Siphos.	48. Menthesouphis.	
XXXVII. Phrouoro or Nilos.	49. Nitokris.	
XXXVIII. Amouthar- taios.		
	50. Sesonchosia.	
	51. Amenemes.	
	52. Sesostris.	
	53. Lacheres.	
	54. Ameres.	
	55. Amenemes.	
	56. Schemiophris "sister."	

In this arrangement we have placed the list of Africanus in what would be at first sight supposed to be their natural order of 1st, 2d, 3d, dynasties, etc., alongside of the names in the list of Eratosthenes and of those, on the other side, of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, for which they stand, as restored by Lepsius. But it is plain, as a comparison of the three lists in this view shows, that what seems the natural order, that is, the order of the numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc., in the list of Africanus, is not the chronological order. See, for example, the place of Nitokris, which is the same as Tasesar, in the first and third columns, No. 22 in each, while in the middle column, that of Africanus, it is No. 49. Also the name standing for Sesostris the Great, which is No. 20, in the first and third columns, is No. 47 in the middle, that of Africanus. The chronological order, therefore, in the list of Africanus is not in the natural order of the numbers of the dynasties in that authority. Laying aside all the idea of foreign dynasties as connected with the dynastic names Elephantin, Herakliopolitan, etc., for it is certain that these were all the offsprings of the empire of Menes, the first and most natural conclusion we come to in the case is that

some of the dynasties of Africanus, as set down in the middle column, were contemporary. But as, from a view of the foregoing lists, the second dynasty of nine names which Africanus sets down as Thinite and the fifth consisting also of nine names which he enters as Elephantin, do not appear to be represented in the list of Eratosthenes, if then we first suppose that Eratosthenes' list is altogether the correct one misrepresenting as to no space, and on this ground exclude the  $9+9=18$  names from the list of Africanus, as it stands above, we shall have left in it  $56-18=38$  names, being the same number as that in Eratosthenes' list. This we do in the following tabulation and shall see how it comes out when compared with the others as before.

*Second Three Columns' System.*

<i>Eratosthenes' List.</i>		<i>Africanus' List.</i>	<i>List of 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties restored.</i>
I. Menes.	Africanus' 1st Dynasty.	1. Menes.	1. Amos or Menes.
II. Athotis.		2. Athotis.	2. Amenophis I.
III. Athotis.		3. Kencheres.	3. Aahmes.
IV. Diabies.		4. Ouénephes.	4. Tuthmosis II.
V. Pemphos.		5. Ousaphaidos.	5. Amenseth.
VI. Momcheiri.		6. Miebidos.	6. Hatasu or Misptra.
VII. Stoikos.		7. Sememphis.	7. Tuthmosis III.
VIII. Gosormies.		8. Bienekes.	8. Amenophis II.
IX. Mares.	Africanus' 3d Dynasty.	9. Necheropheas.	9. Tuthmosis IV.
X. Anouphis.		10. Tosorthros.	10. Amenophis III.
XI. Sirios.		11. Tureis.	11. Orus.
XII. Khaubos.		12. Mesochris.	12. Amenophis IV.
		13. Souphis.	13. Netruari.
XIII. Rauosis.		14. Toseratasia.	14. Amentuankh.
XIV. Biures.		15. Aches.	15. Amenankhut.
		16. Sephouris.	16. Athotis.
	Africanus' 4th Dynasty.	17. Kerperes.	
XV. Saophis.		18. Soris.	17. Schaigh.
XVI. Saphis II.		19. Souphis.	18. Athois.
XVII. Megcheres.		20. Souphis I.	19. Armais.
XVIII. Mosthes.		21. Mencheres.	20. Rameses or Sethos.
XIX. Pammes.		22. Ratoises.	21. Amenophis or Pheron.
XX. Apapus.		23. Bieheres.	22. Tasesar.
XXI. Echeskoa.		24. Sebercheres.	
XXII. Nitokris.	Africanus' 6th Dynasty.	25. Thamphthis.	
XXIII. Amurtaios.			23. Sethos I.
XXIV. Thuosimares.		26. Othoes.	24. Siphthab.
XXV. Sethnilos.		27. Phios.	25. Amenemseth.
XXVI. Semphukrates.		28. Methosouphis.	26. Mernra.
XXVII. Chuther-Tauros.		29. Phiops.	27. Sethar.
XXVIII. Meures.		30. Menthesouphis.	28. Rameses II.
XXIX. Chomaphthah.		31. Nitokris.	29. Rameses III.
XXX. Sorkunios.	Africanus' 12th Dynasty.		30. Rameses IV.
XXXI. Peteathures.		32. Sesonchosia.	31. Rameses V.
XXXII. Amenemes.		33. Amenemes.	32. Rameses VI.
XXXIII. Stamenemes.			33. Rameses VII.
XXXIV. Sisto-		34. Sesostris.	34. Rameses VIII.
sichermes.		35. Lacheres.	35. Rameses IX.
XXXV. Mares.		36. Ameres.	36. Rameses X.
XXXVI. Siphos.		37. Amenemes.	37. Rameses XI.
XXXVII. Phrouoro	Africanus' 12th Dynasty.	38. Skhemiophris, "sis-	38. Rameses XII.
XXVIII. Amouthar-		ter."	
taios.			

Viewing, as before, the place of Queen Nitokris, which is Tasesar, in this tabulation, which, as in the former case, is No. 22 in the first and third columns, but in the middle column in this second arrangement we find to be No. 31; and that of the great Sesostris, which in the first and third columns is No. 20, is now in the middle column No. 29, we find thus the list of African us, even after the exclusion of the second and fifth dynasties, does not present the names in their chronological order, and so after a brief interval shall proceed to another arrangement.

In explanation of some of the names I may say that Menes, which is spelled in the hieroglyphics Mna or Mena has for one of its meanings a fortification, something established, settled, which is a meaning for the Heb. Misr. (Mitzr.), usually found in the plural or dual-form Mizraim. This last is a name of Egypt, in which it doubtless has reference to the two countries Upper and lower Egypt. Meni is also a name of the sun. Origen rebuked the Jews for the worship they gave to Meni and Selene, the sun and moon. The word Mne or Mene in Hebrew signifies to number. The Greek root Men, a month, also the moon and the God of the moon, the Egyptian Thoth. The root Men, then, is the root of our word moon, month as well as of number, properly num-er, or number, and num being men read backwards as in Hebrew, and generally in the ancient Egyptian. Doubtless the reason the root men signified to number was because the motions of the sun and moon were used to measure time. The Egyptian God, Meni, was the same as Horus, the sun. A month is the space of time measured by the sun or moon. From the same root is the Latin Manes, which were the Genii, according to Servius. The root Men having reference to the moon as well as to the moon God, Thoth, may be a reason why he himself was also called by some Thothmes as well as his son, a name which means given or endowed by Thoth.

This same man or his son Thothmes was also named Chnebra, the golden watcher, that is, the sun. The form Chnebra, equals ch-nub-ra or ch-num-ra, the b and n being used for each other as in Nimrod or Nebrod, etc. The name Chnebra, then, is the name Menes and also Amenophis in disguise, the root Men is read backwards as said above, the ch is prefixed to equalize the Greek sound of the Egyptian initial n, and ra, sun, is affixed. The form Chebron, which doubtless associated this man's name with Moses and the Hebrews, appears to be rather a mistranscription than a corrupt

form of the word. Lepsius (Eml. p. 359 notes) cites a passage from the Alexandrian Chronicle in which the Pharaoh under whom Moses was brought up is called Khenebron. This is, doubtless, the same with the Khenephres of Artapanus. The name on the monuments stands Ra-Neb-Peh. The ra was sometimes pronounced last and the Egyptian n at the beginning of a word sounded to the Greeks like gn: thus Nub or Num, the name of a diety and signifying gold, was pronounced G nub or Ch nub and so Ch nubra would be easily transcribed by the Greeks Chnebron. The form for the name in Africanus is Chebros, in Josephus Chebron. As a matter of course we may conclude that other kings may have had Ch nubra as a distinguishing title as well as Menes or Tethmosis. The Athotes of the first and second columns are seen in the Tethmoses of the third.

In explanation of the proper chronological order of the kings in the lists of Africanus, as from Manetho, I may remark that Bunsen after considerable painstaking research bestowed upon the subject, found that Africanus' 2nd dynasty was contemporary with the 3rd, both attaining to a unity of empire in the 4th; and "the fifth dynasty of Elephantin kings with the line of Imperial kings from a given starting point, namely, the close of the 4th dynasty." This is all right only we will find the succession of nine Elephantin kings were the Imperial kings after the close of the 4th dynasty, properly understood. He finds that, after the 1st dynasty had lasted 190 years under five consecutive kings, the reigning family became divided into two branches and that "Egypt was probably divided into two, the Upper and Lower Country. The Imperial or Memphite, called the 3rd dynasty, then reigned 224 years, the Thinite, called the 2nd, the same number, the former comprising nine the latter seven rulers. At the end of 414 years, therefore, from Menes inclusive, the 4th dynasty reunited the whole empire under one sceptre." Bunsen was correct in regard to the contemporaneity of the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, so called, of Africanus; but incorrect in his supposition of the kingdom being divided into Upper and Lower Egypt; for the 3rd dynasty here were the *de facto* kings of Egypt for 9 reigns; the line of the 2nd dynasty was preserved in the records, as I suppose, only for genealogical purposes, the genealogy of Sesostris-Rameses, who came afterwards being traced back through that to Menes. However, without me necessarily now going further with Bunsen than in agreeing as to



the 4th dynasty (as properly understood) carrying on the government of Egypt in succession to the 3rd I may remark that it is said the Tablet of Karnak traces genealogy back to Menes through the 6th and 3rd dynasties (this last according to Africanus) and the Tablet of Abydos reaches the same goal through the 4th and 2nd dynasties. But there is a mistake here, for both these tablets were erected by the Rameses, whose genealogy must go back in the same line. The 4th dynasty, it is true, is connected with the 6th, so that the mention of the 4th for the 6th is not altogether a mistake; but it is most correct to mention the 6th as connected with the 2nd as you will afterwards see, for it is found that the tablet of Karnak contains immediately, after the kings of the 3rd dynasty," the shield of Pepi, who is variously called Apapus and Phiops (the latter being the fourth name in Africanus' 6th dynasty) and also Sesostris, Ægyptus and Rameses the Great.

The whole discovery anyhow goes to show us that there was a branching out of the imperial family at the fifth name in Eratosthenes' list, which is also the 5th generation in descent from Menes. For the Pemphos, which is the fifth in Eratosthenes is P-Amenophis, the second of the name in my list and must be of the fifth generation from Menes since he is 8th in the succession. From this point Eratosthenes carries on the line in the Memphite branch of the family of Menes from the 1st through the 3rd dynasty, while Africanus gives an exhibit of both of the lines back to Menes, that is, through the 3rd and 2nd dynasties.

But recognizing the 1st and 3d dynasties, so called, which are allowed to have constituted the monarchical succession, these consisted of a succession of 17 names in the lists of Africanus, but ended with the XIVth of Eratosthenes' list: while I find in my own list that 16 names is the number. Consequently, in Eratosthenes' list there are five names (XV-XIX) between the XIVth name and the XXth, that is, Apapus, whose scutcheon, on the Tablet of Karnak, stands directly after those of the 3rd dynasty. But, this Apapus is not the first name of the 6th dynasty but the fourth, which makes him No. 21, in the regular succession in the list of Africanus, while he is No. XX in the list of Eratosthenes as well as No. 20 in mine.

Here, then, between the last of the 3d dynasty, No. XIV in Eratosthenes, No. 17 in Africanus and No. 16 of my regular list and the name of Apapus or Rameses, the Great, we have to account for

the names wanting and show satisfactorily who they were: If we go according to Eratosthenes we have five names to consider; if according to Africanus two, while my regular list requires three ( $16+3=19$ ), and without going farther I may say that these three I find in the first three names of the 6th dynasty of Africanus, which immediately precede Apapus, the great, there called Phiops. The circumstances of the case in regard to those dynasties in relation to each other suggest the great probability of the five names in Eratosthenes as pertaining to Africanus' 4th dynasty being of a line of men parallel and contemporary with the kings of the 6th and which gave birth in the male line to the succeeding dynasty.

But the first three of that 6th dynasty of Africanus, viz., Othoes, Phios, Methosouphis, are as fairly supposable to answer respectively to Schaigh, Armais and a queen Athotis, a son and daughter of queen Athotis and the priest, Aedhes (Othoes) that is Schaigh. This will obtain fuller explanation farther on and also how that those five names mentioned as in Eratosthenes and pertaining to Africanus' 4th dynasty run parallel and contemporary with the ruling kings of the 6th dynasty, whose names, as derived from the monuments appear in my list. It is seen, therefore, that in my regular list the three names to be supplied after the 16th and before Rameses, the great, are those of his father, who formed a new dynasty and those of an elder sister and a brother. In the following I give the list of the actual kings of Egypt as tabulated from Africanus; along side of which I will place their prototypes of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties restored:—

1st Dynasty of Africanus and 1st proper.  
3d Dynasty of Africanus; 2d proper.

- |                 |                       |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Menes.       | 1. Amosis or Menes.   |
| 2. Athotis.     | 2. Amenophis.         |
| 3. Kenkenes.    | 3. Tethmosis.         |
| 4. Ouenephes.   | 4. Aahmes.            |
| 5. Ousaphaidos. | 5. Amenseth.          |
| 6. Miebidos.    | 6. Misptra or Hatasu. |
| 7. Semempsis.   | 7. Tethmosis.         |
| 8. Bienekes.    | 8. Amenophis.         |
| 9. Necherophes. | 9. Tethmosis.         |
| 10. Tosorthros. | 10. Amenophis.        |
| 11. Tureis.     | 11. Orus.             |
| 12. Mesochris.  | 12. Amenophis.        |
| 13. Souphis.    | 13. Nefruari.         |
| 14. Tosortasis. | 14. Amentuankh.       |
| 15. Aches.      | 15. Amenankhut.       |
| 16. Sephouris.  | 16. Athotis.          |
| 17. Kerpheres.  |                       |

6th Dyn. of Afric. includ'd also in 4th of the same; but 3d proper.	18. Othoes.	17. Schaigh.
	19. Phios.	18. Athotis.
	20. Methosonphis.	19. Armais.
5th Dyn. of Africanus; and 4th proper.	21. Phiops.	20. Rameses or Sethos.
	22. Menthesouphis.	21. Amenophis.
	23. Nitokris.	22. Tasesar.
12th Dyn. of Africanus and 5th proper.	24. Ousercheres.	23. Sethos.
	25. Sefhres.	24. Siphthah.
	26. Nephcheres.	25. Amenemes.
	27. Sisiris.	26. Mernra.
	28. Cheres.	27. Sethar.
	29. Rathoures.	28. Rameses II.
	30. Mencheres.	29. Rameses III.
	31. Tatcherer.	30. Rameses IV.
	32. Onnos.	31. Rameses V.
	33. Sesonchosis.	32. Rameses VI.
	34. Amenemes.	33. Rameses VII.
	35. Sesostris.	34. Rameses VIII.
	36. Lacheres.	35. Rameses IX.
	37. Ameres.	36. Rameses X.
	38. Amenemes.	37. Rameses XI.
	39. Skhemiophris 'sister.'	38. Rameses XII.

Sethos and Sesar-Cheres, Nos. 23 and 24, as above, pertain, of course, to the same man, who appears in the history and legend as son of Amenophis, and after whom, according to Lepsius, two sons of Tasesar succeed each other, the first of whom or his father must have begun the new dynasty.

According to my tabulation of the successive dynasties you will notice the old 21st is in the order of the 6th; the 30th, the 15th; the Grecian, the 17th; and the Roman, the 18th.

These two foregoing lists giving the chronological line of the rulers of Egypt, for the old empire of Menes have been arrived at by me after considerable labor in investigation and comparison, as you have not failed to notice thus far in your progress, in which I have conducted you along step by step. And, in retrospect, you will see I have first placed the particular dynasties of Africanus in the regular order of their numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., in juxtaposition with the List of Eratosthenes, and as a result on observation found that the particular sections of the List of Eratosthenes which would be thought from the nature of the case to correspond to the dynasties of Africanus in their order were far from corresponding. I then made a new tabulation, my "2nd 3 columns' system," in which I put in juxtaposition with the List of Eratosthenes the dynasties of Africanus in order down to the 12th inclusive, minus the 2d Thinite

and the 5th Elephantin dynasties. This done my observation showed me at once that the particular names in each of the three columns, which should correspond or about correspond as to their numbers in the lists were so very far from corresponding that this could not possibly be the chronological order of the reigns in Africanus' lists, although the number left in his list here was 38, the exact number in that of Eratosthenes. With these two systems I compared my regular list in chronological order of the actual rulers of Egypt, corresponding in number to the list of Eratosthenes and restored from the monuments on the basis and arrangement of Lepsius, with which I did not find the list of Africanus yet to agree any more than it did with the other. I then proceeded to a third arrangement putting into juxtaposition with my own list of rulers in their chronological order the list of Africanus arranged in order as follows: The 1st, 3d, 6th, 5th and 12th dynasties, so called. This I found to be the chronological order of the rulers in Africanus, as you will discover to your satisfaction when you shall have proceeded far enough in the explanation of the steps in the investigation. I will say here that the reason of the apparent anomaly of the 5th succeeding to the 6th dynasty is that the 4th dynasty being but an expansion of the 6th, so called, the 4th and 6th are contemporary lines, for a few successions, and so the 5th dynasty is really a continuation of the 4th and the apparent anomaly is accounted for.

The above three tabulations will greatly assist the reader in coming to a proper conception of a subject which language, even in great volume, without the help of such illustrations so often tends to obscure. Diodorus makes *Ægyptus* to be the 17th or 18th in descent from Menes, I think his mind being, that the two being included *Ægyptus* was the 18th, so that by him also the 1st and 3rd dynasties are shown to connect directly with the 6th, all of Africanus, and the 19th or 18th place seems the place proper of Apapus, Phiops or Rameses I., which names all signify the same person, only that here this name is shoved forward two places, first by that of an elder sister, Athotis, after the name of her mother and then by that of his brother, Armais, called in Africanus Phios, No. 19 of the left-hand column of my 2 columns' list, just preceding. I will say here that Methosouphis, No. 20 of that same left-hand column, is a female name and stands for Queen Athotis, No. 18 of the right-hand column on the same page. This name properly belongs to the preceding place; for Phios appears to be Phiops, as



Armais is Rameses; that is, the same elements stand for them respectively in the original Egyptian; and the name Armais in all the proper lists comes in next place before Rameses-Sesostris. Some transcriber, therefore, we may suppose, has exchanged the places of these two names.

Syncellus has in his *Laterculus*, in the 17th place, reckoning from Menes inclusive, the name Rameses, which is the first time that name occurs in his list; in the 18th place he has Ramessomenes; in the 19th Ousimares and in the 20th Ramesseseos (*i.e.*, Rameses-Sethos); and so for a few places more (or until such time as he begins to support his theory of Shepherd Kings), he has variations of the name Rameses. The name I give as Schaigh is entered in most lists as Rameses, *i.e.*, Raam-Schaigh, but from what I discovered chiefly arising from the researches of Lepsius into the genealogy I concluded the word Raam was only prefixed to the name after his son Sethos, *i.e.*, Schaigh had performed his wonderful exploits, and so I made the Sethos-dair my Rameses 1st.

The form Ramessomenes, No. 18 of Syncellus, is doubtless a female name standing for my Queen Athotes II., while Ousimares (ó—Si—mares) “the ship of the sea,” or “ship-master,” as applied to the name of a man, would stand for Armais,\* whom the Greeks called Danaus, and who colonized Greece.

The name of the great Sesostris may be compared to a tower toward which looketh, or a pivot round which turneth the whole history of ancient Egypt. In dealing with the history of that country much has necessarily to be said about him in order to elucidate the subject. But the few names I have here specified in relation to him would, if anything, indicate that those names from the 17th to the 20th place inclusive, were but of members of the same family, whose reigns some might think to have been all included, at least chronologically, in that of the 20th; for Ramses the Great was born before his father ascended the throne, which was not till after the death of Queen Athotis I., his mother; and he himself is entered for a very long reign, by Eratosthenes under the name of Apapus for 100 years; by Eusebius for 68, and by others for 66, which last doubtless is not far from correct. His brother Armais, whose name immediately precedes his, acted either

\* Armais=Si—mares, with ó=ov, the Greek and Egyptian definite article prefixed. Of the few Egyptian colonies planted in foreign countries in the reign of the great Sesostris Greece received her share. Danaus=Da—Naus, the ship, or the ship captain.

as an independent king or as his regent over Egypt, while he was absent on his Asiatic and European expeditions, which lasted for a good many years. It might, perhaps, be more correct to say that Armais, an elder brother, occupied the throne in his own right, and that his younger brother, on his return flushed with victory, was not content to abide his proper time, but took forcible possession of the throne and compelled his elder brother to leave the country. This would be at least a more probable supposition than that the stories related about Armais in relation to his brother were true; and still this I have mooted is only a supposition. For, on the contrary, it might be considered a more probable supposition that Sesostris, having conquered Greece after he had overrun Asia-Minor, planted a large colony or several large colonies of Egyptians in that country and left his younger brother, Danaus, there as his viceroy or as independent king of the country. We are here speaking of a very early historic age, viz. : the 16th century B. C. The tradition of the Greeks is, however, that Danaus planted an Egyptian colony or Egyptian colonies in their country, having been expatriated as well as dethroned by his brother Sesostris.

It would seem, that if, as indicated in the list of Africanus, Amenophis II. or his son began a new dynasty under the name of Memphite, as distinguished from Thinite or Theban, this dynasty must have ended with the 16th name of our list; for the priest Schaigh, granting the deduction of Prof. Lepsius to be correct, is entered as a king of Egypt, which it is supposed he did not become until the demise of his wife, Queen Athotis. Now, this man, tracing back to Menes in the male line through the 2d dynasty, so-called, would begin in his person a new dynasty, that is simply, a dynasty descended from another son of Amenophis II. than that one through whom descended the 3rd dynasty so-called. The general supposition that he came to the throne in right of his wife is reasonable, but it is more probable that he was generally accepted after his wife's death to replace her, that he having become acquainted during her life with all the governmental administrative affairs was reasonably supposed most competent to fill her place after her death; and, that, on his demise his children were looked upon as next heirs to the throne.

Momcheiri "the Memphite," the VIth King of the list of Eratosthenes, is Tethmosis, No. 9 of my list, from whose son Amenophis III., descended, both the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, the last

named being the actual Kings. The fact that Momcheiri, the Memphite, attained to the throne "without having fought for it," as according to Eratosthenes, shows that he was one who was understood as having a right to the position. The expression "unfought" is not without its meaning, and such is its signification in this place. He is also called "of the disproportioned limbs." But the Tablet of Abydos tracing back the ancestor of the great Rameses through the 2nd dynasty, so called, I will here connect that ancestor with Menes, giving you each step in the male descent, as follows: —

1. Menes.
2. Athotis son of.
3. Kenkenes son of.
4. Ouenephes son of.
5. Ousaphaidos son of.
6. Miebidos son of.
7. Semempsis son of.
8. Bienekes son of.
9. Boethos=Tethmosis IV.
10. Kaiechos=Amenophis III.
11. Binothris.
12. Tlas.
13. Sethenes.
14. Chaires.
15. Nephhercheres.
16. Sesochris.
17. Cheneres=Schaigh.

This will show you, first, that the descent is not split up in such an artificial way as would appear from the dynasties in Africanus; for although, for example, all those 17 names belong to the list here given still those which belong to the 2d dynasty, so called, aside from the actual monarchy are only 6 in number instead of 9, for Amenophis who was the same with Kaiechos, was king as was also Cheneres, who was the same with Schaigh, his seventh descendant. The lists in Africanus before his 18th dynasty, appear to me to have been made somewhat in the artificial way in which a tailor makes a coat; but after he has begun his 18th dynasty down to his 21st, the whole thing appears fragmentary, nothing complete, nothing finished, the object evidently being the obscuration of the subject.

Under the head of his 2d dynasty he gives us the important information that in the time of Boethos, our Tuthmosis IV., "there occurred a remarkable chasm in the earth at Bubastis." Would this have been in accommodation to the name he had given him, Boethos, *i.e.*, Bythos, *i.e.*, Abyss? Or, would Tuthmosis IV. have been called Bythos on account of that occurrence? He also says that "in the time of Kaiechos," our Amenophis III., "the Bull Apis, at Memphis, and Muevis, at Heliopolis; as well as the Mendesian goat were constituted gods." Would this be the reason the name Kaiechos was applied to our Amenophis (Amun-Saophis)? Now, the ruling house of the descendants of Amenophis III. being called Memphite does not imply that the seat of the administration did not continue to be at Thebes, for there is scarcely any doubt that this continued to be the seat of government of the monarchy. I take it the term Memphite was put in there by some historian simply as a variation of the subject or perhaps because Tuthmosis IV., who is said to have erected the Sphinx near Memphis, may have had his residence in that city before he became king.

But you will inquire why we understand Cheneres, No. 17 of our last list, to be identical with the priest Schaigh. In explanation allow me to say, first, that it is a variation of the same name; for, in the Gaelic, the clan Aedh is the clan Schaigh or Seth, and also the clan Chathan, pronounced Chaun, and Chathanair, pronounced Chonari. The root of Cheneres, as here, is Chener or Chenre and is our name Henry, which in the Gaelic is Chathanair or Chathanri, or Chathair, or Chathri, which last is our name Harry. And so Mac Aedh or Mac Aedhan equals Mac Shaigh or Mac Shaighan, translatable respectively "son of Jack" and "son of John;" as also Mackay and McCon. The name Sesochris, as above, No. 16, next before Cheneres, is Seth-Cheres. This man is said by Africanus to have been five cubits and three spans high, which left him to have been over ten feet.

Secondly, the name Cheneres is understood for the father of Rameses the Great, from the fact of its occupying the 17th place in the list, which is the place given by Africanus to Othoes (Aedh) the first of his sixth dynasty, (which is shown to connect here directly with the 2nd dynasty so called, without the intervention of any 4th dynasty); and is the place which I have found for him from my independent researches carried out practically upon the



basis of Lepsius, deductions. You have, therefore, Schaigh that is Cheneres, that is Othoes, that is, Aedh, occupying the throne and then his three children after him in succession occupying it for 100 years or less. These were, noticing them in connection with the 6th dynasty Athotis or Methosouphis, proper place No. 18; Armais or Phios, No. 19; and Rameses-Sesostris or Phiops, No. 20.

You can now understand more clearly how that the first Ramesside house, according to the Tablet of Abydos, traces back its genealogy to Menes through the 2nd dynasty, while the second house of the Ramessides traces it back through the 3rd dynasty, so called, that is, they both trace back to Menes through Amenophis III the common ancestor of the parallel and contemporary 3rd and 2nd dynasties, so called.

To his 18th dynasty Africanus gives 16 names, Eusebins 14 and in Josephus I count for it 18 or 19 names.

Now, although the father of Rameses, the Great, is in most lists entered as Rameses, still I deemed it better and tending much more to clearness of subject to enter him by his monumental name Ai, according to Champollion Schai, of which a full form is Schaigh, a variant of the root Scheth in Palai-Scheth (Philistine) from whom the local name Pelusium, called also Avaris or city of the Hebrews. Thus Rameses, in the old language, equals Raamschaigh, meaning chief King, tall man, Sun-born.

It is easily supposable that counter or rival lines of Kings might have sprung up from the royal stock, existent at Elephantina, Memphis or elsewhere; but there could, I think, be rivalry to the established monarchy, situated at Thebes, only in pretension; the regular establishment putting contemporary dynasties, *de facto* out of the question. But of one of the branches from the stock of Menes, going back through the old 2nd dynasty to the house of This or Abydos, was the priest-King, ancestor of the Rameses.

Now, Tuthmosis III. is seventh or eighth ruler after Menes, although he be only the third in genealogical succession from him, and it might be thought to appear from the tradition quoted by Josephus as from Manetho, that for several reigns before his there had existed trouble with a contending dynasty called variously Shepherds or Herakleopolitan, or perhaps Elephantin. This trouble, forsooth, ended with the departure of the troublesome pastors in the days of this Tuthmosis, whose father's euphonius name is put down in our tradition as Misphragmuthosis and the re-

nowned departure of those pastors must needs have been contemporaneous with the Exodus of the Israelites under their celebrated legislator Moses. It is, indeed, fortunate for chronologers and for the world that our Scriptural Moses did not have the prefix Tuth to his name, otherwise there might be a confounding of the two great men, Tuthmosis and Moses, and the departure of the Shepherds from Egypt with the Exodus therefrom of the Israelites. What prevents us from supposing, which would not necessarily be concluding, that those contending dynasts about whom there has been so much noise, may have also sprung from a son of the founder of the monarchy? Eratosthenes calls his fifth king Pemphos (Amenophis) also Heraklides, from whose descendants since he was succeeded by Momcheiri, the Memphite, it is most probable arose the name Herakleopolitan. All those stock of Menes were doubtless originally of the Asiatic shepherd or the Ethiopic priest-pastor kind.

It so happens that a name which has been understood by some as for Sesostris the Great falls under the same number 34, in the first and second columns. Hitherto or before Prof. Lepsius made and published his researches, there was a good deal of difficulty in determining as to who the great Sesostris was. This arose, I think, largely from their making Sethos the Great, to have been a different person from the first Rameses, the fact being that both names referred to the same man. Thus divided, as he found the names, Bunsen decided, on the whole, that Sethos was the great hero. This Sethos, No. 20 of our right-hand column, also called Rameses I., is the man who, by Diodorus and Josephus, was called Ægyptus, the man after whose name, Ægyptus, that country was as now designated, and who was also called the Great Sesostris and the Great Rameses. Tracing back through the second dynasty through Pemphos (Amenophis III.) or Herakleides, No. V. of Eratosthenes, we find the first house of the Ramessides must needs have been Herakleopolitan, although they have been understood by some to have been Phœnician Shepherds: and they were also the builders of the pyramids as the 5th dynasty.

Those who were satisfied in their minds from the study they had given to the subject in the authorities they possessed thereon, that there had been a Middle or Hyksos empire established in Egypt for 1000 years more or less, found reason from the data they had to conclude for themselves that there had been two great

heroes, one being of the Old Empire, before the Hyksos period, and one of the New Empire after that period, who were both recognized by the name of Sesostris. This *Ægyptus*, however, to whom we have now referred, was the supereminent Sesostris to whom the Egyptian history points back and was also their Rameses the Great. Thus far I have pointed out how that the man they call Sesostris was their Sethos the 1st, and also, their Rameses the 1st, and I will now add that he was the same with the Rameses II. of many of their old lists, who is said to have reigned 66 years.

The next remarkable hero in our list is that one whom the old lists have usually entered as Rameses III., but who, in my list, is entered as Rameses II. He is 28th of my list, column 3, being the eighth successor of Rameses I., corresponding to that Mares in Eratosthenes' list, whom Diodorus specified as being "12th after *Ægyptus*." It is not impossible he may have been 12th successor on the throne, but he could not have been more than 8th in descent from *Ægyptus*, who is that one who is called, by Eratosthenes, "Apappus, the Great." This second Rameses, of my list, to whom some have mistakenly ascribed the capture of Old Tyre, was far enough removed from the first Rameses to be called a second Sesostris; he has not, however, ever attained to that honor, for he has not by any historian been mistaken for Sesostris the Great.

Now, Prof. Lepsius thought he had good proof from the monuments that the five immediate successors of Rameses II. were his sons. If such were the case these would be in my list Rameses III., IV., V., VI., VII.; Rameses VIII., according to Lepsius' hypothesis, being grandson of Rameses II., by his son Rameses VI., which last he makes to be the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, the predecessor of Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid. It appears from this that the brother of Rhampsinitus intervened between him and Cheops. In one authority I have seen the number of brothers who succeeded to Rameses II. as their father is given at four. But the succession of four or five brothers to each other on the throne of any country, a position in which the occupant is ordinarily supposed to live out the term of his natural life, is such a thing as I cannot recall an instance of in history. Now, there are two circumstances to prove that this story of the succession to each other of four or five brothers is not founded on truth. In the first place my last two columns' tabulation shows our Rameses II. to be the 6th King of the old 5th dynasty and in that dynasty there were just 9

Kings, so that only three of his sons at the most, viz., Rameses III., IV., and V. could succeed him before the incoming of the new dynasty, the old 12th, in the person of Amenehmes I. of Eratosthenes, the Sesonchosis of Africanus and the Rameses VI., of my tabulation. According to the tabulation of Africanus' 5th dynasty Rathoures, No. 29, would stand for my Rameses II., No. 28, next to whom his son, Mencheres, *i. e.*, Menophres or Amenophis, is No. 30, and then Tatcherres and Onos, Nos. 31 and 32 respectively; so that in this left-hand column of my two-columns' arrangement, No. 33 begins the old 12th dynasty and is my Rameses VIth, No. 32 of my list, in the right-hand column. The point here is to make plain that neither in Africanus nor in Eratosthenes did more than three names succeed Rameses II. upon the throne before the introduction of the 12th dynasty, which leaves the hypothesis concerning five sons, or even four sons of Rameses II. succeeding each other after their father on the throne to fall to the ground. According to the reckoning of Eratosthenes his Mures No. XXVIII., that is, our Rameses II., and his three successors reigned 99 years, which would make nearly fifty years each for two generations.

If, however, we could suppose Manetho or Eratosthenes or both to have understood for our Rameses II., Sethos, the apparent chief of the old 5th dynasty, who succeeded queen Tasesar, but is entered as a son of Amenophis, which doubtless he was, they perhaps not understanding it so, then we find the aggregate of the reigns of himself and his four successors is, on the reckoning of Eratosthenes, 71 years, that is, 71 years for the five immediate successors of Queen Nitokris. If any one wishes to consider this seemingly probable, I will say the name presents no difficulty, for Sethos is but a short form of Rameses, as seen above, Rameses I. having been first called Sethos. I will say here, however, that I would not understand either the No. 23 or the No. 28 of my list as the Rameses who captured old Tyre and did the mighty acts put to the credit, by the historians generally, of their Rameses III.; but I would understand my Rameses VII., corresponding to Stamenemes, No. XXXIII of Eratosthenes and to Amenemes, the immediate predecessor of him called Sesostris, No. 3, of Africanus' 12th dynasty, to have been that Rameses who conquered Old Tyre and Phœnicia. The time my reckoning gives for the first year of our No. 33, viz., 1262 B. C., may be concluded as definitely supporting this position. Bunsen's



Synchronisms make his Rameses III. to have captured Old Tyre in 1287 B. C., which would be the next year after his ascent to power, according to my calculation, of the first King of the 12th dynasty.

Speaking in relation to the 20th dynasty of Africanus, as restored by Lepsius, Bunsen says: "In the case of the latter kings we are still unable to settle the genealogy; their order of succession is, for the most part, established by the Apis inscriptions, which state the name of each king in whose reign a sacred bull was born or died. They have also recorded an important historical fact, namely, that the Ramesside family was overthrown by Herhor, high priest of Ammon, chief of the palace, and of the army, who, after the death of Rameses XII. takes the title of king of the two lands." "Considering with Lepsius one of the Ramessides (Ra-Mama-Miamun) to be a later variant of Hikma Miamun, that is of Rameses III., we have exactly twelve kings Setnekht (Mernra) the founder of the dynasty and eleven Ramessides; otherwise we must take 12 as the number of the Ramessides and give 13 kings to the dynasty, which is just possible" (Egypt IV. 525).

But to bring this matter to a focus I may say that while we have in No. 20 of our list the great Sesostris, called, by Diodorus, *Ægyptus*; and in No. 28 our Rameses II., called by Eratosthenes Meures, who or one of his sons was doubtless the Mares of Diodorus, whom he put 12th in descent from *Ægyptus*, we have in No. XXXIV. the man called by Diodorus Chemis and by Herodotus Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid. The name given to this man by Eratosthenes is interpretable as follows: "Sesostris, the son of Hermes, the strong Hercules." Judging by this title Eratosthenes deemed this man worthy of greater honor and distinction than any other man on his list; and he might be thought to have understood him as the great Sesostris, as Diodorus apparently did. If, however, they meant that this man was the great conqueror, especially called Sesostris by the Egyptians, they were mistaken; for while in No. XXXIII., we recognize in Rameses VII. (Sethechopschef of Lepsius) the Stamenemes (Sethi-Amenemes) of Eratosthenes we have in No. XXXIV. (Chaem-Miamun) the Chemis of Diodorus, the Cheops of Herodotus, the builder of the great pyramid. And in No. XXXV. we have Rameses IX. (Rameses Mri-Amn; Ra khepher Ma Sutp N. Ra) doubtless the Chephren, brother of Chemis, the builder of the second pyramid. And in No. XXXVI. we have Rameses X. (Siphthah), being the name Siphsoas of the same number of Eratos-

thenes, who was doubtless grandson of his No. XXXIV. This man is, therefore, Souphis or Cheops II., the same with the Mencheres or Mykerinus of Diodorus and Herodotus, who is said to have partially built the third pyramid. In our Rameses XI. and XII. we, therefore, have the correspondents of Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. respectively of Eratosthenes' list.

As intimated before Africanus, not having given us the names of the kings of his 20th dynasty, so called, but only the number of them, as 12, and the aggregate of their years as 135 (185 in Lepsius) we are somewhat in the dark as to the particular history of the last ten, but hope more light may yet be derived to us from the monuments. It is seen, however, that as far as we give information concerning them it is rather of a definite character. But I will say here, that the arrangement of an 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, as here, may not appear to be so systematic an arrangement as to the number of the dynasties given in the histories for the time, as that of five successive ruling dynasties, which I have pointed out in the arrangement of Africanus as from Manetho, although this may be one too many. And in explanation of how these three dynasties, so-called, stand for the five successive ruling dynasties in Africanus I will remark as follows:—

The 18th dynasty to the number of about 16 names as in Africanus is really one dynasty; but up to that point it has been entered in the books as two, viz., the 1st and 3rd, arising from the following circumstance: Two sons of Amenophis III. there were from one of whom, doubtless a younger one, descended the regular line of rulers for 8 or 9 successions or down to and including the 16th; and from the other son mentioned, doubtless the older of the two, descended in the male line the father of the great Rameses as explained above. Now, long after the first house of the Rameses had come into power the male line of the ancestors of Rameses the Great up to Amenophis III., was entered in the history (doubtless, as an honorary title, for they were not kings of Egypt) as "the second dynasty." This, of course, necessitated that the regular line from Amenophis III. to its replacement in power by the first Rameses, should be styled "the third dynasty." This, therefore, accounts for the first three dynasties of Africanus, of which, as you see according to my last tabulation, of two parallel columns, only two, the first and third, were in succession and in power.

The next dynasty is the first house of the Ramesidæ. It is third

in succession, but is the 6th as in Africanus. Parellel and contemporary with this ruling dynasty, called the 6th, which connected, as we have seen, in male line directly with the 2nd, was the 4th dynasty so called, which was parallel and contemporary with the 6th as the 2nd with the 3rd; that is, it was like the 2nd dynasty an *ex-officio* line, not a continuation, indeed, of the 3rd dynasty, but a parallel house of Ramessides descended, as I suppose, from a brother of Rameses the Great. Our priest Schaigh, who at the head of the 6th dynasty is Othoes, and as the last name of the 2nd dynasty is Cheneres, is at the head of this 4th dynasty Soris.

The 5th dynasty, properly understood, is doubtless the continuation in the male line from the first king of the 4th; for I take Sebercheres, No. 7 in the 4th dynasty, to have been husband of Tasesar, although he may have never ascended the throne himself. The name Thamphthis, which next succeeds his, as No. 8 of the 4th dynasty, is a female name, as is indicated by the feminine form, Tha, of the article, instead of the masculine form Pha, being prefixed to the name. It is here another form of name representing in this list of the 4th dynasty, the same person as the Tasesar or Nitokris of the 6th. Eusebius continues the 5th dynasty, after the 4th, as if he understood it to be in some way, a continuation in the male line of the latter.

The Sethar, No. 27 of my regular list, is the same with the Chuthar No. XXVII of Eratosthenes' list, and the Cheres, which is fifth name in Africans' 5th dynasty. And my Mernra No. 26, which is the proper Neilos of history, and was also called Schethar, pronounced Schihor, which is another name, for the Nile, is the Semphrukrates or Herkules Harpokrates, No. XXVI of Eratosthenes' list, and the Sisiris, which is the fourth name in the old 5th dynasty of Africanus.

Speaking in relation to Neilos, I may say that to the last four or five kings of Eratosthenes' list there would seem to have been some of the names as well as actions transferred, which properly belong to Sesostris, the great, No. 20 of my list, and to his son, grandson and great-grandson, ending properly with No. 26.

We perceive, therefore, the 2nd house of the Ramessides to have been the old 5th dynasty, called Elephantin, and to have descended in the male line from Menes though the 4th and 2nd dynasties.

This name Sethos or Rameses, which was understood as its equivalent, was often turned into Oser, Ouser, *i.e.*, Sesar, as is seen in Ra Sesar, No. 16 of the Papyrus, for the name of the father of

Rameses and Ra-Sesar, No. 18 of the same Papyrus, for Rameses the Great, himself. Sebek and Seber were understood as variations of the name Sethos, or vice versa, as Seb or Seph of Seth, at least in the written histories. For the names, then, as appearing in the 4th dynasty of Africanus we thus account: Soris, No. 1, is the same with Othoes No. 1 of the 6th dynasty. Thamphthis No. 8 of dynasty 4th with Nitokris No. 6 of dynasty 6th. Then we have the following running contemporary and parallel: —

Saophis		Souphis		Phios		Athotis	
Saophis II.	of Eratosthenes	with Souphis II.	of the 4th Dynasty	with Methosouphis	of 6th Dynasty	with Armais	of my regular list.
Mencheres		Mencheres		Phiops		Rameses	
Mosthes.		Ratoises		Menthosouphis		Amenophis	
Pammes		Bicheres		Nitokris		Tasesar	
		Sebercheres					

Of the men represented in the 6th dynasty here Phiops, *i.e.*, Rameses the Great, lived to an extraordinary age, having reigned, according to Eratosthenes and others, 100 years, which may possibly account for one more generation appearing in the contemporary parallel line of the 4th dynasty.

Whether or not for other remarkable accomplishments of his as well as for the building of the great pyramid, our Rameses VIII., the Sesostris No. 35 of Africanus' old 12th dynasty, appears to have been in the mind of Eratosthenes the greatest character of the Egyptian history. As I have said before the first very remarkable character as in my list was Sesostri's 1st, after whose name, Ægyptus, the country was called Egypt. The second remarkable hero was Mares, whom Diodorus makes 12th after Ægyptus, which Ægyptus, being in the mind of Diodorus 17th or 18th in the list of kings, would make Mares to be the 29th or 30th. But Herodotus may not have been entirely correct in saying that Mares was dead scarcely 900 years at the time of his visit to Egypt; if, however, he were nearly correct, we should have for the approximate date of Mares  $450 + 900 = 1350$  B. C., which would come within the time we get for our Rameses II. and his three successors, whom some have supposed to have been his sons, *i.e.*, 1387—1288 B. C. But, if we take Sethos I., No. 23 of my list, as Rameses II. proper,



then some might suppose that his four successors, 24 to 27 inclusive, were his sons, as according to the theory of the four or five brothers succeeding their father Rameses II. Of these two, Siphthah and Amenemseth, are put down as the Sons of Tasesar and although there be no pedigree given of Mernra and Sethar my own opinion is that Sethar was son of Mernra, and the latter son of Sethos, who in turn was son of Amenophis, son of Sesotris. This time would be about 1454—1387. For our Mares, then, considering the place given in the list for him by Diodorus and the approximate time given for him by Herodotus, it is most reasonable that we hold on to our Rameses II., No. 28 of my list, especially since the name given against that number in Eratosthenes is Meures. For the accomplishment of all the works ascribed to him I think it reasonable to count in his two or three immediate successors with himself, these being in the list of Africanus respectively Rathoures, Mencheres, Tatcherer, Nos. 29, 30, 31, of the left-hand column of the two where Rathoures is for Mares. So much as to Mares, who might be called Sesotris II., as we have him Rameses II.

The third great character they seem to specify is Sistosichermes, Chaem-Miamum, our Rameses VIII., before mentioned as the builder of the great pyramid, and doubtless the performer of other remarkable deeds; for the name Sistosichermes, *i.e.*, Si-Soth-Si-Hermes, means "the son of Sothis," the Star of Egypt, "the Son of Hermes" or Thoth, the God of letters and science. And Africanus, as from Manetho, after telling us how Herodotus informs us that Cheops built the great pyramid, adds: "This man also was a contemner of the Gods and compiled the Sacred Book, which, as a great desideratum, I, when in Egypt, procured a copy of for myself." I have not learned the religious tenets of that book, but would not wonder if Cheops' faith were a variety of the Hebrew. This system of tabulation would make him to have belonged to the 5th ruling dynasty; but while this be artificially so, he may have been really of the 4th.

For, as to the male descent of our Rameses VI. the Amenemes No. XXXII. of Eratosthenes, who is supposed to have begun the old 12th dynasty, so called, I may say that in Africanus the name, as I interpret it, is given as "Amenemhes, the son of Sesonchosis." This, too, may be concluded the correct reading from the name Sesonchosis preceding that of Amenemes on the Tablet of Karnak; and from the fact that in Eratosthenes this first Amenemes stands

second after Soikunios. Appears it not plain that Sesonchosis is the same with Soikunios\* and that Amenemes directly succeeded to his own or his father's brother? If so, and it is more than probable, then Amenemes did not begin a new dynasty and so the tradition is true that the great pyramid was built by the 4th dynasty, which, in the way it has been made out, completes the successive ruling dynasties of the old Empire.

Now, from the ascent to power of our Rameses II. to that of our Rameses VI. the founder of the 12th dynasty, so called, there are four reigns in 99 years, which look not impossible for two generations, that is supposing that those three successors of our Rameses II. were his sons. The first of these successors, No. XXIX., is given by Eratosthenes a reign of eleven years; the second, No. XXX., a reign of 60 years; and the third, whom we might suppose a younger brother of the preceding, a reign of 16 years, which, with the 12 years given for the reign of Rameses II., himself, makes up 99 years. According to this, too, our Rameses VI., the founder of the 12th dynasty, so called, was the son of Rameses IV., the eighth King of the old 5th dynasty.

But the discovery of our 12th dynasty being descended in male line from the 8th King of the 5th sets us to find out how it could have been, in any reason, called the 12th; for before this the 6th was the highest up we got in the number of the dynasties. We suppose there was a reason for giving it the title of the 12th dynasty and the following appears to have been that reason. There came to be doubtless, in the progress of the old fifth dynasty, several parallel lines through which the genealogies of the monarchs were traced back, whether in male or female line, and called by different names, such as Herakleopolitan, Memphite, Theban, etc., of which now no representation remains in the books. These would, in the books be called dynasties, in an honorary way, because of the descent through them of some of the distinguished monarchs, such as Mares, or Sesonchosis, or Amenemes, or Cheops, just as the 2nd dynasty got that title from descent through it of Sesostriis-Rameses.

In relation to what I have said farther back as to the names in my first and second 3 columns' systems not agreeing as to numbers,

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\* Soikun=Seaghan=Gegan, earth born, giant, which is the name Se-Son-Chosis, *i.e.*, the two forms are for the same root name, only the last has affixed the Egyptian adjective Chosis for Tosis, from the root of "to rule," "to govern." Sesonchosis = Soikunios = the ruling dynast.

referring to those tabulations again you will see the name of queen Nitokris standing under the 31st number in the middle column of the 1st and 2nd 3 columns' arrangement, in the former case 27 and in the latter case 9 names farther down than as it stood in the list of Eratosthenes. But, on the other hand, you will find in the 3rd column, that is my own list, Queen Tasesar No. 22 answering exactly to the place Nitokris has in Eratosthenes' list; Tasesar means simply "the queen," being made up of the feminine article Ta and Sesar. This is a title by which the historians have entered Queen Nitokris. Some might think this last was not the name of that queen; but it is either a name by which she was called or an historical title, for it is Egyptian, Neith-akar, meaning Athena-victrix, and not an affectation of the historians. Bunsen, in the Synopsis he gives of the Egyptian history of Herodotus, represents that historian as saying that Nitokris was a foreigner to Egypt; but Herodotus says distinctly "she was a native of the country" and in another place Bunsen states this matter correctly.

The result we have now arrived at with remarkable definiteness would have the effect of amazingly curtailing the figures given by Syncellus as for Manetho's complete Egyptian empire from Menes to Nectanebo inclusive. For, according to Prof. Lepsius' computation, the 20th dynasty ended in about 1115 B. C. Now, 1115 minus 350 B. C., the approximate termination of the 30th dynasty, leaves 765 years for the new empire, which added to the 1076 years of Eratosthenes' list for the old empire gives 1841 years instead of 3555 as stated by Syncellus. This computation also gives the date of Menes as something later than 2200 B. C., a date which, according to Usher's chronology, would, a person should think, be about the same with that of Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, thought to have been the same with Menes. (See dates given at the head of the middle columns of Gen. X, XI.) It may be remarked that the dates arrived at by both Usher and Lepsius are only approximative and that an exact result, if attainable, would likely bring them to the same numerical result and to the same man in regard to Egypt. The date we got for Menes upon the reckoning of Lepsius' ending for the 20th dynasty, is 2191 B. C.; which, considering Menes to have been identical with Mizraim and the Hyksos to have left Egypt in 1542 B. C., would leave the sojourn of that people in Egypt to have been for 649 years.

The date we get for Menes is, doubtless, nearly that which Usher

would give for Arphaxed the grandson of Noah and first cousin of Mizraim; for, according to the chronology of that celebrated bishop the creation was 4004 B. C.; the deluge about 2348 B. C.; the confusion of tongues about 100 years later or 2248 B. C.; and then it would require, say 57 years for Mizraim and his Schethites to have become established in the land of the Nile and in the adjacent country of Libya and Ethiopia, having his occupation there quietly, according to this, in 2191 B. C. But, though the assistance, which the researches and deductions in Egyptian history and archæology of Prof. Lepsius have rendered, is received by me with a proper and realizing sense of their worth, still I doubt not the data I possess will enable me to find a more correct date for Menes and to show before having finished with this illustrative critique that our Menes, so celebrated in history, as the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, was probably a grandson of the patriarch Abraham and no other than our Jacob-Israel, the ancestor of the twelve Palestinian tribes.

Eratosthenes appears to have spelled his list of names in a very coarse manner, but there is no doubt but that this coarseness may have at least partially arisen from the interpolation of certain letters in some of the names by copyists in the times posterior to Eratosthenes. If, for example, we cast the first *r* out of Phrouoro, XXXVII., we shall have the name in a more simple form and meaning the same. Phrouoro may be compounded either of Phre And Uro, that is a word for King repeated, the first being preceded by the definite article, or of Ph-Iara, meaning the river (Nile). This Phrouoro is also called Nilos by Eratosthenes; but it is more than likely this river had to the Egyptians all the meanings of river, King and God. He is our Rameses XI. It is remarked that in the time of this Nilos Troy was taken; but I have remarked before that Old Tyre was probably taken by Rameses VII. Eratosthenes gives to the successor of Phruru, the last man of his list, a reign of 63 years, and to Phruru himself a reign of 19. Lepsius makes his 12th dynasty to terminate, after having existed 185 years, in 1115 B. C. Now, if we suppose Troy (whatever ancient city that may have been) to have been taken in the second year of the reign of this Phruru, we shall have for the date of its capture  $1115 + 17 + 63 = 1195$  B. C.; but, as I have said elsewhere, Bunsen puts the date of the capture of Old Tyre by Rameses II. in 1287 B. C., and I myself put it in about 25 years later. In my mind Old Tyre was the real Troy. Would there have been some other old



Pergamus, delightful city, destroyed in the days of our Phruru or Nilus, which would have given rise to this tradition?

We learn from the Apis inscriptions that our Rameses XII., the Amuthartaïos, No. XXXVIII., of Eratosthenes, was succeeded in the Kingdom by Herhor, high priest of Ammon, who introduced in his person a new dynasty (21st). His name at the head of his dynasty is given as Smendes (Si-Bai-n-tet, son of Amun Bai-n-tet), (the goat of Tatu, Osiris, Brugsch), (Si-Amn HR-HER, High Priest). A person need not wonder at the names of the ancient Egyptian Kings appearing of different forms, as we find them in the different lists, for the name we get of a King in one list may, for example, be of his personal appellation, nomen or only prenomen, while in another list he may be set forth to us under one of his titles.

The name Aahmes is said to mean the young moon, and the wife of our Amos or Menes is said to have been styled the Princess Aahmes Nefru-Ari, or Aahmes the very good defender. Aahmes is also the name of a man which arises from the fact that Aah, A, Ao or Io, the word for the Moon, in ancient Egyptian is masculine. The same word means the Moon-God, Thoth or Hermes, as well as the Moon itself, hence Thothmes and Aahmes and James (English, James, Heb., Jacob) are exchangeable as written words. The names of the sun-god, Hercules, was also sometimes applied to the moon-god. Would the reason why the god of letters came to be identified with the moon-god be that scholars who devote themselves to learning work much at night?

It is thought Aahmes Nefruari, the beloved wife of our Amos, was Theban, but of an Etoipian house, as the accounts represent her as black and unlike all the other Egyptian races. It is found, too, that our Amosis was on good and amicable terms with Ethiopia and that a portion, at least, of that country paid him tribute. In a sepulchral inscription of the time "a captain of the Egyptian navy relates how he had served at Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture) under Amosis up to the 5th year of his reign. Then war broke out in the South and he was ordered to Kesh (Ethiopia) whither the King also afterwards repaired in order to collect the tribute." Over an inscription at the quarries of Mokattam is the scutcheon of the King and on each side thereof that of his wife. Bunsen considers her to have been "an heiress in whose right her husband ruled and took her name of Young Moon, perhaps, on account of the inheritance.

At any rate, says he, it had reference to her and was afterwards dropped." (Egypt III, 113.) Here he confesses that Aahmes was not the name of this King but of his wife. His proper name then was Mentuhept (Menes) the rising sun, the fixed, established. Josephus simply calls him Tuthmosis, which would be an equivalent for Aahmes or Amosis.

In another place Bunsen says: "Tuthmosis I. never appears as the son of Amosis. He was, however, a younger brother or a near kinsman." Speaking of his reign he says: "We find in the first place as regent, Aahmes, the royal wife, divine spouse, lady of both countries, the royal sister." (Id. III, 115.) This would, on the whole, point to the equality of the names Tuthmosis and Amosis and to their mutability with each other. I have mentioned before how that the Hebrews are supposed to have been connected with this King under a name Chnebron and the youth and manhood of Moses are connected with him in the narratives of Josephus. The name of the King's daughter by whom Moses is adopted and brought up is Thermuthis. We are told by Josephus that the Ethiopians, a little before this time, had invaded Egypt and done much damage to that country, in order to have satisfaction for which Moses was placed in command of an Egyptian expedition against Ethiopia. When arrived in that country at the head of his force he succeeded by means of the good offices of Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian King who had become enamored with him, in taking their capital city, which having accomplished he married this Ethiopian princess. I wonder Bunsen did not mention this coincidence in connection with Amos: but it seems not to have occurred to his mind, although, he displays elsewhere a great readiness in scriptural references. It appears certain that at the time of this Amos or Menes there existed a very intimate connection between Ethiopia and Egypt. Would Misraim have made conquest or settlement of the whole Nile's Valley, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia and Libya when once he had set out from his Scythic home in Asia, after the confusion of tongues? The inscription above mentioned tells us that Amosis in person went into Ethiopia, while Josephus informs us that Moses had command of the Egyptian expedition thereto in the time of this same King. Moses, then, must have been his lieutenant general, his alter ego, standing in a like relation to him as Joseph sustained to the Pharaoh of his time. The whole bearings of the case, sutcheons and all, show that Amos was married

to an Ethiopian princess. Would he as well as his general, Moses, have been so fortunate as to have secured a good wife, an excellent Ethiopian princess, as one of the results of his expedition? Would not the name of this King Amosis or Tuthmosis, either of which might be as easily written Moses, as his appellation Chnubra would be written Hebron, have suggested the name of the celebrated Hebrew law-giver as connected with this period, although according to Usher's chronology, he did not live at this period, but in some generations later?

The account Josephus gives of Moses in connection with Thermuthis would indicate him to have been understood as an adopted son, at least of Pharaoh. In his antique style he says as follows (*Ant. II. IX. 7*): "Thermuthis, therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And, when one time she had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him and said she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God that she should leave no legitimate child of her own; and said to him 'I have brought up a child, who is of a divine form and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river in a wonderful manner I thought proper to adopt him as my son and the heir of the Kingdom?' And when she had said this she put the infant into her father's hands; so he took him and hugged him close to his bosom; and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a puerile mood he wreathed it round and trod upon it with his feet; which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the Kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe (who was the same person that foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of that Kingdom low) saw this, he made a violent attempt to kill him, and crying out, in a frightful manner, he said, 'This, O King, this child is he of whom God foretold that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon the government and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him: and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him.' But Thermuthis prevented him and snatched the child away. And the King was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the King to

spare him. He was, therefore educated with great care; so the Hebrews depended on him and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because if Moses had been slain there was no one either akin or adopted that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt and likely to be of great advantage to them they abstained from killing him."

In this passage the river is personified, where Thermuthis says she has received him from the bounty of the river. In the margin of the Bible, the name Moses is said to signify "drawn out of the water." This would be one of the meanings of the name Am, from, Seth (from which Seh) water, from the water. Seth means also the sun, while being the word from which our "Sea." But for another meaning of the name you have Ma, true, and Seth or Seh for Teth, scribe, thus "true scribe." Thoth, Mercury or Hermes, was the Scribe of the Gods. In a passage of the "Book of the Dead," we read "Tet otherwise Set." See translation by Birch, also Egypt, I., 427. In the Bible Cain slays his brother Abel, and in the Egyptian Mythology Seth slays his brother Osiris, which is explained by the interpreters, as meaning that the flood drowned the world. Seth is Cain, Abel is Osiris. Sometimes also, Seth is represented as the same with Osiris: it is the same differently manifested, and when you say you can (Cain) you say you are Abel (Norman Fr., Habel, Eng. Able). The name Thoth is also spelled Athoth, and of Seth Aseth, Am-aseth, Amosis, Moses; Amathoth, Mouthosis, or Tuthmosis.

Yet, the Greek Thoth is the most important of all the Cabiri, the sons of Sedyk. His sign is the Ibis, and his name, judging from the Coptic form of it, is connected with the Egyptian root for word Tet, to speak; Gr. *λογος*, word. He is the Scribe of the Gods and called "Lord of the Divine Words," "the Scribe of Truth;" the "great-great guardian of the pure souls in the hall of the two Truths" (on account of his signing the sentences on the souls of the dead): the self-created, never born." He is the God of Ses or Sesen, the eighth region, and of Eshmunaim or Hermopolis magna. In a temple built for his worship by Ergamun, King of Ethiopia, about 280 B. C., he is called Pn-nbs, Pan-Nubes. The Greek inscriptions there call him Pantnuphis. In a temple at Samneh in Nubia, he is called, according to Wilkinson,



son of Kneph. This is the same as son of Neb, as above, or Nub, Num, Chnub, Chnum. It is the Greek Pneuma, wherein it is seen that p or ph is the prefix representative of c, g, or ch in the Egyptian in this case. But Thoth is Chnub. The moon's disk on his head is sometimes his distinguishing mark in allusion to his planetary nature (he being called "Lord of the Moon"). Sometimes the ostrich feather (as sign of Ma, truth), and the writing tablet with Stylus in allusion to his headship of Hades and his office in the trial of souls. The connection between Tet and the moon, Wilkinson thought, might refer to the primitive use of a lunar year. The ancients had early remarked that the moon in Egyptian, was masculine, not feminine as the Greeks and Latins generally had it. Still Thoth was the particular moon-god. There is met with a deity called after the moon, Aah (Coptic Ooh, Ioh), either as a mere personification or as Thoth, in whom the agency of the moon and nature was represented as a living principle. In the tombs of the Rameseum, we find it so represented opposite to Phre. He is, according to Champollion, often met with in the train of Amun. He makes him green with the four sceptres and cap of Ptah by the side of which is a kind of infantine lock, denoting child or son. In the tombs a moon-god is represented sitting on a bark and holding the sceptre of benign power, to whom two cynocephali are doing homage, followed by the crescent and nuter god. The consort of Thoth is called "Mistress of the Writings." On her head she carries a pole with five rays and two horns over them, or with seven rays and two horns. Bunsen agrees with Birch that her name means "Seven." Lenormant and Lepsius translate it "yesterday." Her name probably referred to "the past," and she may be the prototype of the Grecian Muse of History.

Mau, commonly read Mu, Mui, is called in the hieroglyphics, son of Ra (the Sun). He is distinguished by an ostrich feather, which signifies light, intellect (coptic meui, intellect), and is also the sign of Ma, Truth; he has sometimes, moreover, a feather ornament, like that of Amun. In the Ritual he appears as God of the Lower World. This must be a variation of the idea of Thoth. In another representation in which he is pictured as the strong, victorious, he is adorned with a bull's head and standing with hands upraised as it were blessing the people. Champollion considered him as Hercules and translated his name Djom=Shem, without, however, being quite sure that he was correct. At Biban

el Moluk he sits with a fillat and feather exactly like Ma, red and, again, standing, green with two large feathers like the sculptures in the temple at Ipsambul. To him and a female deity, standing at his side, Rameses is offering sacrifice.

The Hall of Justice in the Lower World is named after Ma, Truth, Justice. She is frequently called Daughter of Ra (the Sun). She appears sitting, sometimes winged, sometimes without wings. Representations of her are frequent on the monuments of the old Pharaohs. She is styled Goddess of the Lower Country. Of the connection between Ma and Ptah, the creator of the world, there is no doubt. Ma, Truth, typifies the world, the Cosmos, containing in itself the real and true image of God. Doubtless, on this account, she occurs more frequently as Mau, inasmuch as she typifies the properties of God in nature as well as in man, which prove the reality of their existence merely by the reality, that is, truth of their appearance. Mau and Ma have the character of administrative deities. Truth is intimately connected with light, intelligence: and in regard to its composition, Am-athoth or Moses would seem to receive a more literal translation as "Scribe of Truth" or "True Recorder" than as "Drawn out of the Water." Truth, troth, truce is Toth causative?

Seti, in the coptic sate (arrow sunbeam), appears as the consort of Kneph. This would mean, from what we have seen before, consort of Thoth. By very slight variation of the name, or none, the same deity is represented as male or female. In the quarries of Elephantina, where there are inscriptions of the time of Caracalla containing the names Chnubis and Juno those in the Egyptian language contain that of Sate. A Latin inscription at Syene mentions Jupiter Chenubis and Juno Regina; and a statue at Philæ is dedicated to Chnubis and Sate by Ptolemy Euergetes. Horapollo (1, 11) contrasts Sete (Hera) with Neith (Athena) in reference to the visible expanse. She rules over the upper as Neith does over the lower firmament. To Ptah or Pthah, the creator, it appears to me Neith corresponded; and Bunsen says (Egypt 1, 387) "In Ptah and Neith the Deity completed its manifestation as to the soul of the world; and they both entered directly into the Theban representation of the first principle." To Seth or Ra, the sun, the Lord of the upper world, Sate corresponded.

Seth was Nubi, Chnubi. Canopus (Canopy) is one of the forms of his name in Greek. The orator Aristides was informed by an

Egyptian priest that Canopus meant "the golden floor," but that the pronunciation of the Egyptian word is difficult to catch and to express in writing. The golden floor has, of course, reference to the firmament. Heraclides of Pontus, the pupil of Plato, stated that "the Oracle of Canopus is that of Pluto;" this being so he is equivalent to Serapis and Osiris and Seth. In a myth preserved by Plutarch Thauris was lover of Seth, whom she left and attached herself to Horus. The latter received her and slew the serpent by whom she was pursued. According to others this lover was likewise called Aso, the queen of Ethiopia. Jablonski thinks that Ethiopia may be meant, that name, whose Memphitic rendering is Ethoch and Sahidic, E-koch, being incorrectly given in the Coptic Bible as Asōs; but it is more likely an Ethiopic-Theban deity is meant. According to Wilkinson this god Set or Nubi whom he always calls Obtaut (Uab-Thoth the Pure or Priest Taut) is represented at Karnak as sharing with Atumu the highest veneration, and pouring out his blessings on Sesostri. Set-Nubi was a distinct deity from Amun-Khem and yet the internal connection between them is undeniable. The crocodile is sacred to Set as well as to Chemmis. As regards all those deities the internal and external points of connection and of distinction are noticeable.

The forms Sut and Sutech are also ancient for Seth. He occurs in Salvolini's extract in the MS. of Aix as an ass, where he quotes the Greek transcript of the name Seth. Epiphanius, also, describes the ass as Seth. "The Egyptians," he says, "celebrate the festivals of Typhon under the form of an ass, which they call Seth." The hippopotamus, however, was sacred to him as well as the crocodile, ass and dog-star. According to Plutarch Typhon's complexion was of a reddish tinge. The struggle of Horus and Seth or Typhon is referred to in the Book of the Dead as the "Day of the battle between Her and Set."

Besides his other names of Bar which is Baal, Plutarch calls Typhon Apophis, the monumental Apep (*i.e.* Seth and Sesostri = Apapus). He says also that according to most of the priests the two names Osiris and Apis were joined in one, because Apis, the Memphite ox, was the image of the soul of Osiris; and Wilkinson finds the two joined together in a hieroglyphic inscription Apis-Hesiri. At any rate there is little doubt that Serapis is for Osiris-Apis. He has another passage which is thought to allude to the identity of Osiris and Typhon. He is combatting the notion that

Osiris is the sun's disk, the sun, as some maintained, because the Greeks called him Seirios. This he supposed to signify that the word Osiris is Sirius with the article prefixed. Afterwards he adds that in the Hermetic Books, where the sacred names are mentioned, Hermes (Thoth) is said to be Apollo and to represent the rotatory motion of the sun, while the power that gives activity to the mind is by some called Osiris, by some Serapis and by others Sothis, which last is equivalent to Seirios which equals Seth. The word Sothi signified childbearing, pregnancy (*zōsew*). Osiris and Isis are the Nile and Egypt. The myth of Osiris typifies the solar year; his gentle power is the sun in the lower hemisphere, the winter solstice. The vernal equinox is typified by the birth of Horus; the victory of Horus by the summer equinox, the inundation of the Nile. Her is a new form of Hesiri as the God of the natural sun and of physical life. Typhon (Seth) is the autumnal equinox, the sun in his strength. Osiris is slain on the 17th Athyr (13th November) and thence till the middle of December the rule of Typho lasts. During this period many a Jacob in those regions, within certain geographical limits, has to wrestle with this powerful Edom and become an Israel or succumb in the sand.

Misor, in the Phœnician Mythology, was the brother of Sydek, the just, and the father of Thoth, the God of Knowledge, who invented written characters. He himself was the freely-acting God and in the Syriac version (in Acts xiv, 12) Mercury (Thoth) is rendered by the same word *mesare*, the Redeeming. Misor and Sydek, the Redeeming and the Just, are of cognate signification and sometimes used in apposition with each other; and Varro informs us that the Phœnicians worshipped heaven and earth under the names of Taaut and Astarte.

#### LIST OF THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

I will now submit to you the fragments from the Turin Papyrus which I suppose to contain those 38 names represented in Eratosthenes' List: —

Fragment I (vi. 72) 9 scutcheons.

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| A.              | Ra S. Hept Het. |
| 1. Ra Khu Ta.   |                 |
| 2. Ra Pekh Kar. |                 |
| 3. Amenemha.    |                 |



4. Ra S. Hept Het.
5. Aufna.
6. Ra S. Ankh Het.
7. Ra S. Men Kar.
8. Ra S. Hept Het.
9. Ra Men Kar.

Here one or more names are wanting.

Fragment II (vi. 76-79) 14 scutcheons.

10. Ra Hem Het.
11. Ra Sebek Hept.
12. Ren Snab.
13. —
14. Ra S. Tef.  
hem Khu teti.
15. Ra Pekh Sebekhept.
16. Ra Seser S. Hept N Ra.
17. Ra ——— Ka.
18. Ra Seser —
19. Ra Pekh Kar Sebekhept.
20. Ra Sha Kar Nefruhept.
21. Ra Hat — Mentusa.
22. Ra Sha Nefru Sebekhept.
23. Ra Sebekhept.

Names of the following two Kings supposed restored by Lepsius:—

24. Ra Sha Karu Nefruhept.
25. Ra Sha Ankh Nefruhept.

Fragment III (viii. 81) 8 scutcheons.

26. Ra Sha Hept.
27. Ra Uah Het Ahet.
28. Ra Mer Nefru.
29. Ra Mer Hept.
30. Ra S. Ankh — N. Shtu.
31. Ra Mer Ankh — Anka.
32. Ra Snab Kar — Hera.
33. Ra — M. Kar. Nub.
34. —

“Uncertain Fragments.”

Fragment V. (viii, 94, 95) 9 scutcheons.

1. .... Su.
2. .... Ma — Ah.
3. .... Uben — Har.
4. .... Kar.
5. .... n

The next Fragment is VI. (ix. 97) consisting of 8 to 11 scutcheons, the chief of the line being Ra Nahasi (Ethiopian Helios).

Independently of this Fragment V., under the head of uncertain Fragments, it might, perhaps, be concluded that we have in effect our list of 38 kings in the foregoing somewhat defaced list from the Papyrus. For, says Bunsen, in relation to this: “It would be in itself a most improbable notion that no names should be wanting between the Fragments. As regards the first three, 3 names at least are omitted between them.” (Egypt II. 483.) He may be mistaken as to the omission of just three names between the above three Fragments; but it would seem a most probable conclusion that those three Fragments (I, II, III, as above) were originally a copy of the list of the rulers of the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties so called, or of Eratosthenes’ List, consisting of 38 names; for even those two lists last mentioned show us that the ancient Egyptian Scribes entered the appellations of the same persons somewhat differently in different and independent lists.

Bunsen says (Id.) that “the points of contact between the Tablet of Karnak and the Theban names in the Papyrus are limited to the first fourteen scutcheons of the former.” Which may mean very little, but if it do mean anything it tends to show that the Tablet of Karnak belonged to a reign long posterior to that of Tuthmosis III., to whom the erection of this Tablet has been by some of the historians ascribed. But, while Bunsen in the support of his Middle Empire theory was endeavoring to connect the names in these Fragments with it, or with an earlier period of Egyptian history, how boldly you will perceive the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties are represented in all the features of those three Fragments in their somewhat obliterated state. Even in the 3rd and 5th names of Fragment I. you can notice the female names spelled here, Amenemha and Aufna which are respectively in the other lists, Amensis and Misptra, and here the Ra (which, however, is sometimes prefixed to names of females) is wanting.

Queen Taseser I suppose to be the Ra Hat — Mentusa, No. 21 of our Fragment II. of the Papyrus, which being No. 22 of our regular list in 3d column may indicate that there is only one name wanting in the Papyrus list up to that point and that the three or four names which Bunsen notices as being wanting in the three Fragments must rightfully belong after this name. A consideration of these three Fragments, as a whole, will perhaps show that the few names that are now absent from them are those of females.

When it is remembered that in the ancient Egyptian “the K is occasionally interchanged with the T” (Egypt I. 466) it will be the more easily understood how Ra Khu Ta (No. 1 of our Fragment I.) must stand for King Thutha or Tuthmosis I. You can also see these elements of Teth in Nos. 4, 6 and 8 of that Fragment, standing for Tothmes II. III. and IV. You will, moreover, easily recognize your Amenophis I. II. and III. in Nos. 2, 7 and 9 of the same Fragment.

Josephus has “Sethos, called also Egyptus,” to be the 18th name in his dynastic list; but, even according to him, he would have been in effect 19th, his brother Harmais, reign, as his deputy over Ægypt, being usually reckoned before his. Some of the names Josephus has introduced are only substitutional forms for the real names of the rulers. In this manner has Africanus also acted to some extent and they both left out some names, at least of two of those who, according to the restoration of Lepsius, occupied the throne. It would seem to me that Ra Seser, No. 18 of our Fragment II., is for Rameses the Great or Sesostris and that the two or three immediately before are the members of his father’s family, as I have explained in my list.

By a close study and comparison of other lists in connection with the history I have had reasonable grounds for every step I took. And now, for example, in my concluding Sethos I., as put down in Africanus’ and Eusebius’ list as the first of the 19th dynasty, to have been identical with Rameses I. and II., and also with Sesostris the Great, I had the following reasons: First, we are informed in the list of Josephus that Sethos was called Rameses as well as Ægyptus, and I find in Lepsius’ royal genealogies that his father, the priest Schaigh, must needs have introduced a new dynasty in his person and that the name Schaigh (Seth=sēs) which means of itself King, gave rise to the name Rame-Schaigh (Rameses) which means chief king. Schaigh, then, is entered as having

been a king of Egypt, as we reasonably suppose after his wife's death, and so his name had to have a place in the royal list. After him, third in place, then is Rameses, his son (his daughter and another son intervening), which makes him 20th in place with the list simplified, having, as far as possible, the primitive forms of the names, thus obviating the use of the substitutional forms which are found in the other lists.

Secondly, Herodotus informs us that "Sesotris, the Great, was the only Egyptian king who succeeded in conquering Ethiopia." Now, while we read of Sethos I., having made conquest of Cyprus, Phœnicia, Assyria and Media; of the Rutenu, the Shasu and the Libyan Shepherds, we do not read under that name of a conquest of Ethiopia, while we find this Sethos doing other remarkable things which Herodotus ascribes to the great Sesotris, namely, the making of the great wall to protect Egypt from the attacks of the North-eastern nations, the making of canals, etc. But under the next name, that is, Rameses, called the Second, and by all "the Great," we read first of his conquest of Ethiopia and the Negrite races; of the Libyans; the Chethites, the peoples of Mesopotamia, etc. Putting all this together and comparing it with itself, and knowing the name of the father of this Rameses, and that he had been a king of Egypt not under the name of Rameses, I concluded that Rameses I., Sethos I., and Rameses II., of what may be called the repetitionary or substitutionary lists, were names all referring to the same man, who was also called Apappus, Ægyptus and Sesotris the Great. Apappus is really an equivalent for Sethos as Typho (Pepi) is for Seth. And in the division of his name the form Sethos was made to occupy the place in the list which belonged to the name of his brother Harmais

The matter of the time given to these two names of the two brothers in the list would constitute another proof of this position; for it is well known from Herodotus and others how that Armais was dethroned and chased from the kingdom by his brother, Sethos, on his return from his Asiatic campaign, which some say lasted all of 9 years, others more, others less. Now, the time given by Bunsen to his "Sethos the Great" is 9 years, just about the time Armais would be expected to have occupied the throne in his brother's absence. And the time he allots to Rameses II., the Great, is 66 years, which was a little enough time, a person would think, for him in which to accomplish all that has been ascribed to



him in the way of conquest, building, etc. Witness the piles he erected at Karnak, Luxor, Ipsambul, etc., after his conquest of Africa, Asia and part of Europe, and the public works he executed in the way of walls, canals, etc., by means of the prisoners he brought into the country from his expeditions. "On his return to Egypt," says Herodotus, "he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals by which Egypt is intersected. In consequence of their forced labors Egypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who traveled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often and in so many winding directions that to travel on horseback is disagreeable, but in carriages impossible. The prince, however, was actuated by a patriotic motive. Before his time those who inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a distance from the river on the ebbing of the Nile suffered great distress from the want of water of which they had none but from muddy wells."

The following paragraph is an illustration of the substitutionary method in Josephus where he had not the real names or the times of the kings:—

"He (Rathotis, *i.e.*, Queen Athotis,) was succeeded by Aramais..... 4 yrs. 1 mon.  
 then Rameses..... 1 " 4 "  
 then Armeses Miamum..... 66 " 2 "  
 then Amenophis..... 19 " 6 "  
 then Sethosis, who is also Rameses...

The latter possessed a body of cavalry and a navy. He appointed his brother Armais viceroy and gave him all the authority of a sovereign," etc. There appear to be six men specified here, but there are really only three: Armais, Rameses the Great, who is also Sethosis, and reigns 66 years; and Amenophis. But although the six apparent names he gives here only represent three persons, still these apparent names may surely be considered substitutes for the real names of six successive occupants of the throne in the time represented, which names Josephus did not know.

After Josephus relates how that Armais, in the absence of his brother Sesostris, had exceeded the bounds of the administration

which his brother had committed to him and how that the high priest sent a dispatch to Sesostris to that effect, he says: "Upon which he came suddenly back to Pelusium and reassumed the government." Nothing can be more natural. This shows that Armais was king of Egypt during the series of years which his brother was abroad: for if his brother had not given up the government to him on his going away that brother could not be said to have reassumed it on his return. Consequently, although Armais is to be counted in place in the list of the kings for a certain number of years, yet his years are properly included within the years allotted to Sesostris. Not so the years of the reign of their sister, Athotis, who preceded them, the years of whose reign are not included in those of her brothers. Josephus says in connection: "Now after Sethos had deprived the latter of the sovereignty he reigned 59 years. The eldest of his two sons, Rameses, succeeded him and reigned 66 years." (Contra, Apion I. 15, etc.) The two sons here refer to the same two brothers, Armais and Sethos, and the latter, "whose name was also Rameses," reigned 59 years plus the number of years occupied in his first campaign in Asia and Europe, which made 66 years or 68 as according to Eusebius. This must be so for his son, Amenophis (whom some have called Manduophis, but Bunsen Amenephtha or Menephthah) was his immediate successor, as seen above, and is entered for a reign of 19, but by Eusebius of 40 years. This son and immediate successor of Sesostris Herodotus calls Pheron, that is a Greek variation of Pharaoh, "the king," and at the same time gives a confirmation of my position as to the Sethos I., Rameses I. and Rameses II. of the lists being the same man. "On the death of Sesostris," says Herodotus, "his son Pheron, as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. *This prince undertook no military expedition*; but by the action I am going to relate he lost the use of his eyes." If then Rameses II. were the great Sesostris he must needs have undertaken military expeditions, which Herodotus says here he did not. Moreover, the Egyptian priests informed the Emperor Germanicus, when pointing out to him the monuments of the most celebrated hero of their nation that they themselves were accustomed to call him Rameses. The truth is that his name after that of his father was Schaigh (Sethos), which in the old languages has among other meanings, "a king," "the Sun;" and this man, having attained to so great a supremacy as he ultimately did, was called Raamschaigh, Rameses

or the chief king in the Egyptian, being a term equivalent to the king of kings among the Persians. His regular family name of which a Greek form is Sethos, the Greeks used making it Sesostris (Sethosdair). Champollion thought it the highest meed of his labors to be able to identify him on the monuments and in the lists.

A point I will mention here before going farther is that my identification of Sethos the Great and Rameses, called the Second and the great, has the effect in my writings of making the distinguished conqueror No. 28 of my list, called by Bunsen and others Rameses III., to be Rameses II. The great Sesostris, the list being properly set forth, with the original sign of each name in its proper place, and without any repetition, is Rameses I.

#### A FULLER ACCOUNT OF THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

M. Drovetti, the French Consul General to Egypt who attained such great celebrity in the days of Napoleon for his love of Egyptian art, brought to Europe a roll of Papyrus, which was deposited in the museum at Turin. Here it lay neglected until Champollion discovered it in 1824, and being much interested in its appearance inserted a notice of it in the "*Bulletin Universel*." A closer inspection showed him that this Papyrus contained a list of the ancient Egyptian dynasties and so he set himself to work to arrange the principal fragments, passing over, for the present, those of smaller dimensions.

This MS. was found to be 6 feet long, 14 inches wide and arranged in 12 columns, each containing from 26 to 30 lines. On it vestiges appeared of over 200 royal names and from the number of unconnected fragments it was thought there must be all of 250 names. On the back were calculations in which the name Rameses occasionally appears, a circumstance which was supposed to establish, at least approximately, the date of the compilation. The mention of the name Rameses would not necessarily indicate that the compilation was made in the time of any one of the Ramesidæ — for the calculation would be made simply back or forth from the time of the Rameses referred to — and I have no doubt the Turin Papyrus was of a comparatively recent compilation. To Mr. Seifarth is accorded the merit of having, at considerable pains and after considerable time, affected a restoration and reconstruction of this MS. even to its smaller pieces, which Champollion had thrown

aside ; and which work of his was finally consummated by Lepsius. The general exposition of it given by the latter is as follows : —

Its list begins with the dynasties of the Gods. Six names are preserved — Seb, Osiris, Seth, Horus, Thoth and Ma — by the side of the 7th, in which name Salvolini thought he discovered the Hawk, Lepsius found appended the number 400. According to the latter 3140 years are ascribed to Ma ; and to Thoth, as he thought, 3226. By the side of one of the dynasties of Gods, or, as some think, at the conclusion of the list of the Heroes and Manes, stands, according to Salvolini, the subjoined notice : —

“ Sum total : 23 reigns, 5613 years, — months, 28 days.”

This is taken as indicating that the Egyptian historic lists were arranged into dynasties ; the commencement of a new dynasty or a division in the same being supposed to be indicated by red characters.

In the second column the names Menes and Athotis are preceded by computations, which the manipulators did not succeed in interpreting : but in line 9 behind Horus, we read 13,420 years and then follows : —

Kings up to Horus 23,200 years (it is sagely noticed here that, “ the decimals may have dropped out ”). Next to this come two mutilated data, where, however, they thought they could yet recognise the name Menes (lines 11, 12) — the 13th row still exhibits that of Athotis, the son and successor of Menes as according to the lists.

Lepsius has arranged the remaining royal rings of mortal kings as follows : —

34 kings in 10 Fragments which he supposed to be those before the 6th dynasty (terminating with 3 kings of the 5th).

20 kings in 6 Fragments from the 6th to the 12th dynasty closing with the latter.

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54                    Thus making for the old empire 54 names in 16 Fragments.

65 kings in 6 Fragments.

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119                    Thus making 119 names in all, 65 of these being for the new empire. From the 21st to the 30th dynasty, these two inclusive, there are reckoned in Africanus 47 kings. If to these we add the three Persians, Ochus, Arses and Darius, which



constituted the 31st dynasty, we have for this period 50 kings down to 332 B. C., when the Greeks took possession of the government. If to this we add 18 or 19 Greek rulers of Egypt from 332 down to the death of Cleopatra, in about 26 B. C., we shall have 68. The appellations of these Grecian kings of Egypt were in order, as I find them from Rollin (if we except Alexander the Great and Aridaeus, who never were known as kings of the country) as follows: Ptolemy-Lagus, Soter, Philadelphus, Euergetes, Philopater, Epiphanes, Philometer, Physcon, Lathyrus, Alexander, Alexander II., Auletes, Philometer, Physcon, Lathyrus, Alexander, Auletes, Cleopatra. Ptolemy was their distinguishing appellation as kings of Egypt of the Macedonian line, somewhat, perhaps, as Pharaoh was the distinguishing title of the old Egyptian kings. Now, supposing this reckoning to be correct and that there are no repetitions in the names of these rulers, we have eighteen for 300 years, making the average reign 17 years. But if there be a repetition of 3 names, as I have vaguely thought there might be, then the average reign is 20 years. But, however this may be, we have here a pretty well authenticated piece of history both as to time and number of successive rulers recognized therein, and one which might be thought a fair indicator as to the ancient average length of reign. As mentioned above Africanus gives us 56 names from Menes down to the end of his old 12th dynasty, all inclusive, against the 38 in Eratosthenes' list. Would the Papyrus have meant to count in 54 out of the 56 names given in Africanus, as represented by the 34+20 in those of its Fragments considered "certain?" If so and we add the 54 of Africanus to the 50 from the end of the 12th dynasty to the Macedonian conquest and then the 17 or 18 we find for that supremacy we shall have  $54+50+18=122$ , which is 3 names more than we reckon in the Papyrus. But we have noticed above that there are some names lacking on the Papyrus Fragments which we found to correspond with our list of 38 names and it is quite possible we may have reckoned in one too many for the Ptolemaic dynasty; so that all things considered our Papyrus monument seems to match our history pretty well. And so we can begin to reckon the old, the middle and the new empires not quite as before, but as the first embracing the 18th to the 20th dynasties, so called, inclusive; the 2nd embracing the 21st to 31st inclusive; and the new empire being that of the Macedonians from 332 B. C. to, say, the Christian era. Or keeping, if we wish, the Macedo-

nian and the last Persian dynasty out of view we can still, in the face of all facts adduced, concoct in our mind some distinction in the old Egyptian empire, so as by hook or by crook to yet walk abreast in the hitherto deemed respectable company of Africanus, Eusebius, Syncellus, etc.

Now, in regard to the systems of those who supposed a Middle or Hyksos Empire to have existed for a longer or shorter period, I may say that those men have a good deal to say about a dynasty they call the 12th, and about certain kings they call Osortesen, etc., which they turn into Sesotris and connect with that or some other dynasty. Wilkinson, in his system, supposes Joseph to have been in Egypt the time of his Osortesen I., putting his time at about 1706 B. C., while Champollion and Rosellini put the time of that Sesortesen in 2082 B. C.; and Bunsen's time for Joseph's elevation to power by the same Sesortesen is 2755, and of Jacob's arrival in Egypt about 2747 B. C. As said before he supposed the Hyksos to have left Egypt in about 1542 B. C., and the Israelites to have then entered into a state of bondage for 215 years, so that his exodus would take place in  $(1541 - 215) = 1326$  years B. C. approximately. Bunsen has his volumes replete with captions, many of them being of rather a turgid or grandiloquent order. One of those relating to the subject under consideration is as follows: "The immigration of the Israelites into Egypt did not take place under the Hyksos but under the Pharaohs, namely, under the Sesortosidæ, and, *indeed*, under Sesortosis I." This, you will say, is talking pretty definitely as to what he supposed happened over 2700 years B. C. Another heading relative to the same subject is as follows: "The number 215 is the measure of the period of bondage or of the last section of the sojourn in Egypt." (Egypt III. 329, 331).

In connection with this subject I give you as follows in tabulated form the idea of Wilkinson and of Col. Felix, who directly connected the 12th dynasty with the 18th so-called, placing their foundation mainly in the monumental research: —

FELIX, 1828 (1830).

17th Dynasty of the Osortesen:  
7 Kings.

1. Osortesen I.
2. Ammoneith — Thota I.
3. Ammoneith — Thota II.

WILKINSON, 1828 (1835 and 1837).

16th and 17th Dynasties: altogether  
7 Kings.

XVI.

1. Osortesen I., 43d year 1740 B. C.  
(Joseph in Egypt B. C. 1706).
2. Amuni — Amumenet I. 1835:  
(Amun — m — gori I).
3. Amuni II. (1835, Amun — m — gori).

## XVII.

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| 4. Osortesen II.          | 4. (1) Osortesen II.  |
| 5. Osortesen III.         | 5. (2) Siphtep, also Osirtesen III.<br>(1835: Nofritep). 14th year. |
| 6. Ammoneith — Thota III. | 6. (3) Amuni (Amun — m — gori, 1835)<br>III., 41st year.            |
| 7. Ammoneith — Thota IV.  | 7. (4) Name destroyed, only the pre-<br>nomen known. B. C. 1580.    |

Felix, as you see, arranged these seven names into a 17th dynasty; Wilkinson into a 16th and a 17th arbitrarily. What some consider to have been the family name of the Tuthmoses Felix translated Ammoneith — Thota, Wilkinson Ammon — m — Gori. They correspond with Africanus in having seven rulers for this house, but theirs are supposed seven males, the last of his is a female. The names do not seem exactly to correspond to the last six or seven of the series of Eratosthenes and yet they bear some resemblance to them. It is possible they may not stand exactly in their proper order, as in Felix and Wilkinson's arrangement.

While Felix and the Duke of Northumberland were traveling together in Egypt they discovered a name which they deciphered as Osortasen upon an obelisk which appeared to them of more ancient date than the times of the Ramessides. While on the same tour they discovered at Beni-hassen a series of kings, four in number, two Osortasens and two they supposed to belong to the same race, which they read Amuneith-Thota. The prenomen on this series they supposed corresponded with those of the immediate predecessors of the 18th dynasty upon the Tablet of Abydos. In such ways were names discovered upon different monuments which they supposed to be the same with certain names upon the tablets.

Differing tabulations appeared of those names in the progress of time, those of Champollion and Rossellini being found to correspond with each other and those of Felix and Wilkinson, on the other hand, not to differ much. Wilkinson, it is plain, tried to square his system with his knowledge of the Scriptural history of the Jews. Bunsen, however, in making the Exodus to take place in 1326 B. C. or thereabouts differs from Usher's chronology very considerably and from Wilkinson, who agrees with Usher.

In regard to the existence of a Hyksos Period, as so called, Lepsius, in looking around among the monuments of Thebes, thought he observed certain indications in some of them which pointed to an age of disorder and misrule as having existed. In the temple palace of Karnak, for example, whose erection is ascribed to the

first Osortesen, he saw indications which led him to conclude that, between the time of the building of the most ancient portion of it and the subsequent additions, there had intervened a period of desolation which he supposed, as did Bunsen, must have been the Hyksos period. This he thought to be the more remarkable from the style of the columns in the said Osortesen's reign and that of the other known Egyptian buildings. Doubtless this was one of the works on which Sesostris the Great employed the foreign artisans he brought into the country with him after his expeditions. Lepsius, indeed, thought those so-called Osortesens to have belonged to that closing period of the Old Empire called the 12th dynasty, which would correspond to either the 20th or the 5th dynasty as in my arrangement.

The sum of the reigns of those kings of the 12th dynasty as well as the names of its last two he supposed he had correctly made out in the Turin Papyrus and so much of the remains of particular kings were registered as not to leave him in doubt as to how many of those kings were registered. From all this Lepsius inferred that the sign which had hitherto been read User, Oser, must be pronounced Sesor, Seser, inasmuch as the forms Sesonchosis and Sesostris in Manetho could not be explained upon any other principle. Previously he had discovered in the Tablet of Abydos not only the family name Amenemes, heretofore unknown, but the name of another king which he tabulated Sebeknefru; so that he thought he had now discovered names for all the kings of this dynasty that were represented in the Papyrus and in Manetho. Lastly, after he had performed a journey to Turin for the purpose he came off satisfied he had substantiated a before doubtful number in the Papyrus, which made everything now more clear to his mind with respect to the dates of those reigns.

The 23 names in Fragments I. and II. of our Papyrus correspond, at least as to number, with Africanus' 18th and 19th dynasties, which are as follows:—

#### XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY.

1. Amos.
2. Chebros.
3. Amenophis.
4. Amensis.
5. Mispbres.



6. Misphegmothosis.
7. Touthmosis.
8. Amenophis.
9. Oros.
10. Acherres.
11. Rathos.
12. Chebres.
13. Acherres.
14. Armesses.
15. Ramesses.
16. Amenophath; reigned total 263 years  
(the exact number given by Africanus to his first dynasty, so called).

## XIXTH DYNASTY.

1. Sethos.....	51 years.
2. Rapsakes.....	61 “
3. Amenephthes.....	20 “
4. _____.....	20 “
5. Rameses.....	60 “
6. Amenemnes.....	5 “
7. Thuoris.....	7 “
<hr/>	
Total.....	224 “

the exact number of years reigned contemporaneously by the second and third dynasties after they had separated from each other on the death of Amenophis III. But I have explained to you farther back how there came to be a 1st, 2nd and 3rd dynasties; how that the 4th dynasty ruled over Egypt only in the persons of the rulers of the 6th; how that the 5th dynasty succeeded to the 6th from the reason that the latter constituted the real, personal 4th, so far as that was properly a dynasty, which caused that the 5th succeeded to or continued the 4th; and how that all the other dynasties, so called, from the 6th to the 12th, arose most probably from the names of dynasties having been applied to some genealogical lines of the distinguished kings of the 12th dynasty, so called, in an honorary way, the numbers of which lines only have survived in the books. The 6th dynasty, then, in its connection with the 4th, so called, it is quite important to under-

stand and no less important to understand it in connection with the dynasty which succeeds it.

I will here, therefore, add, in connection with what has gone before in relation to these matters, that Othoes, the first name in Africanus' 6th dynasty, is, in the old Gaelic tongue (which last is a safe genealogical guide in this Egyptian line), Aedh, which is read sometimes, briefly, Ai, and is the same with Schaigh, was the father of Rameses — Sesostris, the Great, and the founder of a new dynasty, that which succeeded to the 3rd, so called. This Othoes, who was the same with Cheneres, the last of the 2nd dynasty, so called, being a king of Egypt, shows you that not only several of the first names, but also the last name in the list of the 2nd dynasty, in Africanus, were of kings of Egypt, and so that the title of dynasty for it was not altogether a misnomer, nor given altogether in an honorary way: Secondly, this Othoes or Cheneres being the same with Souris, the first of Africanus' 4th dynasty, and being a king of Egypt, as the monuments prove, shows you that not only the last two names, but the first of the 4th dynasty, so called, were of rulers of Egypt, so that in the case of the 4th, also, the title dynasty is not altogether a misnomer nor applied altogether as an honorary title to a genealogical list.

The second name in the list of the 6th dynasty is Phios, which is equal to Phis, as, for example, in Memphis, properly Men-phis, that is, Men-Seph or Men-Seth for Menes. This Phis or Seth, which last is Aedh with the consonant S prefixed, and spelled Aigh or Schaigh, variously in the old tongue, was for the Armais of the old lists, which in the original Egyptian hieroglyphs is the same with Rameses, that is, Armais, Armeses and Rameses are but variations in the modern languages of the one hieroglyphical name.

The third name in Africanus 6th dynasty is Methosouphis, a female name, and corresponding to the Athotis which, in our regular monumental list, comes next after Schaigh. The name is made up of the components, Meth or Ameth, also spelled Ma, the goddess of Justice, which in the Greek is Themis (root am — the or eth), and which we often see a statue representing blindfolded, with a scale in her hand, on the domes of houses of Justice at the present day. The names Phios and Methosouphis here seem to have changed place, as compared with how they stand in other lists. It appears plain from the relative positions in the list that Armais, independently of the story of his viceroyship, given in Josephus,

as from Manetho, was an elder brother of Rameses, the Great ; and I had judged the sister to have been older than Armais, but here she stands in the list after him. We have a similar case in the names Sebercheres and Thamphthis, supposed husband and wife, at the end of the 5th dynasty in its connection with the 6th, in which I have thought it might have been a question of precedence in the mind of the compiler, which caused him to put the husband's name before the wife's in the list.

The fourth name in the list of Africanus' 6th dynasty is Phiops, which is the monumental Apep, an equivalent to Seth, Seph or Teph (Typho), and is here for Rameses — Sesostris.

The fifth name is Menthesouphis, the same with Amenophis, son of Rameses the Great, of the regular lists ; while the sixth and last name in this dynasty is Nitokris, who is the queen Tasesar, of my regular and monumental list. If Lepsius were correct in his deductions then this lady was sister of Amenophis, instead of his wife, as given in some lists under the name Nitokris : and, Thus, being a daughter of Rameses the Great, and it being evident from all the histories that she held the throne in her own right and left at least two sons after her who occupied it in their turn, it is quite as evident that she was married and that her husband or son begun the new dynasty, which directly succeeded to the son of Amenophis. Would Tasesar have been " sister and wife ? "

When, it is somewhere said that the tablet of Karnak, for example, traces back genealogy to Menes through such and such dynasties and that of Abydos, through such and such other dynasties, it is seen from what has gone before that the meaning may be that they both trace back through the same, or a line of genealogy through different men, for example, of the same dynasty. The markings of the tablets have done some service in enabling us to straighten out the subject of the dynasties genealogically ; but from the partially obliterated condition in which these tablets were found it is evident that the meaning of most of the symbols, which as yet partially appeared, could only be made out approximatively. But although these remarks are not concerned in the genealogy of the husband of Queen Tasesar, for that appears plainly enough given in the line of the dynasties from Menes to him, still I would suggest it as very probable that he was one of those scions of the royal stock of Menes, who had his residence at Elephantina, in Upper Egypt. By this the dynasty would have gotten its name of Ele-

phantin, as we have gathered from some source another dynasty, called the 3rd, got its title of Memphite from its founder having his residence at Memphis before he came to the throne. There seems no doubt whatever that there were families of the stock of Menes settled at Memphis, Elephantina, Herakleopolis and elsewhere as well as at Thebes, who were of considerable importance in the way of wealth and political influence, who continued to be connected by marriage and otherwise with the ruling dynasts.

Now, our Sethos I. is called in the old histories son of Amenophis and so grandson of Sesostris and in the same authorities he is made to begin a new dynasty, which appears unreasonable. For how can it be said that a man whose father has been sole sovereign of a country, when he has himself attained to the sovereignty has begun a new dynasty? But this Sethos immediately succeeds to queen Tasesar and begins a new dynasty, which makes it more probable that the division in the list appears in the wrong place, that Sethos, the son of Amenophis, belonged to the preceding dynasty and that the new dynasty, called the 19th, began with the husband or son of Tasesar.

This Sethos is called son of Amenophis not only in the histories but in the legends; for you have read farther back how that the King Amenophis, after he had greatly oppressed a large body of the people by compelling them to work in the quarries and at other public works, at length decided to set them free; how that having been liberated these people congregated to a very large number at the city of Avaris (Abaris, the city of the Hebrews); how that they fortified the place and organized a government of their own; how that, upon this being done, they invited their friends, the Hebrews, from Jerusalem and Judaea to come and assist them in conquering for themselves the Kingdom of Egypt, which having attained, would be a recompense to them for the labor and oppression they had undergone; how that the invited people came to Avaris in great force from Jerusalem and, having joined arms with their friends there and effected a complete organization of their joint forces, they overran Egypt, took possession of its administration and continued to hold the same for the space of thirteen years; you have seen how that during this time Amenophis and his vast army were absent in Ethiopia, patiently waiting a (to them) more favorable turn in home affairs and meantime subsisting on the provisions furnished them in great abundance, to-



gether with comfortable quarters, by the then King of Ethiopia; how that Amenophis, on his departure for Ethiopia, with an army of 300,000 men and his Egyptian gods all gathered about him, left a son of his named Sethos, then five years old, with some of his friends in a cave to be kept for him till his return; how that on his return to Egypt, the boy Sethos had grown to be 18 years old and greatly assisted his father in reconquering his patrimony out of the hands of the Hebrews. Thus the foregoing; but another version has it that Sethos was not born at the time of his father's departure for Ethiopia but that his mother, pregnant with him, was left in a cave with some friends so that on the return of Amenophis the boy could have been scarcely 13 years old at which time he could not have assisted his father much to his return in the face of an established government. In the former account, however, he is said to have greatly assisted his father in his return and in his ridding the country of the foreign government therein established and in his chasing the Hebrews out of the country even to the bounds of Syria.

Now it is evident that Sesostris, the father of this Amenophis, had conquered and inflicted great losses not only upon Ethiopia but upon Phœnicia, Syria and the adjoining countries; and if either one of these nations, assisted by a revolt of a large body of malcontents in Egypt, succeeded in conquering the country and holding it for 13 years, it would give rise to such a state of things as we seem to have represented here, the rise of a new dynasty which continued for 13 years; and if at that time there were a foreign domination of Egypt for 13 years, the Ethiopians were more likely than any other nation except the Palestinians to have possessed its government.

It is plain to my mind, though, that the whole story of the Ethiopian connection at this time may have arisen from the introduction of a new dynasty, the Southern or Elephantine, or old 5th, so called, in the person of the husband or son of Tasesar. Of course it is well known, historically, that Sesostris accomplished much public work for Egypt by the means of foreign labor, that of the prisoners, doubtless largely of the skillful kind, whom he brought into the country after his campaigns; but the whole story of the Hebrews conquering the country at this time and administering its government for thirteen years hath an exceedingly legendary aspect.

The seven kings of the so called Nineteenth Dynasty are evi-

dently the seven Diodorus specifies as being of little account, excepting one, whom he calls Nilus. Herodotus represents the good old time as ending with the Amenophis, whom he calls Remphis; and both he and Diodorus represent the builders of the pyramids as having succeeded these seven kings; so that no reasonable doubt can exist that we have correctly pointed them out in the 20th dynasty, so called, restored, and that the builders of the largest pyramids, at least, were of the 5th dynasty nominally considered.

The following from Africanus' 21st dynasty: 7 Tanite Kings.

	<i>Years.</i>
1. Smendes (Code A, Smedes).....	26
2. Psousenes.....	46
3. Nephhercheres (Nefru-Kera).....	4
4. Amenophthis.....	9
5. Osokhor.....	6
6. Psinakes.....	9
7. Psousemes (Code A, Sousennes).....	14
Sum total.....	114

None of these names correspond in form to those of the builders of the pyramids as given by Diodorus and Herodotus; nor do those of the seven of the next dynasty, 22nd, nor those of any of the succeeding dynasties; so that we may rest satisfied that the great pyramids were built by the third house of the Ramessides, so called, of the old 12th dynasty. The name Nephhercheres means the good king; it is found as No. 3 of the old 5th dynasty, and No. 1 of the third. Independently of any idea as to Egypt's being possessed for thirteen years by the Hebrews, it appears plain that the compulsory labors of a portion of that people among others were used by Sesostris and his son, Amenophis, in the accomplishment of works of a public character. But at this time the Hebrews would be regarded as Egyptian Indigenæ, the time referred to being about 280 years anterior to the founding of the great pyramid by the third king of the old 12th dynasty. The circumstances of the case would imply the Hebrews to have been only among the number of the oppressed, who were undoubtedly, for the most part, captives of war. In the labors performed at this time there is no mention made of the pyramids. The inter-

val of time between this Amenophis and the building of the pyramids was too great to allow us to suppose that there were any stone then prepared at the quarries for those structures. From Menes to the first year of Rameses the Great, there intervened 570 years; from the death of Rameses to the accession of Cheops, 230 years; and from the death of Cheops till Herodotus' visit to Egypt there passed all of 700 years. Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid which was one of the oldest of the pyramids, perhaps the oldest of all, was the thirteenth successor on the throne of Amenophis, son of Sesostris the Great. They were public works which were done, but of a different character from pyramids. Speaking, however, in reference to the second predecessor of Cheops, the eleventh successor of this Amenophis, and to Cheops himself, Herodotus says: "I was also informed by the same priests that, till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was remarkable not only for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince," (Cheops was his second successor) "degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices. He proceeded next to make them labor servilely for himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in vessels and transport them to a mountain of Libya," etc. He is here speaking of the preparation for the building of the great pyramid. In the study of the history of a people, the time spaces, and the changes which they are likely to bring about are always to be closely observed. The age of Amenophis, the son of Sesostris, was considerably different from that of Cheops, and the age of the latter considerably different from that of Herodotus, in Egypt.

You must have noticed that in the fragmentary way in which he dealt with the subject that while the average reign Africanus allows to his kings of the 18th and 21st dynasties is only a little over 16 years in each case, the average reign for his 19th dynasty is 32 years; but we already know that his 18th dynasty really consists of two, the 1st and 3rd, and that he expressed only the years, 263, pertaining to the first of these. As said before, for his 20th dynasty he simply states "12 Diospolitan (Theban) Kings in 135 years," without giving any names, or any other information. For this dynasty Eusebius gives 182 years (245 being given in brack-

ets). Lepsius, in his systematizing, gives it 185. But one of these sums may be said to be as nearly correct as the other; for the period is that of the last twelve kings of the List of Eratosthenes, to which that author gives 340 years, being an average reign of  $28\frac{1}{3}$ . Double of the period, as given by Eusebius, would be not far from that given by Eratosthenes, which doubtless, is about correct. The giving of only 135 or even 185 to so many reigns as four or five reigns sometimes exhaust, and the giving to the old 18th and 19th dynasties an aggregate of years only a little over half of what they reigned \* was undoubtedly meant to obscure the subject of the history at this juncture of it in subservience to some vain notion or concoction of the mind in an endeavor to lay the base for establishing some historic religious origin, that is, on paper, a notion which was worse than nothing and vanity and plainly shows the effeminacy and iniquity of mind of those who concocted and tried to establish it. Is not a Schemite or a Cushite all the same as to race, whether he have been born at the sources of the Nile or of the Euphrates or Jaxartes, on the Mountains of Kurdistan, in the plains of Chaldaea, in the plains of Dongola or Meroë, all of which places these races inhabited in what may be called the mythic or beclouded ages of history? Even in the Egyptian language the name of Ethopia is Kesh or Cush as well as it is Cush in Kurdistan in Gedrosia and Caramania and Cuth in Persia and Chaldaea. In fact the whole fragmentary exhibit of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties so called, as found in Africanus and Eusebius, tells its own story on its face, namely, that its object is to obscure the whole subject of the history and make believe a state of things to have been which could have been so only allegorically.

While, as I have before noticed, Diodorus agrees in general with Herodotus in regard to the time of the building of the largest pyramid, yet it appears that he had himself no settled ideas on that subject; for in another place he gives it as his opinion that "Armaeus built the first of the three great pyramids, Amosis the

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\*  $263 + 224 = 487$ , which if multiplied by 2 = 974. Then 1076 years, the whole period to the end of the 20th dynasty, so called, minus 974 = 102 years. If to this last number we add only 33 years, or one generation, we shall have 135 years, the number Africanus allows his old unexpressed 20th dynasty to have reigned, showing us plainly that only a little over half of the number of years really reigned are by him given to the 18th and 19th dynasties, together, and more than one generation less than half the number reigned by his so-called 20th dynasty.



second, and Inaron the third, which some ascribed to Rhodopis." The name of Armais, which was that of the brother of Sesostris, would put the building of the great pyramid all of three centuries before the time at which Herodotus put it and at which it was built. This Armais, whom the Greeks called Danaus (Da-Naus the ship), is said in the tradition to have settled an Egyptian colony in Greece. If he were such a man as some historians picture him to have been, one would not suspect that he undertook or carried out any such a work as the building of a pyramid; and it appears evident that the other two, to whom Diodorus ascribes the erection of the other two great pyramids, lived at a period by far too late for them to have had anything to do with the building of the pyramids. Amosis, the friend of the Greeks, lived not more than a generation or two before the Persian invasion. And the Inaron referred to is doubtless that one called Inarus, the Libyan, "the son of Psammetichus," who, in connection with Amyrteus of Sais and the Greeks, revolted from Artaxerxes in about the year 460 B. C. This man had, however, only four or five years of reign afterwards, which did not allow him sufficient time to have built any pyramid, if he had not done so before. This was not far from the time at which Herodotus visited Egypt, when the pyramids were already old structures. Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 155) takes notice to this and says: "Diodorus (464) says some attribute the second pyramid to Amosis: the first to Armaeus; and the third to Inaron as well as to Rhodope."

Now it is noticeable that those who get from some Greeks the credit of having built the great pyramids we really Egyptians who had been not only very friendly to the Greeks, but were very peculiarly connected with them, and it is reasonable to suppose that they would be more inclined to attribute to those rather than to others something of a noble and extraordinary character. Speaking of the time of the building of the third pyramid Herodotus himself says: "Some of the Greeks erringly believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was; if they had they never could have ascribed to her the building of a pyramid, produced at the expense of several thousand talents. Besides this Rhodopis lived at a different period, in the time not of Mykerinus, but of Amasis and many years after the monarchs who had erected the pyramids."

In his summing up of the ancient history of Egypt Diodorus re-

counts in succession the ancient Egyptian sages and legislators (c. 94 seq.) : —

I. Mnevis (Menes or Menphis) who after the dominion of Gods and Heroes was the first king who gave written laws. He succeeded in persuading the people to live according to these, professing that he had received them from Hermes. Of all kings he was the most magnanimous and popular.

II. Sasuches, a sovereign of very diverse talents, enlarged the code of his predecessors, regulated the forms of religious worship, and invented geometry and astronomy, both theoretical and practical.

III. Sesoosis, the great warrior, legislated for military affairs in general, but particularly for the warrior caste.

IV. Bocchoris, all matters connected with the duties and privileges of the sovereign were treated by him, also laws concerning treaties. He was of a delicate constitution and avaricious beyond all his predecessors.

V. Amasis, the friend and counsellor of Polycrates ; — to the governors and general administration of the nomes his enactments related.

VI. Darius, on account of his wisdom, virtue and respect for the sacred books and ordinances of the Egyptians, was during his lifetime honored as a god and at his death was ranked among the most upright princes."

As far as he goes Diodorus appears, in the main, not to disagree with Herodotus his arrangement and order being about the same ; but he is more particular chronologically, meaning to give the number of generations between points, etc. But it should be remembered that the chronology of Herodotus really commences with Psammetichus, who became king about 640 B. C., or about two centuries before that historian visited Egypt. In his reckoning by generations however he is found to have been pretty correct in his conclusions. In both historians the heroes and some of the dynasties of the old and new empire appear to have been confounded ; but Diodorus has remarked that the history of Sesoosis (Sesostris) for example, is related in very different ways.

#### THE TABLET OF KARNAK.

The very interesting monument called the Tablet of Karnak was discovered by Mr. Burton at the southeast angle of the temple-

palace erected by Rameses II., the 28th of my list. When first discovered the Tablet was in a tolerable state of preservation and published by the discoverer in his *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* in 1824. Wilkinson, again, in his *Materia Hieroglyphica*, printed at Cairo in 1828, gave the series in a more complete manner; but to Lepsius, assisted by Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, pertained the labor of explaining it in a more satisfactory manner than had been done before.

In regard to the monument itself, let us imagine a tolerably spacious square chamber, having one small door in the center of one of its sides. On entering this door four rows of figures in calcareous sandstone, representing kings in a sitting posture, one above the other, present themselves to view. The kings are seated on thrones, whose backs at a central point, exactly opposite to the door, touch one another; so that, in each of the four rows, one-half of the figures have their faces turned toward the left, the other half turned toward the right. With one or two exceptions, where the number is but seven, the rows in each subdivision contain eight figures. The first three figures of each subdivision are on the wall opposite the entrance, which has, consequently, in all, six in each entire row; the other five or four are on the side wall contiguous to it on the right and left. At the end of each side wall in front, opposite to the sitting kings, stands twice repeated, above and below the figure in large proportions of Mares (Ra Mer Nefru, the good King Mares, No. 28 of Fragment III, Papyrus) represented in the act of offering sacrifices. Each figure of Rameses is exactly equal in height to two of the four rows, so that one of them is exactly opposite to the two upper, the other to the two lower rows. There stand before them the tables of sacrifice, with offerings thereon, occupying sometimes more, sometimes fewer pannels of the rows of kings. The rows, therefore, contain on the left, 31 (8+8+7+8) and on the right 30 (8+8+7+7) figures. Each king is holding out his right hand to receive the offerings and over his head is his royal ring or shield with the customary imperial titles. In one hand, Rameses himself has the sign of life, the so-called key of the Nile; with the other he presents to the enthroned kings the gifts which are spread before him on the table. As to the offices of the persons to whom the offerings are presented all doubt is meant to be removed by an inscription appended to the right of each figure in the following words:

“The Royal offerings  
To the Kings of the Upper and Lower Country.”

The erection of this tablet has been by some ascribed to Tuthmosis III. ; but Salvolini and others have correctly read the name Mares, Mer-Ra, beloved of Sol. To Rameses II., and his sons, whose names stand in my list the 21st to perhaps the 24th in succession from Tuthmosis III. are fairly to be ascribed those many campaigns and works which are wont to be ascribed in the histories to the latter. It is not necessary even to imagine that all of the 61 figures on the Tablet represent kings ; family groups, doubtless, to a limited degree, find place, the most renowned members of the family, even though not kings, being sometimes deemed worthy of representation. Bunsen finds that the succession on this Tablet is largely through men, who were not kings, but whom he calls dukes (Erpa). This must be so, namely, that both sides of the royal house is represented to the degree deemed requisite by the erecters of the Tablet, seeing there is a collection of figures amounting in number to 61, and the renowned Mares is, according to Diodorus, only 28th in succession from Menes, these two inclusive, which is proved to be correct by the place of Mares, No. XXVIII, of the list of Eratosthenes, and by the Turin Papyrus list wherein you will find the first Ra Mer Nefru, or “ the good Merra,” to be in exactly the 28th place. Now, it is thought from the researches of Lepsius and others that Rameses II. was succeeded on the throne by two or three of his sons, the one after the other, and while he is, himself, the first Ra Mer or Mares of the Papyrus list, you will find by referring to that list again that his son and immediate successor, No. 29, is called Ra Mer Hept, “ the devoted to Merra,” and his third successor, No 31 is called Ra Mer Ankh-Anka. In Lepsius his son and immediate successor, No. 29, is called, as to his name, Rameses, Mri Amn Hk Ma ; and his third successor, No. 31, has also Mri Amn, as his name or title. If now you refer to No. 6 of the Papyrus list, which by right ought to be No. 7, you will find the word Ankh as a part of the name of Tuthmosis III., which may have caused the name of this last-mentioned monarch to be confounded with that of the erector of the Tablet of Karnak, namely, Rameses II. (called by others the IIIrd) and his sons Rameses III. and V. as in my list. Now, although it is quite proper to connect the name of our Rameses II., a renowned conqueror, with his sons in the matter of the erection of the Tablet of Karnak still there are some considerations which would lead to the conclusion that the name of our Rameses V., No. 31 of our list, is to be directly connected with its dedica-



tion. In the first place, the part of his name referred to as likely to give cause for the confounding of his name with Tuthmosis III., to whom the erection of the Tablet has been (perhaps thus) erroneously ascribed: In the second place, he is a Mares, which was the name properly deciphered by Salvolini and others as that of the erector of the Tablet, a name which Tuthmosis III., to whom its erection has been ascribed, did not bear. And, thirdly, our Rameses V., Mares Ankh, is 31st in succession from Menes, these two inclusive; and the side of that Tablet, which contains the 31 figures, may reasonably be supposed to go back in the male line of the ancestors of this king to Menes, while the 30 figures on the other side may continue it beyond Menes in the male line of the Auritæ or Aberamitic kings, a supposition which I regard as altogether more probable than that the one side of the Tablet should be understood as representing the father's and the other the mother's side of the ancestry of the monarch back to Menes.

And, besides, in our consideration as to which of the Rameses it was that erected this Tablet, or rather, which of the Rameses it was, in whose reign it was dedicated; for, considering our Rameses II. and his sons we may not be averse to the supposition that some of his sons with himself, considered as principal, did originally concern themselves, to some degree, in the origination of the plan and the erection of the monument: I say taking this whole thing into consideration it would be safe to conclude that the general plan may have been originated in the old age of our Rameses II. and that the work may have been finally accomplished and the monument dedicated in the reign of his third successor, Rameses V. called Tatcheret, *i.e.*, King Thoth,\* in Africanus' list. To originate the plan of such a monument and execute the 61 figures with such fineness and completeness of finish as this must needs have been done, it appears to me would require more than the time of one generation; but here we allow at least the time of a generation and a half; for while we, in effect, give to Rameses II. the Mares of Diodorus and Herodotus, the XXVIIIth name in the list of Eratosthenes, the honor of the origination of the plan and the erection of the monument, called the Tablet of Karnak, still we may consider his sons as superintending the carrying out of the business for him after his death, and the monument as being finally completed and dedicated in the reign of his third successor, Rameses V. It is more than probable that some of the great accomplish-

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\*Rameses=Armais=Hermes=Thothmes. Bryant's Myth. IV.

ments ascribed to our Rameses II. belong to some of his near successors. To him, for instance, is ascribed the capture of old Tyre; but my reckoning makes him rather early for that event. My own opinion would incline to the conclusion of Rameses VII., the immediate predecessor of Cheops, who began his reign in 1262 B. C., being the conqueror of Phœnicia and Tyre. Of the reign of our Rameses II., "the inscriptions make mention of only the 11th and 12th years;" but it doubtless was of many years' greater duration. He appears, on the whole, to have died at considerably past his middle life; but he is represented in some of the paintings as of a luxurious turn, which tends to abridge the human existence; and thus his sons may have had a longer tenure of his throne. The campaigns attributed to him seem to have been a succession of victories, some of which were the result of prolonged and hard fighting. These accomplishments, as I say, may be safely ascribed to Rameses II. and a few of his successors and his relation to the Tablet taken to be as I have above explained.

#### THE TABLET OF ABYDOS.

This monument, which is properly ascribed to Rameses, the Great, is about of eight or nine generations earlier date than that of Karnak. It has been adopted since its discovery as an authentic basis of hieroglyphical research and determination and as a criterion in the restoration of the old 18th and to some extent the 19th dynasty so called. Lepsius' copy or transcript of this Tablet has been found of great importance in the work of restoring the ancient Egyptian chronology.

This series consists of fifty-two figures sculptured in fine limestone on the walls of a chamber, now destroyed, within the temple palace, built or restored by Rameses the Great, in that ancient royal city of Abydos (supposed the same with This, from whence Menes). The lower part of this Tablet, comprising the legs of a deity swathed in bandages, is seated on a throne, holding in both hands a kukuf sceptre. This Lepsius restored as Osiris, who appears here as the Lord of the West and the Pluto of the Hades of the deceased kings. He is looking towards a double row of rulers (in sculpture) 26 in number (52 in all) who are represented seated under their rings, swathed like Osiris and wearing alternately the upper and lower portions of the Pshent, the sign of sovereignty of Upper and Lower Egypt. The horizontal line of hieroglyphics placed over their

heads Lepsius has translated as follows: "A libation to the Lords of the West by the offerings of their son, the king Rameses, in his abode." And the two perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics on the right convey the response of the kings as follows: "The speech of the Lords of the West to their son, the creator and avenger, the Lord of the World, the Sun who conquers in truth; we ourselves elevate our arms to receive thy offering and all other good and pure things in thy palace; we are renewed and perpetuated in the paintings of thy house; we beg to approach at thy side with thee, to rule it like the Solar gate of the heaven where is the Sun forever."

The last nine figures in the lower row, supposed to be the most ancient rulers, are entirely wanting. In the upper row the oldest thirteen are likewise obliterated, but the other half of the series is more or less preserved. It has been remarked above that there are 26 figures in each row, thus making 52 in all, but the last two of these, one on each side, represents Sesostris himself, who is portrayed as being alive at the dedication, in the act of offering.

One result Lepsius arrived at from the examination of this Tablet was that, allowing the Sesortosidæ, aforementioned, to have constituted the 12th dynasty, the intermediate dynasts, claimed by the Hyksos Empire theorists as having existed between their 12th and their 18th dynasties, were entirely wanting. But to those who still saw fit to hold on to the idea they had before supported of a Middle or Hyksos empire this meant nothing more than that the kings of their Hyksos Period, which they maintained were represented to the number of the 30 on the right side of the Tablet of Karnak, found no place on the Tablet of Abydos.

It becomes me, therefore, to give you here the principal data upon which the theory of a Hyksos Period or Middle Empire, so called, is built up.

#### DATA AS TO A HYKSOS EMPIRE.

This is derived to us through Josephus, as he claims from Manetho. In his Treatise Against Apion (Bk. I. 14, 15), Josephus brings forward arguments from various sources to prove the origin and antiquity of the Jewish nation and in this he proceeds as follows: —

"Now, this Manetho, in the Second Book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the identical man him-

self into court for a witness: ‘There was a king of ours, whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came after a surprising manner men of ignoble origin out of the Eastern parts and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country and with ease subdued it by force, *yet without our hazarding a battle with them.* So, when they had gotten those who governed us under their power they afterwards burnt down our cities and demolished the temples of the Gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis and made both the Upper and Lower countries pay tribute and placed garrisons at points which were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed at securing the Eastern frontier, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; and as he found in the Sethroite Nome a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt and made very strong by the walls he built about it and by a most numerous garrison of 240,000 armed men, whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time partly to gather his corn and pay his soldiers their wages and partly to exercise his armed men and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years there reigned after him another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years, after him reigned another, named Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years and then Jonias fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them who were all along making war with the Egyptians and were very desirous gradually to eradicate their race. This whole nation was styled Hyksos, that is, Shepherd Kings; for the first syllable Hyk, according to the sacred dialect denotes a king, as is Sos a shepherd—but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyksos; but some say that these people were Arabians.” “Now,” says Josephus, “in another copy, ‘it is said that this word does not denote kings, but, on the contrary, denotes captive shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyk; for that Hyk with the aspiration in the Egyptian



tongue again denotes shepherds and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion and more agreeable to ancient history." He then represents Manetho as speaking again as follows: "These people whom we have before named kings and called Shepherds also and their descendants kept possession of Egypt for 511 years. That after these the kings of Thebes and of the other parts of Egypt arose against the Shepherds and that a terrible and long war ensued between them. That in the time of a king whose name was Misphragmuthosis (Euseb. Misphragouthosis) the Shepherds were subdued and driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris; Manetho says that the Shepherds built a wall around all this place, which was a large and strong wall and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thuthmosin (Euseb. Thmouthosin) the son of Misphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about them; but that upon his despair of taking the place by that siege they came to a composition with them that they should leave Egypt and go without any harm to be done them, whithersoever they would; and that after this agreement was arrived at they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judaea, and that large enough to contain this great multitude of men, and named it Jerusalem.

Now in another book Manetho says that this nation thus called Shepherds were also, called captives in their sacred books. And this account of his is the truth, for keeping of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient times and leading a nomadic life they were on this account called Shepherds. Nor, was it without reason that the Egyptian historians have called them captives, inasmuch as one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the King of Egypt that he was a captive and afterwards sent for his brethren to come into Egypt, the King consenting to provide for them. But about these matters I shall make a more exact inquiry elsewhere," the result of which promise is not now extant.

"But now," he proceeds, "I shall produce the Egyptians as

witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall, therefore, again bring in Manetho and what he says concerning the order of the times, he thus writes: "After the departure of the people of the Shepherds from Egypt he who effected their exodus, namely, King Tethmosis (Aram. Sethmosis,) reigned afterwards twenty-five years and four months and then died, after him his son Chebron, administered the government for thirteen years; after whom Amenophis twenty years and seven months. Then his sister Amesses (Arm. Amenses) twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres for twelve years and nine months; and then Mephramouthosis for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Tuthmosis (Thmosis) nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis for thirty years and ten months; then Orus for thirty-six years and five months; then followed his daughter Acenchres for twelve years and one month; her brother Rathotis, then for nine years; then was Acenchres twelve years and five months; and then another Acenchres twelve years and three months; then succeeded Armais for four years and one month; and then came Rameses for one year and four months; after him came Armeses Miamon for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis for nineteen years and six months; after him Sethosis and Rameses, who had an army of horse and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais to be his deputy over Egypt, etc., as above.

#### AS TO THE TIME OF RAMESES II.

In regard to the time of our Rameses II., who was called by some Mares, who or one of his sons has been understood as Tuthmosis III. and who with his son and successor appears to have created the Rameseum, called also the Memnonium after his son name Amenophis, I may remark that in an unpublished commentary upon the *Almagest* of Ptolemy by Theon, an Alexandrian scientist at the close of the 4th century of our era, which has been hitherto deemed a very trustworthy authority, there is the following passage: "If we compute the years from Menophres to the end of the Augustan era, we get a sum total of 1605 years; if we add to these the 100 years which had elapsed since the beginning of the Diocletian era, we get 1705 years." \* The Augustan era in Egypt

\* Larcher, *Treatise on Herodotus*, II. 553; 2nd Edition.

ended in A. D. 283; and the Diocletian era began on the 29th of August, 284. Hence the period from Menophres down to the close of the Augustan era in Alexandria is . . 1605 years  
 of which there passed after the Christian era . . 283 “

leaving 1322 years B. C.

for Menophres, which name in Africanus is spelled Mencheres, he being the seventh ruler of the old 5th dynasty, and stands in the place of a son of our Rameses II. In the astronomical subjects introduced in the decoration of the Rameseum or Memnoneum, erected by this Rameses II. and his son, in the western part of Thebes, is the arrangement of the 12 Egyptian months, under their usual heads of the three Tetraminies. Between the last month, Mesare, and the 1st of Thoth a space is left corresponding, as is reasonably supposed, to the five days of the Epact (introduced between the end of Mesare, and the beginning of Thoth of the ensuing year), and beneath this is the figure of Sothis, representing the heliacal rising of that star. This, then, must have occurred at the beginning of Thoth or in the middle of the first days of the Epact and it serves to indicate the year in which the building was erected. And since the canicular period commenced when the 1st of Thoth fell on the 20th of July, 1322 B. C., we may assign this date to Menophres or Mencheres, the son of our Rameses II., in whose reign it was completed. This was the man whom Wilkinson (mistaking his father for Sesostri the Great) supposed to have come to the throne in 1355 B. C. The forms Menophres and Mencheres are for Amun-phre and Amun-chre, the ph and ch interchanging, both phre and cheres meaning the Sun or the King. This is also exchangeable with the forms Amun-Phthah, Menephthah or Amenophis. It appears to me that the derivation of Ptah must be P-Theth, meaning “the” revealer, opener, enlightener, and so creator. It must be the original of our word patent, the Latin root pate, to open, and the Phœnician Pataikoi, meaning the Cabiri, in which words the first T of the component Theth is lost or understood to be replaced by P. In the composition of names or at least as some names are commonly used, the word Thoth is often found in an abbreviated form, thus Manetho is for Amunthoth or Thothmes. The statue of the ram was one of the chief adornments to the temple of Amun at Thebes. This might suggest the word ram as a formation of the word Amun. If then we prefix R

or Ra to Amun, in its root form, that is, Raam, and add on Phis, which equals Seph or Seth, etc., we have Ramphis or Rameses and so Amenophis, might by some ancient Egyptian historians have been written Ramenophis and so by abbreviation Remphis, as in Diodorus. Memphis is a form of this last name, while Thebes is Tep (Typho) which equals ap-ep and Seth for Teth. One of the best known meanings of both the forms Amun and Seth is a pillar, and they both being of like meaning are often compounded together as in Amenseth or Sethamun, which is exchangeable again with Thothmes. The Latin root am, I love, and the English root am, meaning to be, to live, is the same with the Egyptian root am in Amun, which means the self-existent, he who lives and loves, which last two words are variations of each other, for to love truly is really to live.

Now, as to our quotation from Josephus relating to a Middle or Hyksos empire, he notices that the Shepherds, an ignoble race, coming from the eastern parts succeeded in overrunning Egypt and in putting themselves in possession of the government at a time when one, whom he calls Timaeos, was king. This name, as in Josephus, I would understand as for Tethmosis, which, according to Lepsius, from the inscriptions, is spelled Ttms. Josephus would, of course, throw off one T and spell it Timaios, as in the ordinary Greek. The name evidently refers in this case to the chief of the 18th dynasty; but he does not appear to have lost the government of Egypt to any invading force; for he and his descendants continued in its possession for thirty eight reigns.

Josephus and Africanus, both speaking of six particular Shepherd kings would, at once, in the circumstances, suggest to the mind that this 18th dynasty, consisting of just six generations, were the Shepherd kings whose first dynasty consisted of exactly six generations.

The following is the direct line of the generations of the 18th dynasty from Lepsius' Genealogy. I give herein only one representative of each generation:—

Aahmes — Nefruari  
 Thothmes I son  
 Thothmes III son  
 Amenhept II son  
 Thothmes IV son  
 Amenhept III son  
 Her, son  
 dies without male issue



1625—1410 B. C. equals 215 years, making about 31 years for a generation. Prof. Lepsius, while not allowing to these seven the average length of life of 31 1-2 years, has yet done better than Africanus who allowed to them and the next dynasty only about half the number of years they reigned. Here there are six generations, besides the father, which would be counted seven, and this was the reason, doubtless, that while the two writers above mentioned reckoned six generations of Shepherd kings in the start, Syncellus, in his *Latereulus*, gives the number as seven. The significance of Lepsius' discovery that the duration of this dynasty of seven generations (compare the seven days of the week and of creation) he might have still further strengthened in proof of the literality of the Biblical narrative, by telling us that the name Aahmes, standing at the head of the genealogy, is exchangeable with our English name James and with the Hebrew Jacob. How long then, are we going to hesitate before accepting this 18th dynasty as that of the Shepherd kings, so called, of Egypt and the patriarch Jacob as their chief? But according to the Scriptural narrative, Jacob lived only seventeen years in Egypt, he being 130 years old when he immigrated to that country; and, according to Eusebius, the Exodus of the Israelites under Moses took place in the reign of Amenophis IV., whom he calls Achchenchorses, the brother of Her or Horus. Thus, you can reckon about two half generations off the seven, for the sixth generation, as a matter of course, departed from Egypt in the prime of life, thus leaving six generations in all for dominancy and sojourn in Egypt. It may strengthen the idea of our Hebrew or Shepherd dominancy in this 18th dynasty to further reflect upon how Josephus tells us they came into possession of the government, that is, they overran Egypt and took possession of the government of the whole country *without having had to fight a battle*. Must there not have been some miraculous agency in their introduction to the administration? But somehow it appears to me, after taking pains to read this narrative over in the Greek, that it is not susceptible of such literal interpretation as at first sight a person might think it was. And according to Josephus not only did those Shepherds come into possession of the government without having had to risk a battle, but after they had administered the government for, according to Josephus, seven or eight centuries, and according to Lepsius, 215 years, they manage it so as that they are able to

leave the country (after having been entertained in the city of Avaris for a while) without having had to fight a battle with those who caused their departure. The whole affair, indeed, appears miraculous and providential for the Hebrew pastors.

The ancient Egyptians certainly had an understanding of some kind as to a race they called, Hyksos. But in regard to the particular Shepherd Kings that are specified by the Epitomists of Manetho, Josephus, etc., some of them specify six, Eusebius, four, Syncellus, seven. They differ likewise as to the forms of the names they give them. This, however, should not be taken as counting for anything against the real men who might be represented by those variformed names, that is, supposing the names, such as they were, to have stood for real men. It is, however, pretty plain that they did stand for real men and that the whole narrative, varying as it is, is susceptible of an interpretation. As I have intimated before the Scriptural narrative may be thought to imply that the race of Mizraim (Menes) was Asiatic, being descendants of Noah: consequently they were Scuthic of the Shepherd, or Nomadic kind. The languages of Egypt, and all the northern nations of Africa, and even of Ethiopia, distinctly point to a very ancient Asiatic origin. The languages of Africa and Asia must, of course, have been always reciprocal, but what I have now stated is the simple expression of a broad truth. While the African and Asiatic nations could in all ages have made their wants known to each other by means of interpreters, yet it is well known to philologists that the ancient Chaldaean and Egyptian were a common language in the far distant past; or it may be expressed better, perhaps, in this way, that these two languages, namely the Chaldaean and Egyptian, were but variations of the same ancient original language; and descending to identity of language we arrive at identity of the people who speak it. If I should say the language and civilization of the ancient Nimrodic empire were in the days of that mighty hunter those of the Nile's valley, and of Ethiopia, I would simply thus indicate my idea of the antiquity of the race and language spoken of. If the race of Aahmes or Menes were the Hyksos who were in power in Egypt at an early day yet it may not have been so early as has been thought by some.

Now, the list of Eratosthenes, being plainly that of our 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, or of what is to be understood as the old Empire of Menes, then the limit of the list of Eratosthenes in years

is the limit of the sum of the years of those three dynasties or of the Empire of Menes, so called. But while in Africanus the sum of the largest number of years given for those three dynasties named is only  $(263+224+135=)$  622 years; in Eratosthenes the sum given for his list of 38 names for the same time is 1076 years. If, then, we add to this number of Eratosthenes the sums of the years given in Africanus to the dynasties from the 21st to the 30th, both inclusive, and then add to this the number of years from the end of the 30th dynasty to the Christian Era we will see how the result will compare with what we got from the computation which we entered into further back as to the date of Menes. For the dynasties concerned I will take the largest numbers given in Africanus, but I do not find that he varies much for the space.

	<i>Years.</i>
Limit of Eratosthenes' list for old Empire.....	1076
Africanus' 21st dynasty .....	130
“ 22nd “ .....	120
“ 23rd “ .....	89
“ 24th “ .....	6
“ 25th “ .....	40
“ 26th “ .....	150
“ 27th “ .....	124
“ 28th “ .....	6
“ 29th “ .....	20
“ 30th “ .....	38
Sum total from Menes to the 30th dynasty inclusive...	1799
The number of years Before Christ.....	352
Date of Menes.....	2151 B. C.

A preceding calculation upon the base of Lepsius' termination of the 20th dynasty got the date of Menes 2191; upon another calculation we got it 2130; and here we get it 2151 B. C. I think it safe to conclude the date of 2170 B. C., which Prof. Piazza Smythe thought, in his interpretation of the Great Pyramid's markings, referred to the founding of that monument, really refers to the founding of this Shepherd empire by Menes, Amos or Jacob, whatever you call him. But now, while it is evident the epitomists curtail by over one-third the number of years really due to their

18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, as is shown by the figures Eratosthenes gives for the same period, yet I see no good reason underlying why the figures for the dynasties given by Africanus from the 21st to the 30th inclusive, as above, should not be very nearly correct, since we know the representation given, such as it is, of those three dynasties named, is simply a fragmentary and obscured representation of all that preceded it, introduced here for the purpose of confusing the mind and thus supporting a certain historico-theological hypothesis in regard to a certain well-known national theocratic system. If, therefore, this such representation of the three dynasties named, and for such a purpose as that named, were an achievement of monkish skill or ingenuity, it would be naturally supposed by its inventors to answer the general purpose intended, not only with the comparatively ignorant masses of readers, but with a large body of the intelligent, who generally are disposed to take what they find in books for granted without entering into criticisms. I say it would be supposed by them to answer the purpose they had in view without their necessarily obscuring or mutilating any dynasty *after* the three named.

But if people would proceed on the basis which the calculation of Africanus would be thought from its surface appearance to imply, namely, that the Hyksos were a different race from that of Menes, and thus allow the duration of the sojourn of the Hyksos in Egypt to have been that which Africanus ascribes to that race, then they should have for a Hyksos Middle Empire: —

518 years for sole reign of the Hyksos;  
 151 “ of rule divided with the Thebans;  
 126 “ of the 18th dynasty, so-called;

Making a total of 795 years until the time of the departure of the Shepherds from Avaris. This, supposing with Josephus the Hyksos to have been Hebrews of the stock of Jacob, would leave that people to have sojourned in Egypt for 795 years after the death of Joseph, or 815 years after the immigration of Jacob to Egypt. This would make one patriarchal, cosmic year of 600 solar years plus 215 years, or 195 after Joseph's death.

If, however, they were disposed to take in preference to the foregoing, the calculations of Eusebius and give to four Phœnician Shepherd Kings, 103 years of the 17th dynasty, the first of which Kings, Salatis (the viceroy), it would be well for them to suppose (and thus help out Wilkinson) was the patriarch Joseph, then they



should have by putting the departure of the Shepherds in the very early part of the reign of Tuthmosis III and thus taking 112 years, instead of, as before, 126 of the 18th dynasty, they should have thus, I say, for the duration of the sojourn of the Hyksos or Phœnician-Israelites in Egypt, just 215 years ( $103 + 112 = 215$ ). This last position might be thought by some to be without support, outside of Eusebius, that is, considering the 18th dynasty as aside from the Shepherds, and as strictly containing the first dynasty of the empire of Menes; but, on the other hand, there has been so much confusion introduced into the narrative and so much that ended to obscure the subject of the history, that some, through at misunderstanding, thought Eusebius' position derived support from the statement of Diodorus, namely, that between his Mendes, or Mares, and his Ketes, or Ketna, there intervened a period of anarchy of five generations. This statement refers to the time of the parallel lines of the 2d and 3d dynasties, so-called, and to the space of that time in my list, beginning with Amenophis IV., called elsewhere Akencheres, No. 12, and ending with the undoubted unity of the kingdom under Rameses, the Great, No. 20, who was the Ketes, or Sethos Diodorus referred to, and was about of the fifth or sixth generation in male line of the 2nd dynasty, beginning with the name Tlas, corresponding to the No. 12 of my list. But the Mendes Diodorus referred to was Amen-des, that is, Amen-Seth, or Seph, which is Amenophis III., No. 10 of my list, the father of Amenophis IV.

The number of 215 years is the limit given by the Septuagint to the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt and is included in my computation found near the end of my 2nd volume of three complete patriarchal cosmic years from the creation to Christ. If in my last computation of the time of Eusebius' four Phœnician Shepherds I took from the 18th dynasty 106 instead of 126 years, I then would have 195 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, but this would be for the period after the death of Joseph. From the immigration of Jacob to the death of Joseph my reckoning is 20 years, and, as you know, the sojourn in Egypt is usually reckoned from the immigration of Jacob at 215 years.

Considering what has been said both by Hebrew and Christian writers as to the exodus in the period of those six generations between the first of the 18th dynasty, so called, and Amenophis III. inclusive, a person would naturally suppose the Hebrews were in

some way connected with the 18th dynasty. Africanus, for instance, puts Moses and the Exodus in the reign of Amosis, who is Menes.

Josephus, who identifies his Hebrew people with the Hyksos, puts it in the same reign but gives the King the form of name Tethmosis instead of Amosis. Eusebius, on the other hand, puts Moses and the Exodus in the time of Amenophis IV., the brother of Horus, the 11th reign in succession from Amosis, or the 5th after Tethmosis III., in whose reign, as according to Bunsen, the Shepherds left Egypt.

It is seen, therefore, these writers are much disagreed as to the particular time the Exodus took place; and Bunsen's supposing it to have taken place after the interval of 215 years of bondage from the departure of the Shepherds, or in the reign of Mencheres or Menophres, the son of Rameses II., as seen above, might in the judgment of some imply that the 18th, so called, Egyptian dynasty were the people from whom the Hebrews, Tyrians, and all those kindred peoples and languages derived their origin. This, then, brings us to a digression which may ultimately throw some light upon this subject.

The great antiquity which the Egyptian priests assigned to Hercules furnished Herodotus with matter for reflection; for if this were true how could he have been the son of Alcmena, whose age he thought he knew perfectly well. He resolved, therefore, to investigate the subject to the extent of his ability and did so with his usual perseverance and ingenuity, as he tells us in the following words: "Now being anxious to obtain as clear an insight as possible into these matters I embarked on board a ship bound for Tyre, in Phoenicia, where I heard there was a temple sacred to Hercules." (II. 43, 44). Arrived there he enters into a conversation with the priests of the temple of Melkarth as to its date and was informed by them that "it was as old as the building of Tyre, and that Tyre had been inhabited for *two thousand three hundred years*." Herodotus' visit to Egypt is given variously at 445 to 460 B. C., if therefore we take the first date, which is that most generally adopted, we shall have for the building of Old Tyre and its Temple  $2300 + 445 = 2745$  B. C.

Now, if it should turn out that the immigration of Abraham from Chaldaea into Canaan as well as the physical phenomena at the Dead Sea by which the cities of the plain are said to have been destroyed, if it should turn out, I say, that these accounts we have in

the Bible could be supported by history this might furnish a satisfactory explanation as to who the people were who built Old Tyre and its Temple and as to who the Hyksos were who settled Egypt, say, at some date from 2100 to 2300 B. C.

We are now, therefore, for the first time gotten into a position wherein we can understand and apply a tradition transmitted by Justin Martyr, which like the traditions generally in his 18th book, we have reason to believe, was derived from good Phœnician authorities. He says (XVIII, 3): "The Tyrian people were akin to the Phœnicians, who being visited by an earthquake left their homes and settled, first, on the Assyrian Lake, from whence they moved to the sea coast, where they built a city, to which they gave the name of Sidon, owing to the abundance of fish; for in Phœnician, Sidon signifies fish." Sidon means literally the place of fishermen not fish. The Assyrian Lake or *Assyrium Stagnum* spoken of here does not refer to the Sea of Galilee but to the Dead Sea. The people who lived around it were called Edom or Adam, or, with the prefix, Cadam or Sodom of which name, Edom, Phoinike is an exact equivalent. It signifies, as to color, red. The passage means that the Tyrians, who were of the race of the Phœnicians, having left their homes, the former cities of the plain, they settled first nearer the Dead Sea, from whence they moved to the sea coast and built the celebrated cities of Tyre and Sidon. Or if this did not refer to the disruption spoken of in the Airyan books which caused the removal of that people from the primeval land would it be likely to refer to a disruption of later date in southern Chaldaea, which caused the removal of the Phœnicians to the neighborhood of the Red Sea? This last hypothesis would rather better agree with the account of the migration of Abraham which takes in in its course not only Canaan but Edom and Philistia and Egypt. I do not see anything recorded in Berosus' history relating to an earthquake in the provinces of Chaldaea, his records being brief and relating mostly to the Kings; but in the Bible, we have the account of the destruction of the cities of the plain," "by fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven," (Gen. XIX. 24) in one of which cities Abraham's brother's son Lot had been residing. Not long, therefore, after the migration of Abraham to the west of the Euphrates the Edomites were driven away by an earthquake from the region of the Syrian inland sea, the original formation of which apparently by a subsidence of the ground below the level of the ocean is a phenomenon pertaining to the Edomite

or pre-Adamite world. History, however, gives an account of an earlier migration from the Upper Euphrates, and Armenia, to those countries. Alexander Polyhistor, the learned freeman and intimate friend of Sylla (In Euseb. Praep. Evang. IX. 19) quotes the following out of a work of one his contemporaries, Apollonius Molon or Melon, a native of Caria, held in high estimation at Rome, but, as we learn from Josephus, hostile to the Jews, as follows: "Man (*i.e.* Adam or Edom) was driven with his sons after the flood by the inhabitants of the country from their home in Armenia and they gradually moved on through the sandy regions to the then uninhabited mountainous district of Syria. This took place three generations prior to Abraham the Wise, whose name signifies Father's Friend. He had two sons, one by an Egyptian wife, the patriarch of the twelve Arab princes, the other named Laughter (*Γέλος*) by a native woman. Laughter had eleven sons; and a twelfth, Joseph, from whom the third (of the Patriarchs) Moses is descended." Joseph is here ascribed as a son to Isaac, but he was only his grandson, and great-grandson to Abraham. Bunsen puts the birth of Isaac, and consequently the 100th year of Abraham, in 2854 B. C. (Egypt, III. 353). This, considering the date we get for Menes, which perhaps, we may now synchronize with the 130th year of Jacob or the beginning of the 18th dynasty, so called, should be according to the figures we get for it about as follows:—

(Gen. <b>xxi</b> , 5)	Age of Abraham at Isaac's birth . . .	100 years.
(Gen. <b>xxv</b> , 26)	" " Isaac " Jacob's " . . .	60 "
(Gen. <b>xlvi</b> , 5)	" " Jacob, as he stands before Pharaoh . . .	130 "
From Jacob stands before Pharaoh to the		
100th year of Abraham . . .		190 "
The date we get for Menes . . .		2170 " B. C.
The 100th year of Abraham . . .		2360 " B. C.

Now, first, supposing, for the sake of illustration, our patriarch Jacob to have been so fortunate as to have attained to the throne of Egypt on his immigration to that country with his company of Shepherds and their families when he was in the 130th year of his age; and, secondly, that he was identical with our Aahmes (James or Jacob) the chief of the 18th dynasty so called, then we may probably conclude that he reigned the seventeen years which remained of his life as king over Egypt. He then would be identical with our Menes, a name which probably would be pronounced in



the ancient Egyptian somewhat as the Gaelic Seamus, English James, for which Jacob. This Menes, then, would not be the Mizraim who was grandson to Noah, but of the 10th generation farther down in time, which, reckoning at the rate of  $33\frac{1}{2}$  years to a generation, would make the first Mizraim or Menes to have lived in 2503 B. C., approximately; for 2170 B. C., the date of our Aahmes — Menes, plus 333 years the time of 10 generations, according to the ordinary reckoning, makes 2503 B. C., for the date of Mizraim, the son of Chem, the son of Noah. This is all, as said, for the sake of illustration, for some suppose the duration of human life and so the average length of a generation to have been much greater among the ancients than in the really historic ages it is found to be; and so the date of Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, cannot be spoken of with any degree of certainty.

Although the Scriptures represent Abraham as visiting Egypt and sojourning therein for a time with his wife Sarah they yet do not intimate that he planted any colony there; but if he did it would be naturally under a son of his and so would have been, at the end, of one generation longer sojourn in Egypt than the colony planted by Jacob. Abraham was, of course, of the Shepherd race, and we seem to get in the Bible the historic idea of his grandson Jacob and his great-grandson Joseph having planted a colony of their people in Egypt, a colony which attained even in the first generation of their sojourn to great power and importance in the state. Do you say that Menes came from the eastern parts into Egypt? Then so did Jacob and his son Joseph, both of whose remains the Scriptures inform us were finally interred in their native Canaan.

In regard to the above quotation of Polyhistor from Molo, Movers identifies the Mountainous district of Syria, mentioned therein, with Southern Judaea, the region of Hebron, the home of the children of Anak, who built Kirjath-Arba, afterwards called Hebron. The Edomities then in the time of Abraham occupied not only the country about the Dead Sea, but Canaan to the coast of the Mediterranean. In Hebron the Bible places the home of Isaac where it represents the birth of Esau and Jacob as having taken place; and in an ancient Phœnician (Gaelic) story concerning this family, Rebeka, the wife of Isaac, is styled "the Queen." After the time of Jacob, doubtless, some of the Edomites or Phœnicians began to be called Israelites.

Most of the Babylonian and Assyrian dynastic arrowheaded in-

scriptions hitherto deciphered refer to Southern Babylonia, east of the Tigris, that country called Susiana (Cushiana) as being the cradle of the ancient sovereignty. To the ruins of the vast cities in this region Rawlinson called attention, cities whose foundation long antedated ancient Babylon. The oldest sacred legend of the Chaldaeans, that pertaining to Oannes, mentioned by Berosus, accords perfectly with this reference in the inscriptions, namely, that the first dawn of civilization was in Southern Babylonia and that the teachers of mankind came from the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

That Phœnician story, which has been accorded so much credit, borrowed by Justin Martyr from Trogus Pompeius, as mentioned above, appears, when properly discriminated to be deserving of credit: Its historical value consists in the statement "that the fathers of the Phœnicians were compelled by an earthquake in the region of the Dead Sea to migrate from thence to the coast of the Mediterranean. Precisely from the neighborhood of that lake did Abraham and Lot depart," says Bunsen. We must, however, take care not to confound the occurrence of the phenomena in the vale of Siddim (S—Edom) by which some of the cities were overwhelmed (doubtless by an enlargement of the Asphalt Lake) with the depression of the land and sea surface, which took place in primeval times, the consequence of which was the formation of a lake whose surface is more than 1,500 feet below that of the Mediterranean. The former occurrence is, when compared with that last referred to, quite recent.

The language of Sidon "the first-born son of Canaan" and that of the renowned Tyre the ancient mart and mistress of the commerce of nations, was pure old Hebrew. The old alphabetic characters of the language were what are commonly called the Phœnician, from which have sprung the Greek and Roman letters; the characters we now call Hebrew are Chaldaean, derived from the time of the captivity of the Jews and Phœnicians generally in Chaldaea, in which seventy years, if these people did not adopt the Chaldaean language they yet adopted the Chaldaean alphabetic characters as a vehicle for their own. Speaking of the *Etymologiæ Ægyptiacæ* of Ignaz Rossi, where he ascribes to the author a considerable degree of merit, Bunsen says of him that: "He rests unconsciously on the notion that the Coptic is a corrupt Hebrew." But, as he says himself, "all words

of the Coptic not Greek are Egyptian" it being derived from the demotic or language of the people rather than from the hieratic or that of the priests of Egypt. A more general research into the subject of the origin of languages in general and that of the Egyptian and Hebrew in particular, than it appears Rossi had accomplished, enabled the former to "take it for granted that more than one-third part of the old Egyptian primitive words in the Coptic will be found in the Semitic and particularly in Hebrew and about one-tenth part in Iranian," and a closer introduction to the copiousness of the Coptic, gives a still more important proportion and thereby an incontrovertible proof of original unity. For the affinity extends over two-thirds of the *copia verborum* known to us," which, however, is almost only from the translation of the Bible and the lives of the Saints." (Egypt V. 774-5). As regards the mode of reading the old Egyptian language, which was hieroglyphical, I find some words are read from right to left, as in Hebrew, and some from left to right as in English, according to the indications of the hieroglyphs. Sir William Jones found the Iranian, or ancient Persian, to have had a near kinship to the Hindoo, Ethiopic, ancient Egyptian and Chaldaean. Various were the indications which satisfied him of the identity of origin of the African Ethiopians and Hindoos, among which he mentions the style of the architecture and the ancient inscriptions, as well as the languages as to root, construction and general analogy.

The remains which we possess of the ancient Phœnician appear in some of their forms more archaic and in some more modern than the Hebrew. The Carthaginian colonists who passed over to the North of Africa in the 9th century B. C. brought with them their mother tongue and preserved its forms in comparative purity to the end of their existence as a nation.

Isaiah (xxiii, 12) calls Tyre "Daughter of Sidon," or a colony of old Zidon. Homer speaks of Sidon but does not mention Tyre. We learn, on the other hand, from Herodotus that the Sidonians themselves were before a colony of islanders, who inhabited the entrance to the Persian Gulf opposite the month of the Euphrates. To these we must ascribe an antiquity great though indeterminate, since it was from them the most ancient cities of the west of Africa and of Europe derive their origin. They were indeed, colonies of the Hindoo Scythians who scattered in ancient Chaldea, the seeds of knowledge and civilization. They were derived, too, to India, to

which they gave name, from high Asia and the languages of their northern quarters must be to a considerable extent of a common stock with the Sanscrit, though variant through time.

Thus, we learn that navigation must have been perfected in very remote ages since it established a communication between places in the far orient and occident. "By means of the Erythrian colonies," says DuPuis, "composed of Assyrians, Persians, Indians, Arabians and Phœnicians, the east communicated its arts and sciences, its commercial genius and all the productions of India, Persia and Arabia to the West." The best established ancient chronology of Greece is that of the war of Troy; but the people adjacent to the Persian Gulf and the islanders of the Erythrean sea had established colonies in the western isles of Europe long prior to the age in which Agamemnon and Ulysses lived or in which the Argonautic expedition is said to have taken place.

## TWO FOOT-NOTES.

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1. Note in relation to the whole that if Herodotus were correct in saying that the only female sovereign among the successive rulers of ancient Egypt was Nitokris, then Lepsius, and those who have thought with him in this matter must have been mistaken in supposing any other of the list of 38 rulers to have been other than a male. Considering the number of generations which I concluded there were in the 38 successions I, in my proceeding, thought there was no reasonable doubt that Lepsius was correct. But I have now to say, in retrospect of the whole, first, that about, if not all the names which he supposed to have been of females, are, as far as their forms in the original are concerned, just as applicable to males; and, secondly, that so far as the original gives to understand there is no reason why most of those names he thought to have been of females should not have been of males. Let that matter have been as it may the 38 successions on the throne would represent 30 or at the most 31 generations. The matter as to the gender of a few of the rulers we can well afford to be easy about, suppose we have properly gotten the successions and their respective dates, and as to these, doubtless, time will show that we have attained in the foregoing to a closely approximative correctness.

2. That that the Auritæ or Abrahamites were the people who dominated in Egypt for somewhat over two centuries prior to Menes I have before intimated or given as my understanding. The Auritæ would thus be, if not the stock of Menes, yet of the same stock as he. As seen above from Josephus and the Scriptures Abraham had many sons besides Ishmael and Isaac and it is more than proba-



ble that the dynasty of the Auritæ descended from some other son than either of these two. Thus, the incoming of our Menes-Jacob instead of the Auritæ would be understood as the introduction of a new dynasty, for the distance to the common ancestor would have been of eight or nine generations.

The dynasties directly succeeding to the Auritæ, as given in the "Old Egyptian Chronicle," particularly as this is set forth in Bryant's Mythology, which corresponded to the old Empire of Menes as this is represented in Eratosthenes' List would be as follows:—

	YEARS,
Cunic, or royal cycle, 15 generations . . . . .	443
16th dynasty, 8 Tanite kings . . . . .	190
17th " 4 Memphite kings . . . . .	103
18th " 14 " " . . . . .	348
	<hr/>
	1084

This gives, in its aggregate, 8 years more than Eratosthenes has for the old empire and the aggregate of rulers here is 41, which is 3 more than his number. It is seen that this reckoning, beginning as it does with the 15th dynasty, would find only about half the number of dynasties for the Egyptian Empire, from Menes to Nectanebo, given in Africanus. This is about as I find it.



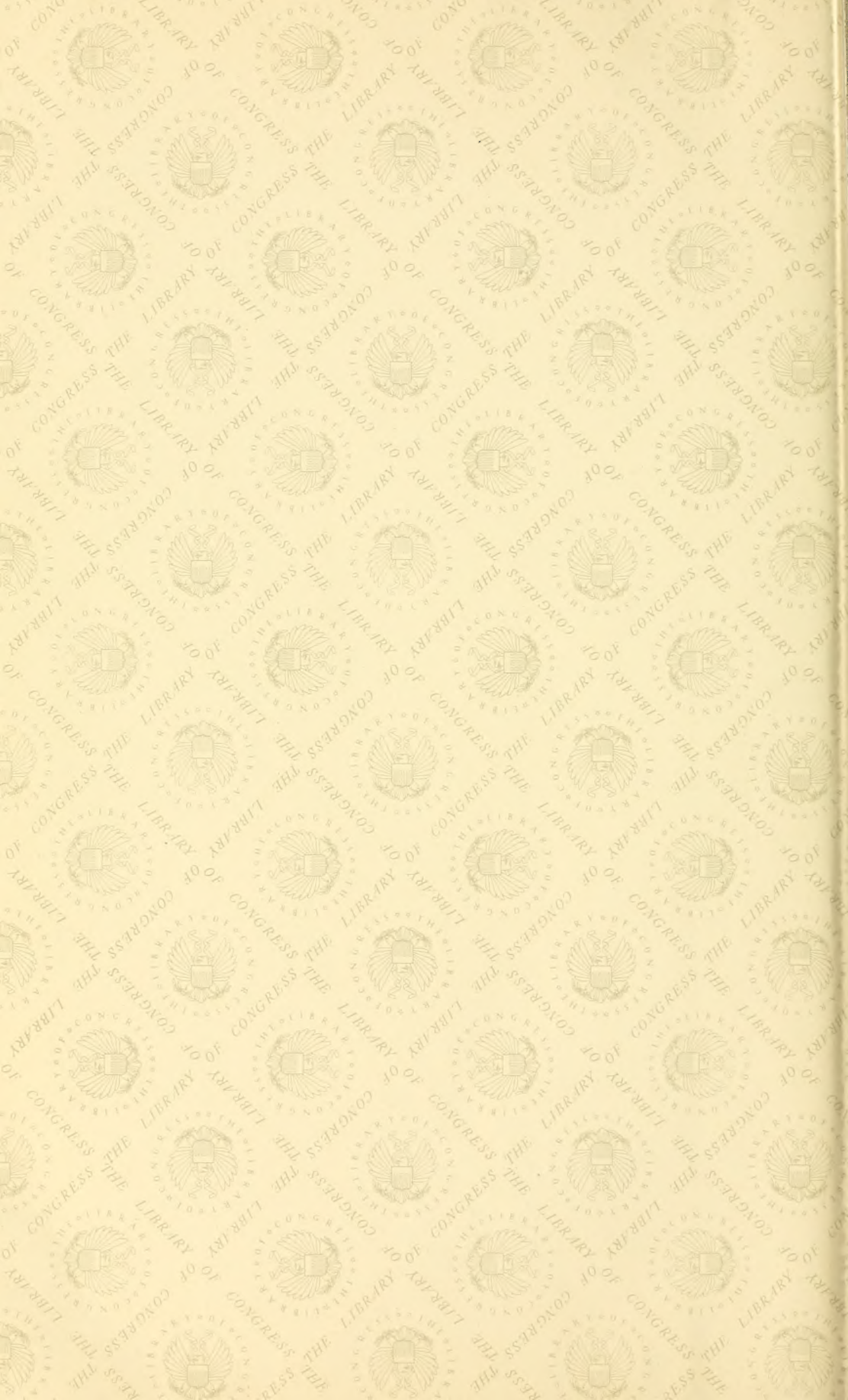








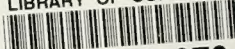








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